

VOLUME 89 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 1984

---

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



# Oxford

## The Crucible of Race

Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation

JOEL WILLIAMSON, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*. The most important book on race relations since C. Vann Woodward's *Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Williamson focuses on the critical period when Southern white leadership switched its power base from one resting on blacks in slavery to one resting upon an exclusive "communion of whiteness."

September 1984 560 pp. \$25.00

## Slavery and Human Progress

DAVID BRION DAVIS, *Yale University*. "An excellent examination of the history of slavery and antislavery from ancient times to the twentieth century, a profound study of the role of changing religious and secular attitudes, and a fascinating demonstration of the many paradoxes and ironies in ideas about progress."—Stanley Engerman, *University of Rochester*

October 1984 375 pp. \$25.00

## In Her Own Right

The Life of Elisabeth Cady Stanton

ELISABETH GRIFFITH. "Like Stanton herself, the book is feisty, intelligent, articulate, full of the concrete human reality of this feminist heroine's life."—Betty Friedan. "A new biography about Elizabeth Cady Stanton is long overdue."—Susan B. Anthony, Ph.D.

September 1984 320 pp. \$17.95

## Safe for Democracy

The Anglo-American Response to Revolution, 1913-1923

LLOYD C. GARDNER, *Rutgers University*. "The book is filled with brilliant insights and word portraits, particularly of its two principle characters, Woodrow Wilson and David Lloyd George."—Arthur S. Link, *Princeton University*

August 1984 400 pp. \$25.00

## The Meaning of Karl Marx

BRUCE MAZLISH, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*. "In establishing links between the life and the ideas of Marx, between Marx the social scientist and humanist and Marx the revolutionary theorist, Mazlish explores new ground. It will become a classic in its field."—Ralph Buultjens, *New School for Social Research*

1984 233 pp. \$17.95

## The Private Mary Chesnut

The Unpublished Civil War Diaries

Edited by C. VANN WOODWARD, *Yale University*, and ELISABETH MUHLENFELD, *Florida State University*. A full and scholarly edition of the unpublished diaries kept by Mary Chesnut during the 1860s. Her surviving original diaries, more personal, intimate, and spontaneous than the later elaborated version, are indispensable to an appreciation of the most famous Southern literary insight on the Civil War experience.

November 1984 325 pp.  
cloth \$19.95 paper \$7.95

## A History of the Vikings

Revised Edition

GWYN JONES, *University College, Cardiff*. This new, extensively revised edition of the work first published in 1968 incorporates the results of the most recent archaeological research. "This volume will long be definitive in every sense of the word."—*American Historical Review*

1984 520 pp.; 103 illus.  
cloth \$25.00 paper \$9.95

## Heart of Europe

A Short History of Poland

NORMAN DAVIES, *University of London*. In this evocative account based on his acclaimed *God's Playground*, Davies provides a key to understanding the social and political inheritance of modern Poland.

1984 420 pp.; 16 illus.; 12 maps  
\$29.95

At better bookstores or direct from:

## Oxford University Press

200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889

## Elected Officers

*President:* ARTHUR S. LINK, *Princeton University*  
*President-elect:* WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, *University of Chicago*  
*Vice-Presidents:* JOHN A. GARRATY, *Columbia University, Teaching Division*  
RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL, *Iowa State University, Professional Division*  
GERHARD L. WEINBERG, *University of North Carolina, Research Division*

## Appointed Officers

*Executive Director:* SAMUEL R. GAMMON  
*AHR Editor:* OTTO PFLANZE, *Indiana University*  
*Controller:* JAMES H. LEATHERWOOD

## Elected Council Members

PHILIP D. CURTIN, *Johns Hopkins University*  
*Immediate past President*

JOYCE O. APPLEBY  
*University of California,*  
*Los Angeles*

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN  
*University of Michigan*

ROBERT I. ROTBERG  
*Massachusetts Institute*  
*of Technology*

KATHERINE FISCHER DREW  
*Rice University*

JOHN V. LOMBARDI  
*Indiana University*

ROBERT M. WARNER  
*Archivist of the*  
*United States*

*Cover illustration:* The United States Hotel, Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1880. The American Historical Association was founded there four years later. Photograph reproduced from the original glass stereopticon negative, courtesy of George S. Bolster, Saratoga Springs, New York.

The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located in 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812-335-7609).

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes of \$40,000 and above, \$60.00 annually; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$47.00; \$15,000–\$19,999, \$40.00; \$10,000–\$14,999, \$30.00; below \$10,000, students, and joint memberships \$20.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$25.00; life \$1,000. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 89: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$43.00, foreign \$47.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

Information concerning the submission of manuscripts and other matters of interest to authors and reviewers is contained on page 2(a), immediately preceding the advertisements.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762). The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1984

All rights reserved

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices



# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Editor:* OTTO PFLANZE

*Associate Editor:* HELEN NADER

*Book Review Editor:* ROBERT E. BIEDER

*Assistant Editor:* MICHELLE MANNERING

*Assistant to the Editor:* TERRY L. CAGLE

*Editorial Assistants:* SARA A. COSKI, SHEILA A. CULBERT,  
SUE E. FACTOR, JAMES F. GOODE,  
CATHERINE A. KREYCHE, JOHN E. SPENCE, BARBARA A. SPRINGER

*Advertising Manager:* MEREDITH HELLEBERG FIELDS

*Indexer:* MELVIN HEATH

## Board of Editors

WALTER L. ARNSTEIN  
*University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign*

JOHN HIGHAM  
*Johns Hopkins University*

ROBERT POTASH  
*University of Massachusetts,  
Amherst*

KATHERINE FISCHER DREW  
*Rice University*

PAULINE MAIER  
*Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology*

HANS J. ROGGER  
*University of California,  
Los Angeles*

PETER DUUS  
*Stanford University*

ALLAN MITCHELL  
*University of California,  
San Diego*

JAN VANSINA  
*University of Wisconsin,  
Madison*

PAUL L. MURPHY  
*University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities*

## Contributors:

AUGUST MEIER AND ELLIOTT RUDWICK are respectively University Professor of History and a professor of history and sociology at Kent State University. Meier is the author of *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* (1963). Rudwick is the author of *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership* (1960) and *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917* (1964). They are coauthors of *From Plantation to Ghetto* (1966; 3rd edn., 1976), *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* (1973), *Along the Color Line* (1976), and *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* (1979). Their most recent book, *Afro-American Historiography and the Historical Profession*, will be published by the University of Illinois Press in 1985, and they are currently working on a study of the NAACP. Meier is the editor of the University of Illinois series "Blacks in the New World."

EMIL POCKOCK is a visiting lecturer in American history at the University of Georgia. He completed his doctoral degree at Indiana University in 1984 under the direction of Paul Lucas. His dissertation focused on the evangelical leadership of frontier Dayton, Ohio. He is a former editorial assistant with the *Journal of American History*. Pocock is continuing his study of the formation of society and culture on the trans-Appalachian frontier.

DOROTHY ROSS is an associate professor of history at the University of Virginia. Since receiving her doctorate from Columbia University, where she studied with John Higham and Richard Hofstadter, she has written on American social thought, the history of the social and behavioral sciences, and psychohistory. Her publications include *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (1972) and "Socialism and American Liberalism: Academic Social Thought in the 1880's," *Perspectives in American History* (1977–78). She is at work on a study of the development of the social sciences in America, 1870–1930, which will examine the reasons why American social science became peculiarly ahistorical and scientific, a problem that led her to investigate historical consciousness in the nineteenth century.

MOREY DAVID ROTHBERG received a doctorate in American civilization from Brown University in 1982, completing his dissertation under the direction of John L. Thomas. Cur-

rently he is extending the dissertation, which is a partial study of the life of John Franklin Jameson, into a full-length biography. He received the J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History, 1983–84, sponsored jointly by the American Historical Association and the Library of Congress. Beginning in August 1984, Rothberg will divide his time between his present position as an employee development specialist at the United States Office of Personnel Management and the coeditorship, with Jacqueline Goggin, of the John Franklin Jameson Papers at the Library of Congress, a project sponsored by the American Historical Association, the Library of Congress, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

DANIEL JOSEPH SINGAL, a specialist in the history of American thought and culture, is an associate professor of history at Hobart and William Smith Colleges. He received a B. A. from Harvard College and a Ph.D. from Columbia University, where he began his dissertation under Richard Hofstadter and completed it, following Hofstadter's death in 1970, under Eric L. McKittrick. His book, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1941* (1982), received several prizes, including the Ralph Waldo Emerson Award from Phi Beta Kappa and the Francis B. Simkins Award given by the Southern Historical Association. He currently holds a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and is writing an intellectual biography of William Faulkner.

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL is Elbert J. Benton Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, where he studied with Merle Curti. He has written and edited a number of books in a variety of areas of American social and intellectual history, from historiography to the history of old age, the latest of which is *Aging, Death, and the Completion of Being* (1979). The essay in this issue, however, grew directly out of his first book, *Reconciling America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884*. Currently he is completing a history of the American Historical Association and editing an encyclopedia of Cleveland.

Space does not permit us to publish in this issue all of the essays we received that are appropriate to the centennial of the American Historical Association. As a consequence, John Higham's "Herbert Baxter Adams and the Study of Local History" will appear in the December 1984 issue. The Editor.

## The American Historical Association: The First Hundred Years, 1884–1984

- Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America,  
BY DOROTHY ROSS 909
- From Learned Society to Professional Organization:  
The American Historical Association, 1884–1900, BY DAVID D. VAN TASSEL 929
- “To Set a Standard of Workmanship and Compel Men to Conform to it”:  
John Franklin Jameson as Editor of the *American Historical Review*,  
BY MOREY D. ROTHBERG 957
- Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography,  
BY DANIEL JOSEPH SINGAL 976

## Research Notes

- J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson, and the Foundations of  
Black Historiography, BY AUGUST MEIER and ELLIOTT RUDWICK 1005
- Presidents of the American Historical Association:  
A Statistical Analysis, BY EMIL POCKOCK 1016

## Reviews of Books

### GENERAL

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| F. R. ANKERSMIT. <i>Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language</i> . By Hayden White 1037   | ERNST NOLTE. <i>Marxismus und Industrielle Revolution</i> . By Albert S. Lindemann 1041   |
| ERNST BREISACH. <i>Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern</i> . By Lester D. Stephens 1038   | JOHN H. KAUTSKY. <i>The Politics of Aristocratic Empires</i> . By Theda Skocpol 1043  |
| HERTA NAGL-DOCEKAL. <i>Die Objektivität der Geschichtswissenschaft: Systematische Untersuchungen zum wissenschaftlichen Status der Historie</i> . By Michael Ermarth 1038 | ROBERT J. GOLDSTEIN. <i>Political Repression in 19th Century Europe</i> . By John A. Armstrong 1044   |
| JERRY H. BENTLEY. <i>Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance</i> . By Charles H. O'Brien 1039   | GLYNN BARRATT. <i>Russian Shadows on the British Northwest Coast of North America, 1810–1890: A Study of the Rejection of Defence Responsibilities</i> . By C. J. Bartlett 1044 |
| CARTER LINDBERG. <i>The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition</i> . By Robert Kolb 1040   | ALAN PALMER. <i>The Chancelleries of Europe</i> . By Barbara Jelavich 1045  |
| HAROLD J. BERMAN. <i>Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition</i> . By A. London Fell 1040  | JACK S. LEVY. <i>War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495–1975</i> . By John A. Vasquez 1046  |
|   | JOHN A. VASQUEZ. <i>The Power of Power Politics: A Critique</i> . By William J. Newman 1046   |

- FRANK E. MANUEL. *The Changing of the Gods*. By William H. Dray 1047
- DOMINICK LACAPRA. *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*. By Hans Kellner 1048
- MARIE MARMO MULLANEY. *Revolutionary Women: Gender and the Socialist Revolutionary Role*. By Barbara Alpern Engel 1048
- DONALD R. HOPKINS. *Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History*. By John B. Blake 1049
- JACK GOODY. *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. By Suzanne F. Wemple 1050
- DAVID GRIGG. *The Dynamics of Agricultural Change: The Historical Experience*. By David C. Smith 1051
- CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE. *The Montgolfier Brothers and the Invention of Aviation, 1783–1784: With a Word on the Importance of Ballooning for the Science of Heat and the Art of Building Railroads*. By Tom D. Crouch 1052
- DAVID S. LANDES. *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*. By Richard D. Brown 1052

## ANCIENT

- JOHN BOARDMAN *et al.*, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 3, part 1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.* By Giorgio Buccellati 1054
- EHSAN YARSHATER, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 3, *The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods*. By Edwin M. Yamauchi 1055
- JON D. MIKALSON. *Athenian Popular Religion*. By Kevin Clinton 1057
- DAVID COHEN. *Theft in Athenian Law*. By Martin Ostwald 1057
- NAPHTALI LEWIS. *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*; J. F. DRINKWATER. *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC–AD 260*. By G. Michael Woloch 1058
- ROBERT L. WILKEN. *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*. By James E. Seaver 1059
- G. W. BOWERSOCK. *Roman Arabia*. By Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr. 1060

## MEDIEVAL

- ROLF SPRANDEL. *Altersschicksal und Altersmoral: Die Geschichte der Einstellungen zum Altern nach der Pariser Bibelexegese des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts*. By Wesley M. Stevens 1060
- RICHARD HODGES and DAVID WHITEHOUSE. *Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirene Thesis*. By Carla L. Klausner 1061
- JEAN LECLERCQ. *Le mariage vu par les moines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. By Penelope D. Johnson 1062
- ANTON SCHARER. *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*. By John J. Contreni 1063
- JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT. *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*. By Michael Goodich 1063
- ANWAR G. CHEJNE. *Islam and the West: The Moriscos; A Cultural and Social History*. By Frank Talmage 1064
- WOLFGANG HARTUNG. *Süddeutschland in der frühen Merowingerzeit: Studien zu Gesellschaft, Herrschaft, Stammesbildung bei Alamannen und Bajuwaren*. By David Harry Miller 1064

## MODERN EUROPE

- C. M. DENT. *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford*. By Paul S. Seaver 1065
- CHARLES CARLTON. *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*. By Joyce L. Malcolm 1066
- MICHAEL G. FINLAYSON. *Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics before and after the Interregnum*. By Roger Howell, Jr. 1066
- ELIZABETH READ FOSTER. *The House of Lords, 1603–1649: Structure, Procedure, and the Nature of Its Business*. By Howard Nenner 1067
- C. T. MCINTIRE. *England against the Papacy, 1558–1861: Tories, Liberals, and the Overthrow of Papal Temporal Power during the Italian Risorgimento*; MATTHIAS BUSCHKÜHL. *Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746–1870*. By Joseph P. Chinnici 1068
- JOHN W. SHIRLEY. *Thomas Harriot: A Biography*. By Richard S. Westfall 1069
- CICELY HOWELL. *Land, Family, and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280–1700*. By Ian D. Whyte 1070
- BARRY COWARD. *The Stanleys: Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385–1672; The Origins, Wealth, and Power of a Landowning Family*. By Martin Cherry 1071
- EDWARD M. SPIERS. *Radical General: Sir George de Lacy Evans, 1787–1870*. By J. B. Conacher 1071
- PHILIP F. REHBOCK. *The Philosophical Naturalists: Themes in Early Nineteenth-Century British Biology*. By Lois N. Magner 1072
- GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age*. By William Petersen 1073
- DEREK GREGORY. *Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution: A Geography of the Yorkshire Woollen Industry*. By Craig Calhoun 1074
- D. T. JENKINS and K. G. PONTING. *The British Wool Textile Industry, 1770–1914*. By Duncan Bythell 1074
- JOHN BENSON. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs*. By Robert Glen 1075
- JOHN P. HALSTEAD. *The Second British Empire: Trade, Philanthropy, and Good Government, 1820–1890*. By John Kandle 1076
- R. C. O. MATTHEWS *et al.* *British Economic Growth, 1856–1973*. By Derek H. Aldcroft 1077
- RICHARD DAVIS. *The English Rothschilds*. By Sydney H. Zebel 1077
- HAROLD POLLINS. *Economic History of the Jews in England*. By W. O. Henderson 1078
- JOSEPH BUCKMAN. *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880–1914*. By Colin Holmes 1079
- RENATE SIMPSON. *How the PhD Came to Britain: A Century of Struggle for Postgraduate Education*. By Peter R. H. Slee 1079
- OWEN CHADWICK. *Hensley Henson: A Study in the Friction between Church and State*. By Rene M. Kollar 1080
- IAN WATSON. *Song and Democratic Culture in Britain: An Approach to Popular Culture in Social Movements*. By Janet Oppenheim 1081
- M. L. SANDERS and PHILIP M. TAYLOR. *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914–18*. By Donald S. Birn 1081



- SHEILA LAWLOR. *Britain and Ireland, 1914–23*. By Joseph M. Curran 1082
- JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU. *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance économique et attraction urbaine*. By Julius R. Ruff 1083
- CLAUDE GRIMMER. *Vivre à Aurillac au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. By Patrice Higonnet 1083
- NORMAN HAMPSON. *Will and Circumstance: Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the French Revolution*. By R. Emmet Kennedy, Jr. 1084
- WILLIAM FORTESCUE. *Alphonse de Lamartine: A Political Biography*. By Peter H. Amann 1085
- STUART MICHAEL PERSELL. *The French Colonial Lobby, 1889–1938*. By Vincent Confer 1086
- MARIA GRAZIA MAIORINI. *Il Movimento Repubblicain Populaire partito della IV Repubblica*. By William D. Irvine 1086
- IRWIN M. WALL. *French Communism in the Era of Stalin: The Quest for Unity and Integration, 1945–1962*. By Robert Wohl 1087
- DAVID E. VASSBERG. *La venta de tierras baldías: El comunismo agrario y la corona de Castilla durante el siglo XVI*; MIGUEL ÁNGEL LADERO QUESADA. *El siglo XV en Castilla: Fuentes de renta y política fiscal*. By Ruth Pike 1088
- ALFREDO FLORISTÁN IMÍCOZ. *La Merindad de Estella en la edad moderna: Los hombres y la tierra*; MERCEDES BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ. *El mundo rural sevillano en el siglo XV: Aljarafe y Ribera*. By David E. Vassberg 1088
- TIMOTHY E. ANNA. *Spain and the Loss of America*. By Daniel R. Headrick 1090
- ANTONY BEEVOR. *The Spanish Civil War*. By Stanley G. Payne 1090
- NICOLE HAESSENNE-PEREMANS. *Les pauvres et le pouvoir: Assistance et répression au pays de Liège, 1685–1830*. By Robert S. Duplessis 1091
- FRANK C. SPOONER. *Risks at Sea: Amsterdam Insurance and Maritime Europe, 1766–1780*. By Stephen B. Baxter 1092
- HENRIK S. NISSEN, ed.. *Scandinavia during the Second World War*. By Steven Koblik 1092
- KARL-ERIK FRANDSEN. *Vang og tægt: Studier over dyrkningssystemer og agrarstrukturer i Danmarks landsbyer, 1682–83* ["Vang og Tægt": Studies of Field Systems and Agrarian Structures in the Villages of Denmark, 1682–83]. By Leland B. Sather 1093
- RAGNAR BJÖRK. *Den historiska argumenteringen: Konstruktion, narration och kolligation—förklaringsresonemang hos Nils Ahnlund och Erik Lönnroth* [The Historical Argumentation: Construction, Narration, and Colligation—Explanatory Reasoning in Works by Nils Ahnlund and Erik Lönnroth]. By Peter Vinten-Johansen 1094
- GÜNTER BARUDIO. *Gustav Adolf—der Grosse: Eine politische Biographie*. By Bodo Nischan 1095
- ANDREAS TJERNELD. *Från borgarståndets storhetstid: Statsbudgeten som partiskiljande fråga i den sena ståndsriksdagen* [The Grand Era of the Burghers: The Budget as a Party-Making Issue in the Late Riksdag of Estates in Sweden]. By Heinz E. Ellersieck 1095
- KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE. *The Fertility Transition in Sweden: A Preliminary Look at Smaller Geographic Units, 1855–1890*. By Michael Drake 1096
- MAX ENGMAN. *St. Petersburg och Finland: Migration och influens, 1703–1917* [St. Petersburg and Finland: Migration and Influence, 1703–1917]. By David L. Ransel 1097
- MIRJA HÄRKÖNEN. *Kouluylihallituksen ensimmäisen päällikön Casimir von Kothenin koulupolitiikka: Taustaa-tavoitteita-tuloksia* [The School Policy of Casimir von Kothén, the First Director of the Board of Education: Background, Objectives, Results]. By Roberta G. Selleck 1097
- MARJORIE O'ROURKE BOYLE. *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther*. By James D. Tracy 1098
- THOMAS NIPPERDEY. *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*. By Theodore S. Hamerow 1099
- HANS-GERHARD HUSUNG. *Protest und Repression im Vormärz: Norddeutschland zwischen Restauration und Revolution*. By Loyd E. Lee 1100
- ROBERT J. RUBANOWICE. *Crisis in Consciousness: The Thought of Ernst Troeltsch*. By Robert Anchor 1101
- JOHN HIDEN and JOHN FARQUHARSON. *Explaining Hitler's Germany: Historians and the Third Reich*. By Michael H. Kater 1102
- WINFRIED EBERHARD. *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen, 1478–1530*. By John Klassen 1102
- JOHN KOMLOS. *The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union: Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century*. By Nachum T. Gross 1103
- ARNOLD SUPPAN. *Die österreichischen Volksgruppen: Tendenzen ihrer gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung im 20. Jahrhundert*. By Gary B. Cohen 1104
- GYÖRGY RÁNKI. *Economy and Foreign Policy: The Struggle of the Great Powers for Hegemony in the Danube Valley, 1919–1939*. By Alice Teichova 1104
- MARCO BOARI. *Qui venit contra iura: Il furiosus nella criminalistica dei secoli XV e XVI*. By Guido Ruggiero 1105
- JOHN F. D'AMICO. *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. By James Michael Weiss 1106
- D. V. KENT and F. W. KENT. *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*. By Ronald F. E. Weissman 1107
- JUDITH BRYCE. *Cosimo Bartoli, 1503–1572: The Career of a Florentine Polymath*. By Charles L. Stinger 1108
- BRIAN PULLAN. *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670*. By Edward Muir 1109
- DAVID WOOTTON. *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment*. By Paul F. Grendler 1109
- PARASCHIVA CÂNCEA et al., eds. *Istoria parlamentului și a vieții parlamentare din România pînă la 1918* [History of Parliament and of Parliamentary Activity in Romania to 1918]. By Frederick Kellogg 1110
- BÉLA KÖPECZI. *Staatsräson und christliche Solidarität: Die ungarischen Aufstände und Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. By Karl A. Roider, Jr. 1111
- JOHANNES WACHTEN, ed.. *Theodor Herzl: Briefe und Tagebücher*. Vol. 1, *Theodor Herzl: Briefe und autobiographische Notizen, 1866–1895*; ANDREW HANDLER. *Dori: The Life and Times of Theodor Herzl in Budapest, 1860–1878*. By Lawrence Schofer 1111
- ZSUZSA L. NAGY. *The Liberal Opposition in Hungary, 1919–1945*. By Gabor P. Vermes 1112
- YESHAYAHU A. JELINEK. *The Lust for Power: Nationalism, Slovakia, and the Communists, 1918–1948*. By Stanislav Kirschbaum 1113
- JOHN-PAUL HIMKA. *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860–1890*. By Tadeusz Swietochowski 1114

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI. *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*. By Stephan M. Horak 1115

BARBARA JELAVICH. *History of the Balkans*. Vol. 1, *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*; vol. 2, *Twentieth Century*. By Stephen Fischer-Galati 1116

E. V. ANISIMOV. *Podatnaia reforma Petra I: Vvedenie podushnoi podati v Rossii, 1719–1728 gg.* [The Tax Reform of Peter I: The Introduction of the Poll Tax in Russia, 1719–28]. By Joseph T. Fuhrmann 1117

THOMAS C. OWEN. *Capitalism and Politics in Russia: A Social History of the Moscow Merchants, 1855–1905*. By R. E. Johnson 1117

GEORGE YANEY. *The Urge to Mobilize: Agrarian Reform in Russia, 1861–1930*. By Terence Emmons 1118

DOROTHY ATKINSON. *The End of the Russian Land Commune, 1905–1930*. By James H. Bater 1119

ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN. *Lenin and the Problem of Marxist Peasant Revolution*. By William H. Shaw 1120

ANDREW EZERGAILIS. *The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution: The First Phase; September 1917 to April 1918*. By Paul Avrich 1121

CARMEN SIRIANNI. *Workers Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experience*. By S. A. Smith 1122

JOHN ERICKSON. *The Road to Berlin: Continuing the History of Stalin's War with Germany*. By Michael Parrish 1122

J. D. PARKS. *Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: American-Soviet Cultural Relations, 1917–1958*. By Robert F. Byrnes 1123

#### NEAR EAST

RUDI PAUL LINDNER. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. By Norman Itzkowitz 1124

ANN K. S. LAMBTON. *State and Government in Medieval Islam; An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists*. By Franz Rosenthal 1125

ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU. *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300–1415)*. By George T. Dennis 1126

CHARLES A. FRAZEE. *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*. By Benjamin Braude 1127

JOHN WATERBURY. *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes*. By Iliya Harik 1127

CHARLES D. SMITH. *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal*. By Helen Anne B. Rivlin 1128

#### AFRICA

B. MARIE PERINBAM. *Holy Violence: The Revolutionary Thought of Frantz Fanon; An Intellectual Biography*. By Irene L. Gendzier 1129

ELLEN G. FRIEDMAN. *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*. By Andrew C. Hess 1129

JOHN K. THORNTON. *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718*. By Robert Harms 1130

MARY MCCARTHY. *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States, 1807–1874*. By Henrika Kuklick 1130

CARL WIESE. *Expedition in East-Central Africa, 1888–1891: A Report*. By Robert Garfield 1131

DAN O'MEARA. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934–1948*. By Leonard Thompson 1132

HAROLD G. MARCUS. *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States, 1941–1974: The Politics of Empire*. By John A. Denovo 1132

#### ASIA AND THE EAST

JOHN K. FAIRBANK, editor. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 12, *Republican China, 1912–1949*. Part I. By Jerome B. Grieder 1133

JOHN W. DARDESS. *Confucianism and Autocracy: Professional Elites in the Founding of the Ming Dynasty*. By Edward L. Dreyer 1134

JAMES REEVE PUSEY. *China and Charles Darwin*. By Charlotte Furth 1135

RODERICK MACFARQUHAR. *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*. Vol. 2, *The Great Leap Forward, 1958–1960*. By Harold C. Hinton 1136

SHARON L. SIEVERS. *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. By Joyce C. Lebra 1137

W. MARK FRUIN. *Kikkoman: Company, Clan, and Community*. By Hugh Patrick 1137

MANI KAMERKAR. *British Paramountcy: British-Baroda Relations, 1818–1848*. By Edward C. Moulton 1138

MICHELLE BURGE MCALPIN. *Subject to Famine: Food Crises and Economic Change in Western India, 1860–1920*. By Paul Greenough 1139

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER. *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850–1903*. By Michael Paul Onorato 1140

LAURENCE K. L. SIAW. *Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jelebu*. By John G. Butcher 1140

P. G. EDWARDS. *Prime Ministers and Diplomats: The Making of Australian Foreign Policy, 1901–1949*. By Harry G. Gelber 1141

MICHAEL STURMA. *Vice in a Vicious Society: Crime and Convicts in Mid-Nineteenth Century New South Wales*. By David S. Macmillan 1142

LLOYD ROBSON. *A History of Tasmania*. Vol. 1, *Van Diemen's Land from the Earliest Times to 1855*. By Samuel Clyde McCulloch 1143

#### UNITED STATES

NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The Creation of Modern Georgia*. By Paul D. Casdorph 1144

JOHN K. MAHON. *History of the Militia and the National Guard*. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. 1144

WILLIAM L. SHEA. *The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century*. By Lawrence Delbert Cress 1145

KYM S. RICE. *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers*. By Rhys Isaac 1145

GREGORY H. NOBLES. *Divisions Throughout the Whole: Politics and Society in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1740–1775*. By Gary B. Nash 1146

JOY DAY BUEL and RICHARD BUEL, JR. *The Way of Duty: A Woman and her Family in Revolutionary America*. By Carol Ruth Berkin 1147

- JOHN R. ALDEN. *Stephen Sayre: American Revolutionary Adventurer*. By Jonathan R. Dull 1147
- JAN LEWIS. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*. By Peter Dobkin Hall 1148
- HENDRIK HARTOG. *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York, 1730–1870*. By Stanley N. Katz 1149
- GILBERT C. DIN and ABRAHAM P. NASATIR. *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*. By R. David Edmunds 1149
- GILBERTO MIGUEL HINOJOSA. *A Borderlands Town in Transition: Laredo, 1755–1870*. By Arnolde de León 1150
- ROBERT W. HAYMAN. *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence, 1780–1886*. By Patrick W. Carey 1151
- JOHN OWEN KING III. *The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis*. By Henry Nash Smith 1151
- DANIEL P. JORDAN. *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia*. By Harry Ammon 1152
- J. C. A. STAGG. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830*; GEORGE F. G. STANLEY. *The War of 1812: Land Operations*. By Reginald Horsman 1153
- ROBERT S. BROWNING III. *Two If by Sea: The Development of American Coastal Defense Policy*. By Craig L. Symonds 1154
- JEAN V. MATTHEWS. *Rufus Choate: The Law and Civic Virtue*. By David J. Bodenhamer 1155
- WALTER STRUVE. *Die Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Auswanderung, Handel und gesellschaftlichem Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert, Mit den Briefen eines deutschen Kaufmans und Landwirts in Texas, 1844–1845*. By Leo Schelbert 1155
- VICTOR WESTPHALL. *Mercedes Reales: Hispanic Land Grants of the Upper Rio Grande Region*. By David J. Weber 1156
- JONATHAN PRUDE. *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860*. By Bruce Laurie 1157
- STEPHEN E. MAIZLISH. *The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844–1856*. By Robert W. Johannsen 1158
- ALAN M. KRAUT, editor. *Crusaders and Compromisers: Essays on the Relationship of the Antislavery Struggle to the Antebellum Party System*. By Michael F. Holt 1158
- R. J. M. BLACKETT. *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860*. By Richard H. Sewell 1159
- ERIC FONER. *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy*. By Ronald Takaki 1160
- CHARLES L. FLYNN, JR. *White Land, Black Labor: Caste and Class in Late Nineteenth-Century Georgia*. By Jonathan M. Wiener 1161
- ROBERT LESLIE JONES. *History of Agriculture in Ohio to 1880*. By John T. Schlebecker 1161
- JUDITH ANN BENNER. *Sul Ross: Soldier, Statesman, Educator*. By Robert A. Calvert 1162
- JOHN FREDERICK CONE. *First Rival of the Metropolitan Opera*. By H. Wayne Morgan 1162
- ALBERT E. MOYER. *American Physics in Transition: A History of Conceptual Change in the Late Nineteenth Century*. By William McGucken 1163
- HARTMUT KEIL and JOHN B. JENTZ, eds. *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850–1910: A Comparative Perspective*. By John Bodnar 1164
- MICHAEL NASH. *Conflict and Accommodation: Coal Miners, Steel Workers, and Socialism, 1890–1920*. By Sally M. Miller 1164
- MARGERY W. DAVIES. *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870–1930*; ELYCE J. ROTELLA. *From Home to Office: U.S. Women at Work, 1870–1930*. By Barbara Melosh 1165
- JAMES SUMMERVILLE. *Educating Black Doctors: A History of Meharry Medical College*. By Robert G. Sherer 1166
- PAUL W. KEVE. *The McNeil Century: The Life and Times of an Island Prison*. By David Young 1166
- GERALD N. GROB. *Mental Illness and American Society, 1875–1940*. By Norman Dain 1167
- DONALD J. MROZEK. *Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1910*. By Allen Guttman 1168
- BARBARA M. BRENZEL. *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856–1905*. By Walter I. Trattner 1169
- DAVID I. MACLEOD. *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870–1920*. By Robert H. Bremner 1169
- JOHN MILTON COOPER, JR. *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt*. By David W. Noble 1170
- LEWIS BAKER. *The Percys of Mississippi: Politics and Literature in the New South*. By Michael O'Brien 1171
- WILLIAM H. CUMBERLAND. *Wallace M. Short: Iowa Rebel*. By Ronald L. Feinman 1171
- RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX and T. J. JACKSON LEARS, eds. *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*. By John F. Kasson 1172
- PAUL BARRETT. *The Automobile and Urban Transit: The Formation of Public Policy in Chicago, 1900–1930*. By James J. Flink 1172
- JOHN R. STILGOE. *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene*. By Robert C. Post 1174
- MARK NAISON. *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*. By Paul Lyons 1174
- JOHN H. MOLLENKOPF. *The Contested City*. By Mark I. Gelfand 1175
- RONALD K. GOODENOW and DIANE RAVITCH, eds. *Schools in Cities: Consensus and Conflict in American Educational History*. By Marvin Lazerson 1176
- M. CHRISTINE BOYER. *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*. By Roger D. Simon 1176
- SERGE GUILBAUT. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*. By George H. Roeder, Jr. 1177
- ARNOLD M. EISEN. *The Chosen People in America: A Study in Jewish Religious Ideology*. By Joseph P. Schultz 1178
- JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELI. *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940*. By Myron Berman 1179
- NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER. *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949–1950*. By Akira Iriye 1180
- ROBIN W. DOUGHTY. *Wildlife and Man in Texas: Environmental Change and Conservation*. By James A. Tober 1180

BEN W. TWIGHT. <i>Organizational Values and Political Power: The Forest Service versus the Olympic National Park.</i> By Thomas G. Alexander	1181	RICHARD B. LINDLEY. <i>Haciendas and Economic Development: Guadalajara, Mexico, at Independence</i> By William B. Taylor	1189
ELMO RICHARDSON. <i>David T. Mason, Forestry Advocate: His Role in the Application of Sustained Yield Management to Private and Public Forest Lands.</i> By Susan R. Schrepfer	1182	JOHN E. KICZA. <i>Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City.</i> By Richard J. Salvucci	1189
DAVID E. WHISNANT. <i>All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region.</i> By Henry D. Shapiro	1183	JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. <i>Diccionario de las letras nicaragüenses.</i> Part 1, <i>Escritores de la época colonial y el siglo XIX</i> ; JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. <i>Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense</i> ; JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. <i>Bibliografía general de Nicaragua.</i> Part 1, 1674-1900. By E. Bradford Burns	1190
ROBERT FRIEDEL. <i>Pioneer Plastic: The Making and Selling of Celluloid.</i> By Harold Issadore Sharlin	1183	MANUEL TORRES MARÍN. <i>Chacabuco y Vergara: Sino y camino del Teniente General Rafael Maroto Ysern.</i> By Thomas C. Wright	1192
EDWARD H. BERMAN. <i>The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy.</i> By Frank Ninkovich	1184	JOE FOWERAKER. <i>The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day.</i> By Warren Dean	1193
LEO P. RIBUFFO. <i>The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War.</i> By Leonard Dinnerstein	1185	BRIAN H. SMITH. <i>The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism.</i> By Daniel H. Levine	1193
WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG. <i>In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan.</i> By Herbert S. Parmet	1185	MARK D. SZUCHMAN. <i>Mobility and Integration in Urban Argentina: Córdoba in the Liberal Era.</i> By Joseph S. Tulchin	1194
LATIN AMERICA			
FREDERICK STIRTON WEAVER. <i>Class, State, and Industrial Structure: The Historical Process of South American Industrial Growth.</i> By Donald S. Barnhart	1186	Collected Essays	1195
GEORGE PHILIP. <i>Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies.</i> By Laura Randall	1187	Documents and Bibliographies	1203
MARGARITA MORENO BONETT. <i>Nacionalismo Novohispano: Mariano Veytia; Historia Antigua, Fundación de Puebla, Guadalupeanismo.</i> By Benjamin Keen	1188	Other Books Received	1207
		Communications	1217
		Index of Advertisers	42(a)



---

## Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America

---

DOROTHY ROSS

IN HIS CLASSIC STUDY of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social thought in America, Morton White suggested that Progressives were the first social thinkers to take seriously the idea that society must be understood as a product of continuous historical change. This understanding of history, he noted, came late to America.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, that is something of an understatement, for Europeans preceded us in their awareness of historicism by almost a hundred years—rather long for a provincial lag. If White's timing is correct, and I believe it is, the belated appearance of historicism in American culture is more striking and problematical than he realized. Historicism took root in America just at the moment when Europeans began to recognize its disturbing relativistic implications and make efforts to escape them. This contrasting development offers opportunities for comparative analysis and requires a closer look at historical consciousness in America before the Progressives. White did not ask how Americans understood history prior to the advent of historicism. Until we have answered that question, we cannot know whether the victory of historicism was as complete as he presumed. What White presented as an unalloyed triumph of historicism may well turn out to be a more complex story than he allowed.

The foundation on which to build an understanding of historical consciousness in nineteenth-century America has been constructed by two generations of scholars of Puritanism and millennialism—most notably Perry Miller, Ernest Tuveson, and Sacvan Bercovitch.<sup>2</sup> More recently historians have recognized that republicanism is an essential part of the structure.<sup>3</sup> Although much more primary research needs to

I would like to thank James Gilbert, Doris Goldstein, David Hall, John Higham, David Hollinger, Daniel Horowitz, David Levin, Pauline Maier, James McLachlan, Erik Midelfort, and David W. Noble for their challenging comments on various versions of this paper. A National Science Foundation grant, No. SES-7923830, provided funds for the research on which part of this essay is based.

<sup>1</sup> White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (rev. edn., Boston, 1957), 11.

<sup>2</sup> Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), and *Nature's Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation* (Chicago, 1968); and Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, 1978). Also see Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); and J. F. Maclear, "The Republic and the Millennium," in Elwyn A. Smith, ed., *The Religion of the Republic* (Philadelphia, 1971), 183–216.

<sup>3</sup> Douglass Adair, "'Experience Must Be Our Only Guide': History, Democratic Theory, and the U.S. Constitution," in Adair, *Fame and the Founding Fathers* (New York, 1974), 107–23; Caroline Robbins, *The*

be done, we can already discern the general outline of the historical outlook of the nineteenth century and how it changed in the Gilded Age.

"HISTORICISM" HAS BEEN USED to describe a number of different historical viewpoints. In this essay the term is defined in its broadest, and deceptively simplest, meaning: historicism is the doctrine that all historical phenomena can be understood historically, that all events in historical time can be explained by prior events in historical time. Although traces of this understanding of history appeared in other epochs and places, its full comprehension was a late and complex achievement of the modern West.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the Middle Ages, history was not understood as fully self-explanatory. The ultimate causes and meaning of historical events on earth were understood by Christians to lie in the supernatural world, in the sequence of eternal Christian time within which earthly history was enacted. This long-dominant view, combined with the heritage of classical idealism, sharply limited the understanding of historical change and its human causes. History was understood as the scene of divine action, as pure chance, as timeless custom, or as devolution or decay from ideal forms.<sup>5</sup>

The development of historicism, therefore, was closely bound up with the process of secularization. The changing earthly world had to be loosed from the eternal world of God and his immutable truth. Value and meaning had to be found in the secular world, and secular modes of understanding historical change had to gain authority. Moreover, change itself had to be understood as real change—as a succession of qualitatively different phenomena—and not merely as random variations, the surface appearance of essentially unchanging things, or the recurring cycle of an endless wheel. The past had to be both decisively different from and causally linked to the present. It was not until after the French Revolution and the advent of romanticism that all these factors came fully into play and historicism clearly appeared. The result was a view of history in which time moved ever forward, earthly causes were sufficient to explain its motion, and those causes were seen to operate in a succession of qualitatively different historical contexts.

The views of history that appeared in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe were, from this later perspective, prehistoricist. The growing secular understanding of historical change was still associated with divine power and the immutable laws and values God had bestowed on humanity. The idea of progress

---

*Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton, 1975); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty* (New Haven, 1977); and Dorothy Ross, "The Liberal Tradition Revisited and the Republican Tradition Addressed," in John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> My definition follows one given by Hayden V. White. See his "On History and Historicisms," in Carlo Antoni, ed., *From History to Sociology: The Transition in German Historical Thinking* (Detroit, 1959), xv–xxviii. A conception of historicism more closely attuned to German idealism is discussed in Georg G. Iggers's *The German Conception of History* (Middletown, Conn., 1968). For a philosophical definition of historicism, which specifically excludes the historian's "historical sense," see Maurice H. Mandelbaum, *History, Man, and Reason: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (Baltimore, 1971), pt. 2, and "Historicism," in Paul Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 4 (New York, 1967): 22–25.

<sup>5</sup> Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, pt. 1.

that emerged in the eighteenth century, with its confidence in human powers and unidirectional sense of time, was a major step in the direction of historicism, but it did not always cross the divide. Even if history was seen to progress, progress itself could be understood as the product of extrahistorical phenomena—as the appearance in history of a timeless reason or the working out of God's millennial plan.<sup>6</sup>

Recently J. G. A. Pocock has shown that republicanism was another important carrier of early modern historical attitudes, one that could generate historical images of both immutability and change. Republicanism, in Pocock's view, was an attempt to realize the universal values of the polis in historical time and was, hence, a decisive step in the direction of historicism. But in the early modern period the republican polity was thought to be ravaged inevitably by the destructive effects of time; the republic was only a moment in a recurrent cycle of corruption and decay. In their efforts to forestall decay, republican thinkers came to an increasingly sophisticated understanding of historical causation. In mid-eighteenth-century Britain they concluded that the simple agrarian conditions that secured the health of the republic belonged to a primitive past and that the cause of republican decay was actually the modern civilization and refinement Europe called progress. In this impasse, according to Pocock, reactionary "country" republicans held fast to virtue; they sought to stay or turn back the hand of time through calls for a return to first principles and republican purity. But "court" Whigs compromised their values in favor of progress, suggesting that history could be managed, and Scottish thinkers like Adam Smith abandoned the republic for liberal improvement and turned the republican cycle into a historicist multistage theory of progress.<sup>7</sup> By the late eighteenth century, therefore, Americans, like Europeans, had at hand complex attitudes about history, which could as easily propel them into historicism as hold them in the grip of early modern stasis.

The French Revolution, and more particularly its failure, is generally regarded as instrumental in moving European thinkers toward historicism. As the Revolution fell into tyranny and reaction and carried its conflicts into other countries of Europe, the millennial hopes it had aroused were projected into the secular future, and its universal claims were countered by a new awareness of the individuality of different cultures and histories. Henceforth, many Europeans sought in the changing forms of history the moral values they had previously grounded in the enduring truths of religion and reason. The new historicism was most evident in Germany, but it became visible as well in the national histories and social thought of England, France, and Italy.<sup>8</sup> That America did not follow Europe into historicism may in large part be owed to the success of its revolution, which generated a different moral strategy.

The success of the Revolution and the establishment of republican government

<sup>6</sup> Mandelbaum, *History, Man, and Reason*, pt. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, pts. 2, 3; and Duncan Forbes, "'Scientific' Whiggism: Adam Smith and John Millar," *Cambridge Journal*, 7 (1954): 643–70.

<sup>8</sup> M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York, 1971); Iggers, *German Conception of History*; Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of LaCurne de Sainte-Palaye* (Baltimore, 1968); and Thomas Preston Peardon, *The Transition in English Historical Writing, 1760–1830* (New York, 1966).

in the Constitution were largely understood in America as events in Christian and republican time. Protestant Americans had available in the history of New England a Christian paradigm to which the establishment of the new nation could be assimilated. Reformation prophecy allowed the millennium to be seen as a progressive historical period into which the reformed world was about to enter, and the Puritan errand had moved the scene of that hope to the New World. When independence was won, fervent Protestants identified the American republic with the advent of that millennial period, which was to usher in the final salvation of mankind and the end of history. America thus represented a radical break in history and a radical breakthrough of God's time into secular history. The country's progress would be the unfolding of the millennial seed, rather than a process of historical change.<sup>9</sup>

In republican historical perspective, too, the successful establishment of republican government appeared as a radical break in the old cycles of history. The "country" republicanism that most deeply influenced Americans sought above all to protect republican values from the corrosion of time, and after the Constitution this goal appeared within reach. By creating a new kind of democratic republic, America appeared to have solved the ills that had always destroyed republics in the past. The cyclical view of history in classical republicanism began to give way to the possibility of perpetual life. Following the lead of Scottish social thinkers, Americans assumed for the country a position somewhere between the agrarian and commercial stages of development; they concluded that America's huge reservoir of land would preserve its agrarian character and, together with republican institutions, insure its progress virtually in perpetuity. Unlike the nations of the past, America would never grow old.<sup>10</sup> American republicans turned Adam Smith's historicist view of progress into the vision of a society that, even while progressing, could escape historical change.

The millennial investment of the American republic thus turned the past into prologue and the future into fulfillment of America's republican destiny. Reinforced by nationalism and Protestant religiosity, the linkage proved remarkably resilient through the nineteenth century. Indeed, the tie between republic and millennium, once established, set up tensions that reinforced the fusion. Once they accepted the divine end of history, religious minds found it difficult to conceive of human history in other than divine terms. In the words of Elias L. Magoon (described as one of the "most eloquent apostles of Western progress"), "Without an intelligent faith in the divine purpose to incite and control perpetual progress toward the perfection of mankind, history is an insoluble enigma, a huge pile of detached fragments, and the great drama of humanity must forever remain devoid of all proper results."<sup>11</sup> There were republican reasons, too, as Pocock argued, why

<sup>9</sup> Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*; and Hatch, *Sacred Cause of Liberty*.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill, 1969), chaps. 13, 15; and Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic* (Chapel Hill, 1980). The dominant conception of the future that Rush Welter found in antebellum popular discourse was not one that projected qualitative change. "The future would be an occasion only for the elaboration and extension of institutions the Americans had already introduced"; Welter, *The Mind of America, 1820–1860* (New York, 1975), pt. 1, esp. p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Elias L. Magoon, "Westward Empire; or, the Great Drama of Human Progress," as quoted in Arthur A. Ekirch, *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815–1860* (New York, 1944), 105.



history could not be fully trusted to human powers. The fear that republics must decay was not entirely vanquished by the idea of progress. For many, the secular conditions that maintained the republic postponed rather than eliminated the possibility of decline.<sup>12</sup> Once accepted, moreover, divine help itself generated human uncertainty. God, after all, can never be fully grasped in human terms, and to reject God was a common human experience. The jeremiad and the republican rhetoric of corruption formed an alliance, and the cycle of anxiety and assurance they jointly set in motion could be self-perpetuating. During the 1820s and 1830s, a new generation, anxious about its ability to sustain the virtuous republic of the founders, eased its qualms with a new burst of evangelical piety and nationalism that sealed America's millennial identity.<sup>13</sup> If the failure of the French Revolution forced Europeans to ground their values in the forward movement of history and opened them to the dangers of historical time, the success of the American Revolution allowed Americans to seek moral assurance in divine protection and subjected them to the anxieties of millennial time.

In this context, the vast continent of virgin land that offered America an escape from republican decay assumed increasing, and mythic, importance. Since the time of discovery, Europeans had projected utopian fantasies onto the New World; Locke could, as a matter of course, envision it as his state of nature. In the romantic age, the American West was endowed with the energies of dynamic nature and became identified with America's millennial future. By moving ever westward, Americans could expand their empire in the cause of liberty and perpetually renew their virtue. They could relegate history to the past while they acted out their destiny in the realm of nature. They could develop in space rather than in time.<sup>14</sup> Linking his analysis to the work of previous students of American culture, Pocock affirmed that the westward escape from history into millennial-utopian nature constituted the metahistorical structure within which Americans have understood their relationship to the past and the future down to the present day. American historical consciousness, he concluded, has remained prehistoricist, framed by a romanticized version of an early modern pattern of attachment to God's eternal plan outside of history.<sup>15</sup>

THE MILLENNIAL INVESTMENT of the American republic is, I believe, as so much scholarship has indicated, the key to historical consciousness in the nineteenth century. But that formulation should be the beginning rather than the end of our understanding. Studies of millennial history have tended to focus on that theme alone, not on historical consciousness as a whole. Sometimes authors have concen-

<sup>12</sup> Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, chap. 15; and McCoy, *Elusive Republic*, chaps. 6–10.

<sup>13</sup> Hatch, *Sacred Cause of Liberty*, chaps. 2, 3; James H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860–69* (New Haven, 1978), 10–11, 49; and Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815–1860* (Ithaca, 1967).

<sup>14</sup> Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1955); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (Oxford, 1964); and David W. Noble, *Historians against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830* (Minneapolis, 1965), and *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis, 1958).

<sup>15</sup> Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, chap. 15.

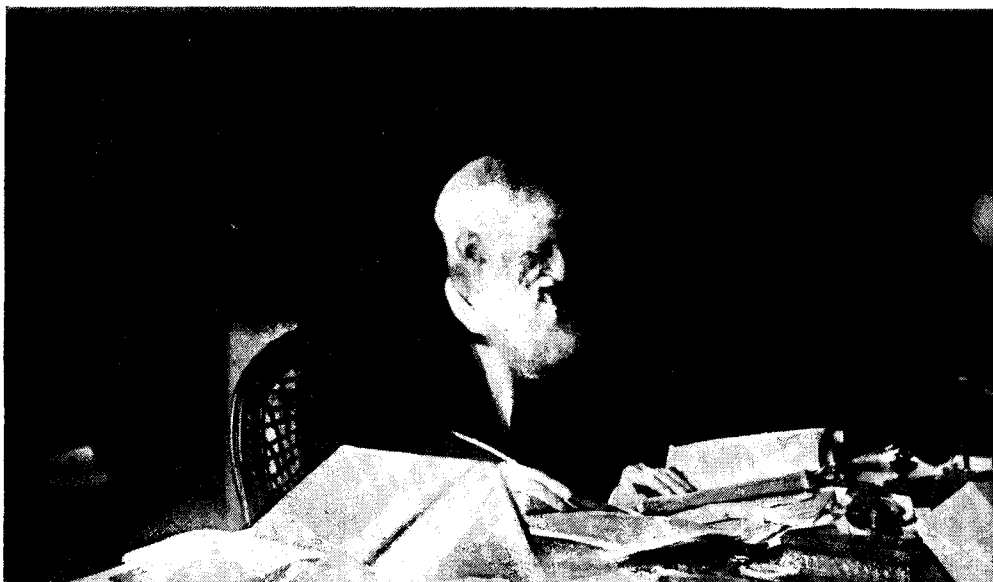


Figure 1: George Bancroft, President of the American Historical Association, 1885–86.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.

trated so single-mindedly on the fable of America's escape into nature that they appear unaware of the wider implications of the subject, particularly the complexity of, and changes in, American views on the nature of history.

While some of the major historians of the nineteenth century have been studied, surprisingly little is known about the widespread discussions of history in lesser works and in the culture at large. Even the writings on major figures seldom make use of a comparative understanding of European historicism or adequately distinguish millennial, republican, and romantic themes.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the millennial theory as it stands in the literature today asserts too much. What are we to make of Morton White's counterthesis? If, as we know, early precursors of historicism were present in America as well as Europe, if European historicist literature was often studied by Americans, and if historicism itself appeared in the works of American historical and social thinkers by the late nineteenth century, what role did millennial metahistory play in this development and how did it change over time? Lester H. Cohen's complex analysis of the Revolutionary historians is a model of the kind of studies needed; his work reveals, however, how much we still need to learn about when, where, and how historicism entered American culture and about the ways in which it overcame and was overcome by prehistoricist countercurrents.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> David D. Van Tassel's *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884* (Chicago, 1960) is still useful and insightful. George H. Callcott's *History in the U.S., 1800–1860: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore, 1970) suggests the riches still awaiting study. David Levin's *History as Romantic Art* (Stanford, 1959) remains the best study of the major historians of the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> Lester H. Cohen has argued that Revolutionary historians traced the events they described to natural causes and used Providence as a metaphor rather than as an explanatory category; Cohen, *The Revolutionary Histories* (Ithaca, 1980). Cohen's work is convincing in showing a much greater degree of secularization in the Revolutionary histories than in seventeenth-century New England histories, although I believe the process was not nearly as complete at the end of the eighteenth century as he suggested—nor through most of the nineteenth. Providence remained an important historical theme because the full meaning of history could not be explained by natural causes alone. Gordon S. Wood has broadened the discussion of American historical

Pending this more detailed work, it is useful to look at the most frequently studied American historian of the nineteenth century, George Bancroft. Whether or not Bancroft will stand as *the* representative historian of his age in the revised scholarly map of the future, he was certainly *a* representative historian. Many features of his nationalistic ideology were shared by his contemporaries, and his book sales made him the most popular historian of the century. As such, he can offer considerable insight into the way in which the millennial conception of the American republic limited historical consciousness in the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

The characteristic of Bancroft's *History* that most obviously links it to early modern modes of historical perception is its retention of Providence as an active, shaping force in history. Bancroft's work was preeminently a history of the millennial American republic, and in it the divine end required divine power. Providence was present in every chapter and incident that described the marvelous success of the American enterprise, arousing "amazement" and "astonishment" at what could only be God's guiding plan. Bancroft was perfectly aware of the reality of human causation, and he noticed historical contingency. A different character at a different place or time would have altered the outcome. "Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent," he wrote, "the old English institutions would have been planted with the Roman Catholic hierarchy." But such contingencies did not stand by themselves. They were woven into a fabric of Providential design, and hence their effect was to heighten our awareness of divine power rather than of human power in history.<sup>19</sup>

The relationship between Christianity and the development of historicism was complex. The process of secularization was carried forward by the turn away from divinity to the secular world and by the concomitant transfer of Christian forms of meaning to the secular sphere. In the same way, historicism emerged from both secular efforts to understand the world in its own terms and devout efforts to invest it with Christian meaning. The desire to trace the hand of God in history, for example, in some ways heightened the Puritans' historical consciousness. And the Christian view that eternal time was punctuated by an ascending sequence of sacred events itself helped create—when projected into secular time—linear and saltatory conceptions of historical progress. It was precisely the projection into history of such future-oriented millennial and apocalyptic meanings, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, that generated European historicism.<sup>20</sup>

---

consciousness in an illuminating way but left nineteenth-century historiography largely unexamined. See his "Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 401–41.

<sup>18</sup> Russell B. Nye, *George Bancroft* (New York, 1964), chap. 4; Wesley Frank Craven, *The Legend of the Founding Fathers* (New York, 1956), chap. 3; and Levin, *History as Romantic Art*, chaps. 2, 4.

<sup>19</sup> George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1837–74), 1: 1–4, 308, 3: 1–2, 4: 368–70, 386–87, 9: 235, and *History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1883–85), 6: 450–51. Bancroft's German mentor, Arnold Heeren, whose work Bancroft translated, also noted contingency in history, but his tone was quarrelsome rather than complacent, reminding his readers of what a difficult job we humans could have had on our hands, rather than of the fine job God had accomplished. A. H. L. Heeren, *History of the Political System of Europe and Its Colonies*, trans. George Bancroft, 2 vols. (Northampton, 1829), I: vii, 38–40, 60–62, 90–93, 257–60, 2: 9–10, 89–90, 139, 276–77, 398.

<sup>20</sup> David Levin, "William Bradford: The Value of Puritan Historiography," in Everett Emerson, ed., *Major Writers of Early American Literature* (Madison, 1972), 11–31; Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*; and Abrams, *Natural*

The American desire to retain God in history, however, was far more likely to hinder, not encourage, historicism. When the young Bancroft was sent to Germany to study philology, that subject was already being used to interpret the Bible as a historical document and to strengthen idealist philosophies that turned the historical progress of reason into the revelation of God's plan for mankind. The German idealism he studied constituted a new theology in which history replaced the Bible as the record of God's will. Leopold Ranke could dispense with references to God in his texts because the whole of man's historical experience was for him the revelation of divine purpose.<sup>21</sup>

To Christian scholars in America this heretical doctrine had but limited appeal, for it meant the abandonment of traditional forms of Christian belief. Not until late in the century did German idealism make substantial headway in America, and orthodox American scholars continued even then to reject its historicist implications, some preferring to accept the bizarre historical constructions of premillennial dispensationalism rather than jeopardize biblical revelation. In this aggressively Christian environment Bancroft had constantly to offer proofs of his orthodoxy while a student, and as a popular author he presented with evident sincerity his partially liberalized version of God-in-history as a devout form of Christian belief. In nineteenth-century America, Protestant religiosity not only supported America's millennial project but also actively opposed the introduction of ideas that could have turned that project toward historicism.<sup>22</sup>

If Bancroft presented history as only partially self-explanatory, he also failed to accept the historicist consequences of his own romantic and idealistic impulses. Although he was influenced by these currents in Germany and anxious to develop them in America, his formulation of them remained governed by static modes of historical understanding rooted in Christian values. Perhaps the chief secular dimension of causation that Bancroft developed was the intellectual. Progress, he argued, was the progress of reason and learning, and it was the *idea* of liberty, embodied in American minds and institutions, that triumphed in American history. Bancroft wrote some interesting passages on intellectual history, but he insisted on telling his readers that what he was describing was not real historical change but the progressive realization of God's eternal truth, which cannot change over time. He reduced Protestant and American liberty to the idea of individuality and described it as unchanging in itself while being progressively realized in history.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, in

---

*Supernaturalism.* The idea of special election thus appeared in the new national histories, though exercising a metaphorical rather than a literal function. In connection with the nineteenth-century Whig view of England's special political mission to the world, J. W. Burrow remarked that "in the years after the Congress of Vienna there seems to have been virtually no country or ethnic group so obscure that it failed to find publicists ready to claim for it the role of the messiah of the nations"; Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981), 32.

<sup>21</sup> Iggers, *German Idea of History*.

<sup>22</sup> Nye, *George Bancroft*; Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770–1870* (New Haven, 1978); William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York, 1980); and Marlin Adrian, "Verbal Inspiration and Hermeneutics in Antebellum Princeton Theology" (graduate seminar paper, University of Virginia, 1982). Jerry Wayne Brown inadvertently showed how restricted the historicist impulse was in American biblical scholarship; Brown, *The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800–1870* (Middletown, Conn., 1969).

<sup>23</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 2: chap. 18, *History of the United States*, 6: 441–51, "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," and "The Necessity, the



romantic fashion, Bancroft emphasized that history was made by the whole people. It was the voice of the people that carried history forward, *their* ideas, slowly assimilated, that constituted true progress. But again, he declared the voice of the people to express God's eternal truth, not the unique national will.<sup>24</sup> The larger historicist implications of the romanticism and idealism Bancroft learned in Germany were lost as they were absorbed into the Christian and millennial frame of American history.

On still another important level, Bancroft's historical thought retained a static form of early modern historical consciousness—the Whig view of history as the story of Teutonic liberty. Trevor Colbourn has shown that this account of liberty was a principal historical strand of the republicanism of the Revolutionary generation, and David Levin has pointed out that it played a considerable role in the thinking of the major nineteenth-century historians: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. Born among the Teutonic tribes that vanquished Rome, the seeds of democratic and federal self-government were thought to have been carried by the Saxons to England, preserved in the Magna Carta and Glorious Revolution, and then planted in the colonies, particularly New England, where they reached their most perfect form in the American Revolution and Constitution. The American republic was the latest link in the genetic chain of Teutonic liberty—in its millennial form, the last link but one, the bearer of liberty to the world.<sup>25</sup>

Originally, the Whig view of liberty was understood as a chain of immemorial custom, for custom was one of the ways medieval minds secured human values in timeless forms and reduced historical caprice to the more manageable form of what is always known. This view of liberty was strengthened in the seventeenth century, when the Whigs strove to legitimate their parliamentary claims by linking them to past rights. The Teutonic-Whig theory thus reflected and encouraged an anachronistic conception of history, in which current institutional forms were read back into earlier periods. As Herbert Butterfield first pointed out, the republican modes of thought that developed in England in the eighteenth century meshed very well with Whig constitutionalism. The cyclical Renaissance view of history was also one of recurrent sameness. When the English mixed constitution was identified with the republican ideal, the Whigs' ancient constitution could be seen as an embodiment of those first principles to which Englishmen had always clung and to which they had perpetually returned.<sup>26</sup>

American history was soon attached to this ancient lineage as the bearer of liberties that England was corruptly forsaking, and the millennial destiny lent itself to the same conclusion. The American republic could hardly be understood as the product of merely local, temporary conditions; it was more plausibly the result of a long-standing and universal process, such as a structure of civil liberty going back to the beginning of history. In this view, the original germs or seeds were, in an

---

Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race," in Bancroft, *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1855).

<sup>24</sup> Bancroft, "The Office of the People."

<sup>25</sup> H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience* (Chapel Hill, 1965); and Levin, *History as Romantic Art*, chap. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Herbert Butterfield, *The Englishman and His History* (1944; New York, 1970); and J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, 1957).

essential sense, the same as their latest fruits. To explain their historical appearance one had mainly to trace the historical process by which the seeds were transmitted. Both the individuality of past eras and the uniqueness of the conditions that created them were blurred.

Lingering Christian conceptions of time may have reinforced this Whig mentality. Many Christians had come to understand events in history that were believed to mark God's presence as "types" or likenesses of the story of Christ's coming. This figural habit, which Bercovitch showed to be at work in the Puritan-American conception of mission, may well have led Americans to look instinctively for "likenesses" or foreshadowings of republican liberty. As Nathan O. Hatch noted, the Whig clergymen, who forged the millennial identity of America during the Revolution, immediately began to read the republican conception of religious and civil liberty backward to the Puritan founding, to find among their ancestors the likeness of contemporary civic liberty.<sup>27</sup>

Bancroft portrayed American liberty as the fruit of the Teutonic heritage not only in his direct references to Teutonic origins but also in his whole narrative conception. The story he told was how the seeds of liberty, gathered from all the world, were implanted in America. American history, from its beginnings, was the pure fruit of liberty. Only a free people, he said, came to America. The two chief features of the American republic he traced—its libertarian character and national identity—were present from the start. The principles of liberty were planted in all the colonies, and New England Puritans exemplified not only civil liberty but also liberty of conscience. American nationalism presented a more difficult problem, though Bancroft found early manifestations of it and established its full presence with the Declaration of Independence. The changing contours of the past were obscured by a vision of the American republic as the realization in the present of millennial and Teutonic germs essentially unchanged since their origin in the distant past.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, Bancroft's references to the rising middle class and economic freedom as sources of American liberty constitute another level of historical analysis in which his mentality is visible. Here he drew on the Scottish view of history as an economic and social process that progresses through distinct stages of development. We can best see how Bancroft missed the historicism embodied in that view by comparing his use of it with that of his English counterpart, Thomas Babington Macaulay. Macaulay and Bancroft were contemporaries and the most popular historians of their day; both were men of letters and politics, on the liberal Left of political opinion, and influenced by old English Whiggism and the newer romanticism. But Macaulay's *History of England* was a wholly secular story and, following the Scottish model, portrayed the national history as a process of modernization. He traced the essential core of the Whig constitution backward in time to the thirteenth century and concluded that its substance had undergone fundamental changes as society

<sup>27</sup> Bercovitch, *American Jeremiad*; and Hatch, *Sacred Cause of Liberty*. Between the Revolution and the time Bancroft wrote, Craven showed, a national historical tradition formed, which stressed the newness of America and identified the principles of the Revolution with the founding of the colonies; *Legend of the Founding Fathers*.

<sup>28</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 1: chap. 10, 2: chap. 18, 4: 167–79, 8: 474–75, *History of the United States*, 6: 5–7, and *The History of the United States of America*, ed. Russell B. Nye (1873–75; Chicago, 1966), xxii.

developed from feudal to modern and agrarian to commercial. Macaulay's analysis was firmly contextual, showing how the constitution had to change, in order to preserve its essential spirit, under the different political and social conditions during the medieval monarchies, the Tudor government, the era of the Civil War, the reign of the Stuarts, and, finally, the liberal regime of his own time.<sup>29</sup>

English historians before John Clive tended to notice Macaulay's arrogant moralism and his view of the past as a process moving ineluctably toward the Whig present and, thus, tended to regard his historical consciousness as shallow compared to German contemporaries like Ranke. But compared to Bancroft, Macaulay's historicism looks very real. Indeed, Bancroft could have written a similar work, for he had access to the same materials. Actually, he used some of them in writing about the English revolution and showed how the middle class, commerce, and public opinion forced a wider liberty in both Britain and America.<sup>30</sup> But the contextual analysis of change, which is central to the Scottish view and to Macaulay's *History*, is lost in Bancroft's overriding effort to show American history as "realization" rather than change, as the fulfillment of a universal process.

IN BANCROFT, THEN, THE MILLENNIAL INVESTMENT of the American republic seems to have been crucial in preventing the development of a deeper historicism. And there is considerable evidence that the same dynamic was at work elsewhere in the culture. Indeed, the two historians who came closest to a historicist outlook did so by escaping the millennial-republican influence: Parkman, in writing of the ambiguous, partly tragic conquest of nature on the prenational frontier, and Richard Hildreth, in rejecting the millennial expectation altogether for a gradual Scottish view of progress.<sup>31</sup>

In Europe the historical understanding of law, like that of religion, was an important avenue by which historicism entered modern culture. But here, too, the prehistoricist republican and Protestant countercurrents in American culture were plainly visible. One example is John C. Calhoun, who, as Pauline Maier recently noted, cited few legal authorities besides the American Constitution and largely dropped the rich body of historical reference that had been part of earlier republican discourse. In doing so, Calhoun clearly followed the prehistoricist impulse of country and American republicanism. Regarding the perfect principles of republican government as forever fixed in the Constitution, he had but "to look back to the past to see to what point I ought to go forward." That past began in the American Constitution because, he seemed to think, all the progress of the past and future had come to focus in the American republic.<sup>32</sup> Calhoun thus retained the

<sup>29</sup> John Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (London, 1973), esp. chap. 5; Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, chaps. 2, 3; Hugh Trevor-Roper, ed., *Macaulay: The History of England* (New York, 1968), introduction, 529, 537; and Macaulay, "Hallam," in *The Works of Lord Macaulay*, 7 (1898; New York, 1980): esp. 234, 240, 263–71, 295, 310, 318–19.

<sup>30</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 3: 1–13.

<sup>31</sup> Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America* (1865; New York, 1965); and Richard Hildreth, *Theory of Politics* (New York, 1854).

<sup>32</sup> Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America* (New York, 1965), esp. bk. 2, and 126–29; and Pauline Maier, "The Road Not Taken: Nullification, John C. Calhoun, and the Revolutionary Tradition in South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82 (1981): 1–19.

eighteenth-century republican desire to escape the destructive effects of time through perennial return to first principles. In the utopian world Americans thought they had entered, the republican impulse could lead them not only to dispense with the pre-American past but also to construct a rigid constitutionalism that hindered an understanding of law as a changing, historical phenomenon.

Still, historicist influences did make themselves felt. Morton J. Horwitz has shown, for example, that, during the period of the early republic, American legal scholars and practitioners often argued that private law was shaped by the changing needs and circumstances of the time and culture that produced it. This utilitarian and historicist impulse, however, had little impact on more formalistic constitutional argument and by the 1830s began to be superseded by reliance on "neutral" universal principles as the legitimate basis of law. Horwitz may well be right that a capitalist-oriented ideological bias logically connected these divergent positions.<sup>33</sup> But the explanation may also lie in the prehistoricist outlook still at work in the period.

Joseph Story, for example, was influenced by both the Scottish view of progress and the German historical school of law, whose leading figure was Friedrich Karl von Savigny, and he called on these sources to show that private law was responsive to changing historical circumstances. At the same he believed that constitutional interpretation must reflect both the more permanent principles of history and the unchanging foundations of natural law. Current scholars may have difficulty reconciling Story's acceptance of both historical jurisprudence and natural law theory, but he seemed to sense no contradiction. For him, natural law reflected the universal reason and moral principles God had built into human nature, while historical law reflected the special conditions that had created unique cultures and changing stages of development. Such a view could carry conviction because Story appeared to accept, as did most of his contemporaries, the guiding hand of God in the historical process. A skeptic in his youth, briefly carried away by the French Revolution, Story spent the rest of his life repenting his youthful fling and always stressed the indispensable moral basis that the divinity secured for humanity. In Story, as in Bancroft, the aggressive Protestant religiosity of American culture sustained an early modern conception of the universal principles of God and nature and narrowed the sphere in which historical change could be accepted.<sup>34</sup>

One final domain of antebellum culture that requires attention here is the attitude toward history displayed by adherents of the two major political parties of the antebellum period. The Democrats, far more than the Whigs, followed the millennial-republican logic out of history altogether. Identifying the progressive forces of history with nature, they relegated history per se to the realm of error, privilege, corruption, and tyranny.<sup>35</sup> It was the Whigs who self-consciously devel-

<sup>33</sup> Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

<sup>34</sup> Compare, on Story, Horwitz, *Transformation of American Law*, 255–56. For an interesting though tendentious reading of Story as a Straussian conservative, see James McClellan, *Joseph Story and the American Constitution* (Norman, Okla., 1971). The appendix reprints three important essays by Story: "Natural Law"; "A Discourse on the Past History, Present State, and Future Prospects of the Law"; and "Law, Legislation, and Codes."

<sup>35</sup> Jefferson was an early adherent of this view. Colbourn, in chapter 8 of *Lamp of Experience*, did not point out that Jefferson's reading of English history, following the logic of "the Norman yoke," was different from and

oped an appreciative attitude toward history and analyzed the ways in which American institutions were dependent on the long heritage and slow growth of civilization. Among Whig writers influenced by Edmund Burke and Scottish theorists, one can sometimes find contextual analyses of historical development. But that insight was not widespread or robust and does not appear to have made its way into the common Whig view of American history. According to Jean Matthews, the Whigs, too, tended to read into colonial institutions the principles of liberty and nationalism vindicated in the Revolution, although they stressed nationalism more than liberty.<sup>36</sup>

The reason why Whigs did not move further toward historicism may well be related to their political stance in American society. Their emphasis on history and slow historical change was meant to bind the present to the past and thereby abrogate the right of revolution and counteract the radical political implications of the claims of millennial status and direct access to nature. True, Macaulay, too, wished to forestall radical change, but he faced on the Right the Tories' prescriptive view of history. His solution was to adapt a Burkean historicism to his liberal purpose and stress both the gradual and necessary nature of changes in Whig principle.<sup>37</sup> American Whigs, faced only with their Democratic opponents, could fall into a more conservative, prescriptive view of the American past, one that blended their Scottish and Burkean historicism with unchanging American principle.

During the Gilded Age, American historical consciousness did indeed begin to change, but, even then, the traditional American view remained a powerful influence. Some of the first attempts to develop professional, "scientific" schools of history in the reformed universities of the 1870s and 1880s produced more reformulations of the old Teutonic chain. Trained in scientific norms, the new generation explicitly avoided reference to Providential power or America's millennial destiny, but the prehistoricist cast of mind that accompanied that national vision was still present. Henry Adams at Harvard, John W. Burgess at Columbia, Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins all studied abroad, looked down on Bancroft's romanticism and religiosity, and sought out the latest scientific methods, but they still tried to assimilate American history to a pattern of age-old, unchanging principle.

The detailed research of J. M. Kemble in England and G. L. von Maurer in Germany did provide fresh evidence at mid-century for the Teutonic theory, giving it a new scientific aura. In *Village Communities in the East and West*, published in 1871, Sir Henry Maine drew on their work to link the English village community, born of the Saxon "hundred" and the German "mark," with village communities in India, themselves vestiges of ancient Indian forms. Maine closed with the hint—as had

---

more radical than the classic Whig story of the ancient constitution. The prescriptive force of the early Saxon constitution came from the fact that it embodied the laws of nature, and English history since that time was seen as an abrogation, not a carrier, of those principles.

<sup>36</sup> Major L. Wilson, *Space, Time, and Freedom* (Westport, Conn., 1974); Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979), esp. chap. 4; and J. V. Matthews, "'Whig History': The New England Whigs and a Usable Past," *New England Quarterly*, 51 (1978): 193–208.

<sup>37</sup> Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, chaps. 2, 3; and J. G. A. Pocock, "Burke and the Ancient Constitution: A Problem in the History of Ideas," in Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time* (New York, 1973), 202–32.



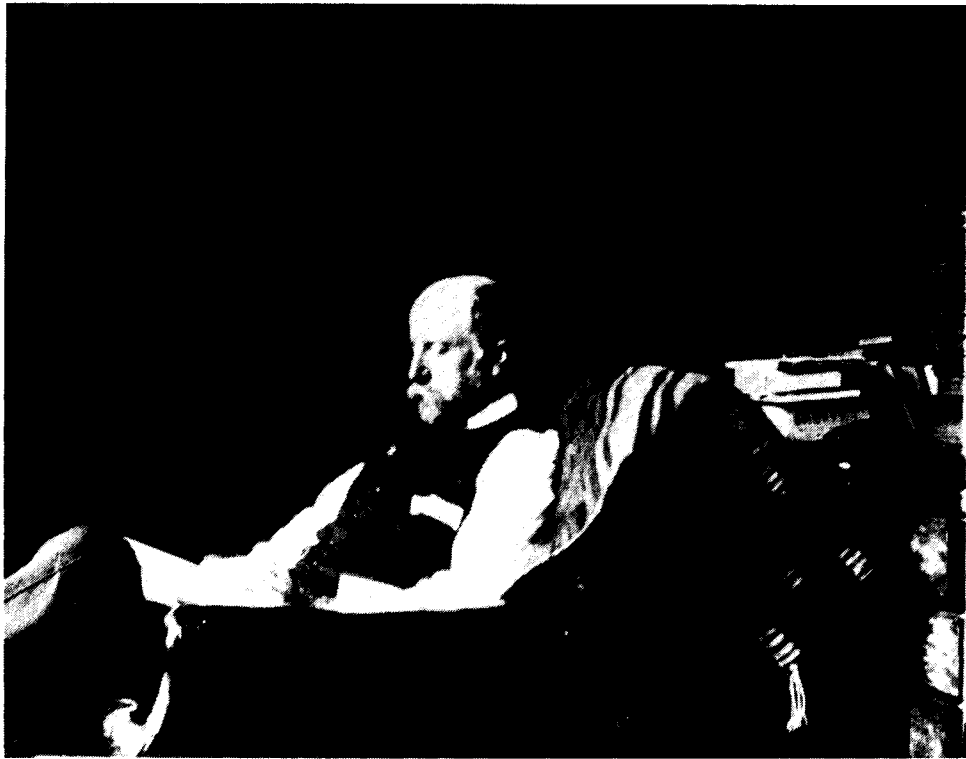


Figure 2: Henry Adams, President of the American Historical Association, 1893–94.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Edward Chalfant, New York, N.Y.

Bancroft earlier—that such villages had appeared in New England as well. He adopted the term “Aryan” from the philological analysis of Indo-European languages descended from the Sanskrit, and the old Teutonic chain of liberties became part of a potent, progressive, and presumably scientific, view of Western history.<sup>38</sup>

When President Charles W. Eliot persuaded the young Henry Adams to teach medieval history at Harvard in 1872, a subject about which he said he knew nothing, this thesis attracted his attention. Adams had been steeped in eighteenth-century historiography and republican visions of America. Plunging with his students into the study of Anglo-Saxon law, he concluded that, for a brief time under King Alfred, the Saxon “hundred” had served as the basis for a confederate state based on republican principles, an anticipation, as it were, of the natural course of development in British and American institutions.<sup>39</sup>

But the most important center of Germanist history turned out to be Johns Hopkins under Herbert Baxter Adams. Adams studied in Germany where he was

<sup>38</sup> James W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, 2 (New York, 1942): chap. 52; and George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913; Boston, 1959), 320, 369–70.

<sup>39</sup> J. C. Levenson, *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (Stanford, 1957), 39–52; Mark De Wolfe Howe, *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes*, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957): chap. 5. Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Fiske attempted, at the same time and place, to join the Teutonic chain to Herbert Spencer’s evolutionary theory. Fiske indeed managed this feat. The federated republic, he claimed, perfectly reflected the impulses toward coherence and differentiation, association and individuation, central power and individual liberty, which were visible in the development of all natural forms.

introduced to the historiographical controversy over the Germanic or Roman origins of Italian communes, a branch of the germ theory that linked the continental cities and their tradition of political liberty to the German mark. But his interest in the English and American branch was apparently aroused by the publication of Henry Adams's work in 1876, and the following year the junior Adams consulted the senior in Washington about the feasibility of entering into research on the Teutonic origins of American institutions. He and his students soon embarked on research around New England.<sup>40</sup>

Herbert Baxter Adams also read Edward A. Freeman's *History of Federal Government* and *History of the Norman Conquest*, with their fulsome Germanist theories, and discovered his English predecessors. Later, when defending his conception of the subject against doubters, Adams pointed out that Freeman's inspiration had come from Thomas Arnold and Barthold Niebuhr. Freeman's motto, "History is past politics and politics, present history," Adams said, grew out of the renaissance in Greek and Roman history inaugurated by the writings of Arnold and Niebuhr. It descended from Aristotle's belief that "civilized man lives and moves and has his being in civil society," and it is in this sense, Adams claimed, that the "main current of human history runs through the channel of politics."<sup>41</sup> Thus, Adams laboriously reconstructed his scientific pedigree back to the same civic humanism that, working through the American republican tradition, had been unconsciously leading him there all along.

One attraction to Adams of the Aryan institutional theory was that it showed "the continuity of human history," and hence that "the political history of the world should be read as a single whole." For the new generation of secular intellectuals, who looked to the historical world for philosophical coherence, the unity and continuity of history was critical. Beyond its philosophic value, and equally if not more important to Adams, was its present political uses. "In the improvement of the existing social order, what the world needs is historical enlightenment and political and social progress along existing institutional lines. We must preserve the continuity of our past life in the State, which will doubtless grow like knowledge from more to more."<sup>42</sup> Here is the political logic behind the Gilded Age desire to wring "principles" from history. In this time of change, American republican institutions must be preserved and progress charted along the path of the past.

Adams's conservative purpose did not require an unchanging continuity, any more than in the case of Macaulay. Adams's work, however, showed unmistakable traces of the older, prehistoricist viewpoint. Like Bancroft, he identified the moral laws that govern history as eternal; the way in which classical political economists related their laws to historical stages, he wrote, robbed true law of its eternal sanctity. And his discussions of historical change betrayed a static viewpoint. Note the *quantitative* simile above: our political life "will doubtless grow like knowledge

<sup>40</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, "New Methods of Study in History," *Journal of Social Science*, 18 (1884): 227, 244, 254; and John Martin Vincent, "Herbert Baxter Adams," in Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927). Adams's studies were printed in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* [hereafter, *JHUSHPS*], 1st ser., nos. 2, 4, and 8 (1882–83).

<sup>41</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, "Is History Past Politics?" *JHUSHPS*, 13th ser., no. 4 (1895): 68–75.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, 80–81, and "Mr. Freeman's Visit to Baltimore," *JHUSHPS*, 1st ser., no. 1 (1882): 8.

from more to more." In historical research he sought evidence of forms that remained identical through the ages. The one theoretical defense he ever made of this method was that the New England towns could not have sprung up merely from Puritan virtue or the rocky New England soil, as though by "spontaneous generation." There had to be seeds, he said, "old English and Germanic ideas, brought over by Pilgrims and Puritans, and as ready to take root in the free soil of America as would Egyptian grain which had been drying in a mummy-case for thousands of years." This improbable simile expresses as well as anything could Adams's determination to protect American principles from the corrosive effects of time. The essence of American republican institutions, of American history, had always been and must always remain the same.<sup>43</sup>

THE "SCIENTIFIC" REVIVAL OF THIS TRADITIONAL VERSION of American history was no sooner stated, however, than it came under attack. There is evidence in the 1880s for the first time of a conscious sense that history is a process of continuous, qualitative change, and in the name of that new awareness the old view was directly challenged. Where, finally, did this new sense of history come from?

Given our present state of knowledge, it is not clear to what extent Gilded Age attitudes were continuations of the native movements toward historicism we have noticed earlier in the century, although the family roots of so many Gilded Age intellectuals in Whig political culture suggest some direct influence. More important, I believe, was the cumulative effect of contact with European historicism on the one hand and decline of a theological world view on the other. By the 1870s scientific naturalism had gained sufficient authority in American culture at large to challenge Protestant orthodoxy on many fronts. Shorn of their reliance on Providential power and God's unchanging truth, American scholars were more open to the influence of European modes of historicist explanation and to the positivistic, idealistic, and progressive doctrines Europeans had developed to ground their values in history. Comte, Spencer, and Hegel served many uses for Gilded Age intellectuals, but their most fundamental influence may have been to deepen the consciousness of historical change. In this naturalistic and developmental context, Darwin's theory of evolution probably played a decisive role. That nature itself changed apparently made the historicist conception of qualitative change more vivid to Americans than the evidence of history. That in itself is a highly revealing fact, if fact it is. It highlights the belated and precarious character of American historicism. If American understanding of historicism came in large measure from the authority of nature, then it would not be surprising if, in the end,

<sup>43</sup> Adams, "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," *JHUSHP*, 1st ser., no. 2 (1882): 8, and "Arnold Toynbee," *Charities Review*, 1 (1891): 14–15. Freeman, according to J. W. Burrow's perceptive reading, was an appropriate model for Adams. His antiquarian, romantic, and Christian love of the Aryan past led him toward an almost typological view of time. See *A Liberal Descent*, chaps. 7, 8. Much like Adams, Freeman also had a conservative attachment to liberal democracy, regarding it as embedded in traditional institutions; J. W. Burrow, "'The Village Community' and the Uses of History in Late Nineteenth-Century England," in Neil McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society* (London, 1974), 255–84.

the scientific model of natural explanation proved even more convincing to Americans than the historical one.<sup>44</sup>

The Gilded Age thus appears to be the decisive period in which the balance shifted from theological toward naturalistic world views, and from Providential toward historicist views of time. It was also the period in which Americans experienced massive historical changes that directly challenged their historical self-perception. Instead of progressively fulfilling its republican destiny, America appeared to have sunk into corruption and to be rapidly destroying the fundamentally agrarian and harmonious social basis on which republican virtue depended. From both new intellectual influences and jarring historical experiences a new skepticism emerged about the course of American history. Henry Adams exploited that skepticism more brilliantly than most, turning from his earlier study of assured Teutonic principles of progress to a complex and ambiguous investigation of whether America was progressing at all. But a wide range of historical and social thinkers, not simply the liberal Progressive intellectuals whom White singled out, perceived that the millennial conception of American history was not adequate to the historical transformation going on around them.<sup>45</sup>

One of the first experiences to cast doubt on the traditional American view of history and draw forth a historicist response was the Civil War. The upsurge of Civil War nationalism finally shook the image of immutable political forms. Christian minds still saw the upheaval as an apocalyptic event,<sup>46</sup> but to the new scientific secularists it showed that the American republic had not been perfectly formed at the moment of its inception but was still in the process of historical creation.

Albion Small, for example, came to Hopkins in 1889 to study under Herbert Baxter Adams and wrote his dissertation on the beginnings of American nationalism during the period of the Articles of Confederation. The whole point of his work was to show that, unlike Bancroft's and Hermann Eduard von Holst's traditional view, American nationality was not born full-blown with the Declaration of Independence but was a product of historical development in time and was not

<sup>44</sup> For the best discussion of the gradual secularization of the millennial idea of American progress, see Maclear, "The Republic and the Millennium"; and Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*. No single work deals adequately with the rise of naturalism in the Gilded Age, although there is considerable evidence of its development scattered throughout the literature of the period. Two seminal books are Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, 1955); and Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (2d rev. edn., Boston, 1955). For a recent survey of Darwinian influence, see Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Darwin in America: The Intellectual Response, 1865–1912* (San Francisco, 1976). On the importance of the surrounding context of European naturalism and historicism, see Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago, 1972); and Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* (Ithaca, 1965). On the divergence between historical and social scientific explanation, see Kenneth E. Bock, *The Acceptance of Histories: Toward a Perspective for Social Science* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956).

<sup>45</sup> P. B. M. Blaas discussed a related historicist movement in Britain beginning in the 1890s, which he traced to the sense of anachronism aroused toward the Whig thesis of constitutional continuity by the new reality of a centralized bureaucratic administration; Blaas, *Continuity and Anachronism: Parliamentary and Constitutional Development in Whig Historiography and the Anti-Whig Reaction between 1890–1930* (The Hague, 1978).

<sup>46</sup> Moorhead, *American Apocalypse*. Bancroft avoided the problem by regarding secession not as the work of "the people" but as a conspiracy of Southern political leaders who had abandoned republicanism. See Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, 1954), 8–9, 32.

completed until the Civil War. Small couched his criticism partly in the language of organicism. American nationality was not created all at once, he said, but was a slow, historical growth. Historians, I think, have missed the historicist meaning that the late nineteenth century gave to that old Whig metaphor. In his world history course Small told his students that no nation had yet solved the problem of reconciling order and progress. "No specially favored country has been able to establish the ideal order in miniature."<sup>47</sup>

One of the most interesting examples of the effects of Civil War nationalism is the work of John W. Burgess. Burgess embalmed traditional republican political principles in a rigid system of ostensibly scientific categories, and he traced them, with footnote to Freeman, to the Teutonic chain. But on the subject of nationalism Burgess displayed a new sense of historical change. Son of a Tennessee Unionist, Burgess was made homeless by the war and soon became an ardent nationalist. Despite the opinion of the Supreme Court that states were immutable entities, he gleefully asserted, historical developments were reducing them to mere administrative units of a national government. If the United States had already solved the global problem of liberty, he wrote, its future destiny was to find the proper balance between centralization and decentralization in government. In regard to the federal executive, "adjustment to modern conditions is still in progress."<sup>48</sup> Thus, Burgess as a Civil War nationalist saw American political principles as still in the process of formation. History became the bearer not of the same ancient principles but of qualitative change toward a still-unrealized ideal.<sup>49</sup>

The complex of economic, social, and cultural changes related to industrialization were also clearly at work in the new historicism of the Gilded Age. At every point—the dominance of manufacturing over agriculture, the creation of a permanent and often-hostile wage-earning class, the more visible distinctions of wealth—the industrial process threatened the vision of millennial history. Evangelical reformers like Henry George and Edward Bellamy, who had been nurtured in the older view, were among the first to sense that the course of American progress was not what it had always been purported to be. In a language newly ironic, American progress was said to create poverty, and the future was seen to be so qualitatively different from the past that looking forward in time required "looking backward" from the new vantage point. But these evangelicals were still so immersed in the millennial vision of the American republic that they struggled to reestablish Providential control over the unravelling historical scene. Faced by political corruption, plutocracy, and growing class conflict—the classic heralds of

<sup>47</sup> Albion W. Small, "The Beginnings of American Nationality: The Constitutional Relations between the Continental Congress and the Colonies and States," *JHUSHPS*, 8th ser., nos. 1–2 (1890): 1–77, "Review of Von Holst," *Civil Service Reformer*, 4 (1888): 141, and *Syllabus: Introduction to the History of European Civilization* (Colby, Maine, 1889), 87.

<sup>48</sup> John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (New York, 1934), *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1890), 1: pt. 1, and 153, 2: 38–40, 184, 319, and "The American Commonwealth: Changes in Its Relations to the Nation," *Political Science Quarterly*, 1 (1886): 9–35.

<sup>49</sup> Burgess did not apply this historical understanding to the traditional principles of civil liberty, but Frank Goodnow, his student, did. Goodnow was quick to point out that he was extending Burgess's attitude toward the historical basis of national sovereignty to the whole of the political structure: Goodnow, *Politics and Administration* (New York, 1900), 2–3.



republican decline—they could only imagine America's fate as an apocalypse, destined to usher in a utopian "new birth." History could be quickly transformed by simple steps—private monopoly turned to state socialism, exploitive into benign capitalism—because Providence shaped the historical transformation.<sup>50</sup>

For secular academics, who had eschewed Providence for science, the ironic mode engendered the recognition that the ideal of democracy was itself time-bound and that its American forms were not very different from the European. In 1888 Charles M. Andrews became the first of Herbert Baxter Adams's students openly to challenge his germ theory. The theory of the free village community standing at the dawn of German and English history was a product of the liberal hopes of the early nineteenth century, of the confident belief in "the perfectibility of democracy," he said. "The liberal optimism of Europe, and indeed, of America as well, before 1870, has taken on a more sombre hue since that time, and, by a reactionary change in the tendencies of thought in the last two decades, the idealized primitive freeman has been gradually vanishing into the background. . . . As the world has learned that, even with the fulfillment of those aspirations which were so long a mockery, its highest hopes have not been realized, and that the nature of the individual and the combined action of the masses are pervaded with brute instincts and fallibility, so it is willing to be told that primitive man, whether he were Saxon, Teuton or Aryan, was very much lower down in the scale of human development than the older view was willing to place him; that his freedom, of whatever nature it may have been, was still very different from that of the free citizen."<sup>51</sup> The new social world, it seems, had turned even American freemen into "masses," and the metaphors of biology and anthropology had heightened their "brute" character. Faced with this new reality, the republican vision of the earlier nineteenth century now seemed overconfident and idealized. Andrews's doubts about the republican past were politically conservative; those of the utopian reformers, liberal or radical. But both betrayed a skepticism about the trajectory of American progress that forced a revision of the traditional American historical consciousness.

Andrews's historical argument, like his critique, was contextualist. The growth of freedom has been slow, and at each stage the forms of freedom have been "satisfactorily adapted to the purposes of its existence." Free status during the Middle Ages was related to the economic and social conditions of manorial life and, in that context, bore no likeness to the political function of the modern citizen. The Teutonic chain was broken on the difference of the past.<sup>52</sup>

E. R. A. Seligman provides one final example of the effect of Gilded Age social change on the nation's historical consciousness. Seligman was an economist at Columbia University and in 1902 published *The Economic Interpretation of History*, a seminal work in Progressive historiography, which attempted to make historical sense of the new economic conditions. In that same year Seligman addressed jointly

<sup>50</sup> Ross, "The Liberal Tradition Revisited," 121–25.

<sup>51</sup> Charles McLean Andrews, *The Old English Manor* (JHU SHPS, 12th. ser., 1892), 1–4. I am grateful to Morey Rothberg for calling my attention to this passage.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

the American Historical and American Economic Associations, and he chose to attack "the opinion either explicitly or implicitly shared by many of our thoughtful fellow citizens that this country has in some way a distinctive mission to perform, and that we are marked off from the rest of the world by certain inherent principles, relative indeed, in the sense of being peculiar to America, but eternal and immutable in their relation to ourselves." Well, concluded Seligman, "we have been largely living in a fool's paradise." There is nothing "inherent" about American democracy, Puritan character, or love of liberty. All of these characteristics are dependent "on the shifting conditions of time and place." The most fundamental conditions affecting political attitudes, Seligman asserted, are economic. And when economic conditions were ripe for slavery, as in the American South, our liberty-loving people embraced it. What a mockery, he said, of the "so-called Anglo-Saxon love of liberty." Indeed, the "boasted Anglo-Saxon individualism" was fast becoming socialism or something close to it where conditions encouraged it, as in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>53</sup>

The historicity of the past, Seligman went on, cast the future into history as well. Many say, he asserted, that our future will be merely a new feudalism, or they point to Rome and say prosperity must be followed by decay on the grounds that "what has been, will be." But there are essential conditions that "differentiate modern industrial society from all its predecessors," he countered. "To predict a future which shall be a necessary development from our early past would be as childish as to explain the conditions of Roman imperialism from the facts of the pre-republican age"—exactly, of course, what earlier republicans had always done. "The American of the future will bear but little resemblance to the American of the past."<sup>54</sup>

Seligman's analysis, like Small's and Andrews's, did indeed cast America for the first time fully into history. If it overlooked the elements of historicism in prior historiography to sharpen its polemic, its target was nonetheless real and appropriate. But historicism presented deeper problems than many in Seligman's generation were willing to accept. If past events were fundamentally shaped by past contexts, and if these contexts were continually changing, still changing, then the easy synthesis promised by the old chain of historical continuity was no longer possible. Progress, republican institutions, and the mission of America could no longer be assured. At every moment of time—past, present, and future—novelty, contingency, and moral uncertainty could no longer be avoided. Or could they? Given these unsettling implications, it would come as no surprise that historicism was not fully accepted in America. Nor would it be surprising, given the reaction against historicism already under way in Europe, that twentieth-century Americans who appreciated the relativistic implications of historicism acted like their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century forebears and quickly sought escape from history.

<sup>53</sup> E. R. A. Seligman, "Economics and Social Progress," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, 3d ser., no. 4 (1902): 52–70, esp. 55, 56.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 59–60.

---

## From Learned Society to Professional Organization: The American Historical Association, 1884–1900

---

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL

"WE HAVE COME, GENTLEMEN, to organize a new society." With this charge from Justin Winsor, the Harvard librarian, a small group of historians meeting in a parlor of the United States Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York, launched the American Historical Association on September 9, 1884. "The time was ripe," recalled J. Franklin Jameson. "Defective as our organization might [have been], we stood without knowing it at the beginning of a new and most fruitful era in the development of American historiography."<sup>1</sup> That a national organization of historians should have been founded in the 1880s is not surprising. Many other similar national organizations were established during this same period, which saw the development of American nationalism, the emergence of the national state, and a general movement toward professionalization in most callings.<sup>2</sup> Less well known are the details of the process by which the "defective" new association changed from a "small society of scholars"—a learned society—to a professional organization during its first sixteen years.<sup>3</sup> Today the association, despite its transformation in size, functions, and services, still clings to its original role as a learned society. As we celebrate our hundredth birthday, the time has come to re-examine our origins in order better to understand ourselves.

THE FOUNDERS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION were bound together by the belief that they formed a "new school" of history and were defining a "new field"; hence, the association could not be merely a branch or division of an existing society such as the American Social Science Association, which hosted the AHA's

Grants from the American Philosophical Society, 1956 and 1958, a Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, 1962–63, and a Henry Huntington Memorial Library Fellowship, 1973, made possible the early research for this essay. Many colleagues and librarians gave me valuable aid over a long period of time, but I benefited immeasurably from the comments of Emily F. Van Tassel and Carl W. Ubbelohde.

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, as quoted in *Papers of the American Historical Association* [hereafter, *AHA Papers*], 1 (New York, 1886): 11; and Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884–1909," *AHR*, 15 (1909–10): 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent general histories of the formation of the national state and, hence, of a nationality in post-Civil War America are Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965); Robert H. Wiebe, *Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967); John Garraty, *The New Commonwealth, 1877–1890* (New York, 1968); and Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

<sup>3</sup> Boyd C. Shafer, "Report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor for 1959," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* [hereafter, *Annual Report*], 1959 (Washington, 1960), 8.

inaugural meeting. Yet neither in structure nor in function did the AHA differ from earlier learned societies.<sup>4</sup> The initiative for organization came from the new “college teachers of history,” but they followed the familiar pattern. Thomas Haskell, in his study of the development of professional social science, defined the ASSA as “an aggregate of individuals” and as “amateur social scientists dedicated to the diagnosis and cure of society’s ills,” whose community was that of the “gentry class, [which] valued certain intangible graces at least as highly as a command of pertinent literature.” In 1900 James Schouler recalled the early similarity of the two bodies and deplored “the tendency” that had developed “within the [American Historical] Association to criticize one another’s work” at the annual meetings and particularly in the pages of the *American Historical Review*. He referred approvingly to a rule of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which forbade “all such comments, reflections or criticisms, concerning members still living.” That society, composed of “gentlemen,” was a model, Schouler suggested, that the AHA had once resembled but from which it had seriously deviated.<sup>5</sup>

A learned society, therefore, may be defined as an organization, often exclusive in membership, dedicated to the preservation, advancement, and diffusion of knowledge solely through the publication of papers read at periodic meetings. While pursuing some of the same goals as a learned society, a professional organization usually distinguishes itself from other groups, sets standards of professional performance as well as guidelines for professional training programs, enhances communication among the members, serves and protects special interests of the profession by promoting legislation, among other things, and enforces a degree of conformity to professional practices and standards among its members. Indeed, a professional organization is the product of a community of people with a common sense of purpose.

At the time of founding, the AHA was composed of both amateur and professional historians. Those without formal training in historical research and writing predominated numerically over those who had had the benefit of an academic preparation for their craft. And yet the latter represented a new and expanding breed of historians who, as John Higham remarked, “enlisted the cultivated patrician class to assist in this endeavor.” But even the professionally trained inherited something of the patrician standing. Despite low salaries and often obscure backgrounds, their European training, dedication to learning, and high culture gave them entrée to elite circles in the United States. In both Europe and America to be a scholar was by definition to be a gentleman. James Bryce noted

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent discussion of the professionalization of the social sciences, which also contains a brief description of the founding of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, see Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 168–89. For a contrasting view, see Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865–1905* (Lexington, Ky., 1975). The best survey of the development of history as a social science in the American university is Lawrence R. Veysey’s *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965). For an excellent analysis of the development of the historical profession in the United States and Europe, see John Higham *et al.*, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965). Also see Boyd C. Shafer *et al.*, *Historical Study in the West* (New York, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> Haskell, *Emergence of Professional Social Science*, 177; and Schouler to Herbert Baxter Adams, December 1, 1900, reprinted in W. Stull Holt, ed., *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876 to 1901, as Revealed in the Correspondence of H. B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), 290.

during his travels in the United States in the 1880s that American professors always appeared among the local social aristocracy.<sup>6</sup> For Herbert Baxter Adams, a founder and the first secretary of the association, this alliance between the young professional historians and the patrician amateurs was essential to the success of the national association he envisioned.<sup>7</sup>

The lines of development that led to the American Historical Association extended as far back as the Civil War, and, to some extent, to the antebellum era. The emergence of the national state—a product of the Civil War and Reconstruction—furnished the only soil in which national history and national historians could flourish. “It was natural,” Jameson recalled, “that the great war for nationality should be followed within twenty years by a great outburst of historical activity.” The rapid postwar development of the modern universities supplied economic support for the new group of professionals, and the idea that history is a science, with a method of its own that must be taught to practitioners, gave them a secure position in the academic world. The proponents of this new “scientific” history were young men who fifty years earlier might have sought to satisfy their intellectual ambitions by a career in the ministry but who now looked forward to making their marks in the promising area of social science. The college graduate of 1850 or 1870 who wanted training in this new field, and particularly in political economy, found little encouragement in the clerically dominated halls of higher learning in the United States. So, with diploma in hand, many an earnest student made the transatlantic pilgrimage to Germany—the scholar’s mecca.<sup>8</sup> After one or two years of “drinking at the *Quellen*,” the returning students—among them the missionaries of scientific history—took jobs and established chairs and departments in colleges and universities, while “grave professors, educated under the old order of things,” shook their heads in disapproval at this “unwarranted expenditure of time and money.”<sup>9</sup>

Appearances to the contrary, historical studies were not introduced to the United

<sup>6</sup> Higham *et al.*, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America*, 9. Higham wrote a brief but well-documented discussion of salaries and the social standing of academic scholars between 1880 and 1900; *ibid.*, 9–10.

<sup>7</sup> An antebellum attempt at organization, the American Historical Society, 1835–37, failed. It was founded by Peter Force, a Washington printer and the compiler of the nine-volume *American Archives* (Washington, 1837–53). The membership was drawn from Congress and local residents, and the primary purpose of the society was the collection of documents. “The objects of the society shall be to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of America generally, and of the United States particularly”; “Draft Constitution of the American Historical Society,” September 15, 1835, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, Peter Force Papers, vol. 15, 1835–36. For a detailed discussion of the development of nineteenth-century historical societies and their relationship to historical writing and to the preservation of materials, see David D. Van Tassel, *Recording America’s Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884* (Chicago, 1960).

<sup>8</sup> Jameson, “The American Historical Association, 1884–1909,” 4. Charles F. Thwing’s *The American Student and the German University* (New York, 1928) is still the basic study of American students in Germany during the nineteenth century. There is no comparable work for France or England. For a full account of German influence on American society, see Henry Pochmann, *German Culture in America* (Madison, 1957). Also see Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship and the Study of Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965). For an excellent analysis of the spread of German ideas to France and England and then to the United States, see Richard S. Barnes, “German Influence on American Historical Studies, 1884–1914” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1953). Contemporary accounts include Charles K. Adams, “The Educational System of Germany,” *Academy*, 1 (1886): 33–54; Fred M. Fling, “The German Historical Seminar,” *ibid.*, 4 (1889): 129–39, 212–19; *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington, 1879), 419; and Charles Phelps Taft, *The German University and the American College* (Cincinnati, 1871).

<sup>9</sup> George E. Howard to Herbert Baxter Adams, May 30, 1883, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 65.



States via Germany. A large and respectable tradition of historical scholarship had long existed in the United States, although some young proponents of scientific history were ignorant of it and others denied its respectability. This tradition was carried on by three groups of amateurs: "local antiquaries," "professionally literary men," and men of wealth and leisure devoted to study. The "local antiquaries" were mainstays of historical societies interested in preserving the sources for local history for their own sake and without much concern for the national scene, except to assert the primacy of local participation in great national events such as the Revolution or Civil War. "Professionally literary men" such as Benson Lossing, author of the *Field Book of the Revolution*, had their center in New York and were poor cousins to Boston-based romantic historians such as George Bancroft and Francis Parkman, who had made money and literary reputations through historical writing. The third group that sustained the indigenous amateur tradition, the men of wealth and leisure devoted to study, often wrote works national in scope—for example, James Ford Rhodes, James Schouler, and Charles Francis Adams, who sought, in conflict with his Massachusetts roots, to extract the larger significance from local events. The best of these "men of wealth and leisure" combined a broad vision with an evolutionary approach.

None of these groups, however, wholly accepted the kind of history that the "new professionals" sought to promote through the formation of the American Historical Association. The amateurs' lack of training in "the technique of historical research and composition to some degree affected all their writing." The "antiquaries" at worst gave equal significance to every local event, and their indiscriminate collections did little more than note the "poke bonnets and spinning wheels" in family attics. The "professionally literary men"—"journalists," Jameson called them—simply compounded the sin of their more respectable progenitors, the romantic historians, in sacrificing meaning and accuracy for dramatic effect, color, and story.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, some bonds did exist between the amateurs and new professionals. The best of the "local antiquaries," represented by Justin Winsor and his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, were accepted for their tough analyses of sources and their dedication to fact. In addition, these men believed themselves to be "critical" historians, though not consciously "scientific" in their methodology. Although they observed geographic and political boundaries, they put no limitations on subject matter.<sup>11</sup> They viewed the past as a whole and considered everything that had happened in a particular community part of its history. The miscellaneous nature of the "Collections" issued by nineteenth-century state and local historical societies bears witness to this vision as well as to its faults. Finally, two university presidents who favored a national association—Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins and Andrew Dickson White of Cornell—forged an important link between the amateur groups and the new professionals. They used their personal connections made through memberships in old East Coast clubs and historical and other learned

<sup>10</sup> Jameson, *The History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891), 158–59, 88.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph A. Borome, "Winsor's History of America," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, 5 (1953): 119, 139. For a general discussion of the "critical historians," see Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past*, 121–34, 161–70.

societies (including that organization of patrician reformers, the American Social Science Association) to encourage the participation of leaders of the various amateur groups in founding a national historical organization.<sup>12</sup>

By the 1870s two broad approaches to the study of history coexisted: the indigenous tradition of the amateur historians and the scientific approach of the new professionals. Charles Kendall Adams, incoming president of Cornell, advanced the idea of association introduced in 1880 by Daniel Coit Gilman. Gilman, in an address to the American Social Science Association, urged the new generation of historians to organize. In 1884 Adams concluded that some sort of central organization, meeting ground, and clearing house was necessary to insure and promote the continued expansion of systematic training and study in history. In May he related the idea to a friend in Ithaca, Moses Coit Tyler. "My dear Immortal, some weeks ago I asked H. B. Adams whether in his opinion the time hadn't come to unite our forces in the formation of some sort of. . . Association, at least so far as to get together the historical workers for the purpose of rubbing our heads [together] and evoking such light as may be possible." Tyler approved of the scheme sufficiently to take on the task of recruiting members in the New York area.<sup>13</sup>

At Johns Hopkins, meanwhile, H. B. Adams had seized on the suggestion with alacrity and enthusiasm. It was just the sort of thing he might have envisioned himself, and, indeed, he may have entertained the idea at some time. He ran one of the most active of the university's interdepartmental organizations, the History and Political Science Association, which included students, faculty, and townsmen who gathered monthly to hear visiting lecturers. Adams had also realized early the utility of corporate "influences, of associations of men and money" for such purposes as support for scholarly publications, facilitation of the placing of graduates, and the exchange and broadcast of ideas.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that H. B. Adams did not father the idea of the American Historical Association did not bother him. His strong point was not the conception of ideas but their nurture. To make them come alive and promote their growth was his special talent. At thirty-four he was well known in academic circles at home and abroad as the most active promoter of scientific history in America. He had already placed graduates of his seminar—his "colonies"—in the South, West, and North. He had edited a thorough account of the development and current methods of teaching history in American schools, colleges, and universities for the U.S. Bureau of Education. In 1882 he tried to establish a British-American historical journal, which he assured President Gilman "would be a scientific tentacle reaching over

<sup>12</sup> Haskell, *Emergence of Professional Social Science*, 168–69; Herbert Baxter Adams to Daniel Coit Gilman, August 8, 1884, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 71–72; Andrew Dickson White to Moses Coit Tyler, August 8, 1884, Andrew D. White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., Moses Coit Tyler Papers [hereafter, Tyler Papers].

<sup>13</sup> Charles Kendall Adams to Tyler, May 10, 1884, Tyler Papers. In July, Adams sent copies of the "call" to Tyler. "Here is our 'call' for an historical convention. I send you 25 copies for distribution wherever you think they will do the most good. More if you want. I have asked Prof C. K. Adams to salt the west; if you will sprinkle New York State and City and Middle States, I will attend to New England and the South"; Herbert Baxter Adams to Tyler, July 4, 1884, Tyler Papers.

<sup>14</sup> Adams to Daniel Coit Gilman, July 3, 1882, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 55.



*Figure 1:* Herbert Baxter Adams, 1850–1901.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Johns Hopkins University Archives, Baltimore, Md.

England and drawing life to our little Baltimore world.”<sup>15</sup> The journal never materialized, but that year Adams began publication of the first historical monographic series in the country—the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Thus, H. B. Adams had already established his position at an ambitious new university and was actively promoting history, the university, and his students. Now, in the summer months of 1884, Adams worked equally hard to found the organization that would become the institutional symbol and central forum for the profession he was helping to create. He carefully composed a “call” for a meeting to form “an American Historical Association, consisting of professors, teachers, specialists, and others interested in the advancement of history in this country.” The objects of this association, Adams declared, would be “the exchange of ideas and the widening of acquaintance, the discussion of methods and original papers.” He argued that such a society would be “of great advantage” to teachers and students more or less isolated in their fields of work. “Now by conference historical students could widen their horizons and make their work” more fruitful. Cognizant of the large number of amateur historians, he added that the “friends of history” could also profit by association with one another and with specialists. He then praised Saratoga and pointed out the advantages of a joint meeting in conjunction with the American Social Science Association. The older association had already established itself at the resort and could obtain reduced rates at the reputable United States Hotel, which had offered the use of its hall for historical sessions.<sup>16</sup>

By September Adams and the “provisional committee,” as the organizers called themselves, had completed all arrangements. On Sunday evening, September 7, Moses Coit Tyler and C. K. Adams “strolled to the hotels to look up [their] historical associates.” The day had been “fearfully hot,” but the weather only encouraged more visitors. Soon the historians found Saratoga as crowded as in mid-season. The United States, Congress, and Windsor hotels announced that they would stay open until the first of October, but the Grand Union shut its doors, as usual, on September 15. As Adams and Tyler walked along Broadway to greet the incoming historians, they found the street busy with tandems, bringing new guests from the train to their hotel or carrying gaily dressed vacationers on a Sunday evening drive.<sup>17</sup>

More historians arrived on Monday for the opening sessions of the ASSA. The

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. For an early biographical sketch of Adams, see John Martin Vincent, comp., *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends with a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics, and Economics at The Johns Hopkins University, 1876–1901, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 23 (Baltimore, 1902). Vincent provided a fuller sketch of Adams. See Vincent, “Herbert B. Adams,” in Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), 99–127. For an excellent account of Adams’s continuing ties with Germany and German scholars, see Raymond J. Cunningham, “The German Historical World of Herbert Baxter Adams, 1874–1876,” *Journal of American History*, 68 (1981–82): 261–75.

<sup>16</sup> Adams, “Report of the Organization and Proceedings of the American Historical Association, at Saratoga, September 9–10, 1884,” *AHA Papers*, 1: 8–9; and Adams to Clarence W. Bowen, July 15, 1884, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, American Historical Association Records [hereafter, AHA Records], series A, box 4, file A–B.

<sup>17</sup> Tyler, journal, September 7, 1884, Tyler Papers. Actually, Tyler and his wife Jeanette arrived in Saratoga Springs on September 1. C. K. Adams came in that evening. They apparently took a week’s vacation, enjoying music, balloon ascensions, and meeting friends. See Tyler, journal, September 1 to September 12, 1884, Tyler Papers; and *Albany Evening Journal*, September 9, 1884.

AHA's organizers arranged a "private gathering of friends of the Historical Association" on Tuesday afternoon at four o'clock before the first public session of the new organization in Putnam Hall. About twenty-five men gathered in a high-ceilinged, darkly ornate parlor of the United States Hotel for what was obviously a well-orchestrated meeting.<sup>18</sup> Tyler called the gathering to order and nominated as chairman Justin Winsor, who was approved. C. K. Adams immediately nominated H. B. Adams as secretary pro tempore, and no one objected. Eyes now turned to Chairman Winsor, who was an old hand at this sort of thing, since in 1876 he had been a founder of the American Library Association. Looking at the group through his pince nez, Winsor found the appropriate words. "We have come, gentlemen, to organize a new society, and fill a new field."<sup>19</sup>

At the conclusion of his address, Winsor asked for a statement of the meeting's purpose. Taking the floor on cue, Tyler explained that "the main question related to the dependent or independent status of the Historical Association." "In order to test the will of [this] convention," he submitted the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that it is advisable to form an *American Historical Association* upon an independent basis." C. K. Adams stated that the planners had never thought of anything but an independent organization; to meet "under the auspices of the Social Science Association was merely a prudential measure." John Eaton stated emphatically his belief that the new organization should be a branch of its host association. He pointed out that each of the older ASSA divisions operated independently. By meeting together and publishing papers jointly, members gained a broader interchange of ideas, materials, and methods and could form a united front "for the propaganda of social science." Together the divisions could reach a wider public than they could separately. He deplored the tendency of scholars in the country toward "excessive specialization."<sup>20</sup> As Eaton may have guessed, however eloquently he argued, the cards were stacked against him not only in this meeting but also in the general trend toward professionalization in the entire world of learning. Someone called, "Question," and the participants favored the resolution for independence so emphatically that the vote was made unanimous. Eaton's objections were stifled. And yet the warning he uttered about the fragmentation of knowledge has never been stilled. Ironically, some of the younger members present

<sup>18</sup> H. B. Adams proudly noted the quality of the men who had responded to his letters and to his "call." They included a former president of the United States and two college presidents: Rutherford B. Hayes, Andrew Dickson White of Cornell, and Francis Amasa Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Other notables attending the session were Justin Winsor, Ephraim Emerton, Edward Channing, Henry Scott, and Kuno Francke from Harvard College; Moses Coit Tyler and T. F. Crane from Cornell University; C. K. Adams from the University of Michigan; H. B. Adams from Johns Hopkins; Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College; John Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education; Charles Deane, vice president of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Dr. Charles W. Parsons and William B. Weeden of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Mendes Cohen, secretary of the Maryland Historical Society; and Clarence Winthrop Bowen, editor of the *New York Independent*. See *AHA Papers*, 1: 10–11. In all, forty men came to the first meeting. Later Adams listed the somewhat less distinguished "friends" with "several other college graduates and men of affairs"; "9–16–84 List of members present at Saratoga meeting," AHA Records, series A, box 4, file A–G. Adams printed this list to recruit new members. "Just returned from Boston and Cambridge, where the fame of the Association is already great. Harvard is pressing in with contributions. That published list impresses even Bostonians with the Dignity of the Association." Adams to C. W. Bowen, August 24, 1885, AHA Records, series A, box 4, file A–G.

<sup>19</sup> Adams, "Report of the Organization," *AHA Papers*, 1: 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–13.



at the meeting on September 8, 1884, were soon echoing the same fears about the consequences of separating history from the social sciences and of the increasing specialization among historians themselves.

The next step in the scenario came from C. K. Adams, who moved that the chairman appoint a committee to draw up and present a constitution at the public meeting in Putnam Hall. The motion passed without dissent, and Winsor appointed himself, H. B. Adams, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ephraim Emerton, Moses Coit Tyler, and William B. Weeden. Tyler then moved that the temporary officers continue their duties until a permanent organization was established, and the motion carried. H. B. Adams as secretary pro tem officially accepted the task of preparing a program of papers already "contributed to the proceedings of the American Historical Association," a job that had kept him occupied—unofficially—almost all of the past summer. The meeting then adjourned, and the historians rose to stretch, talk, and depart to seek diversion until the morning meeting.

The next morning at nine o'clock the original twenty-five "friends of the Historical Association" gathered in a parlor of the United States Hotel along with some latecomers. Winsor called on C. K. Adams for the report on the constitution, and Adams read a very simple instrument containing six articles. The name was, of course, to be the American Historical Association; its purpose, "the promotion of historical studies." Anyone might become a member with the approval of the Executive Council and the payment of annual dues of three dollars. According to the constitution, then, the membership could be as broad or as restricted as the Executive Council chose to make it.

The proposed officers of the association included a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and an "Executive Council consisting of the foregoing officers and four other elected members"—all to be chosen "by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Association." No further procedures were specified for nominations and elections. Nor were the duties and responsibilities of the officers spelled out; evidently they were whatever the titles implied. Power appeared to reside in the Executive Council, which was given "charge of the general interests of the Association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published."<sup>21</sup>

The founders wanted certain men to serve as the first officers of the association in order to insure its success. In Clarence Bowen, for instance, the organizers had a valuable asset as treasurer. Yale's first Ph.D. in history, he was editor of a powerful journal, his father's New York *Independent*, and had a strong interest in the AHA as

<sup>21</sup> "Constitution of the American Historical Association," *AHA Papers*, 1: 20–21. The first officers elected were Andrew Dickson White, president; Justin Winsor and C. K. Adams, vice presidents; H. B. Adams, secretary; and Clarence Winthrop Bowen, treasurer. Members of the Executive Council in addition to the above officers were William B. Weeden, Charles Deane, Moses Coit Tyler, and Ephraim Emerton. See Adams, "Report of the Organization," *AHA Papers*, 1: 21–22; List of Members, 1884, *ibid.*, 22–23; and List of Members, 1886, *AHA Papers*, 2 (New York, 1888): 40–44. For a later account of the AHA's organization by J. Franklin Jameson, who was an eyewitness but did not stay for the entire meeting, see "The American Historical Association, 1884–1909," 4–7. For another version of Jameson's account, see Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past*, 19, 171–79. Note the perspectives of ASSA members in Haskell, *Emergence of Professional Social Science*, 168–77.

a national organization that could aid his current journalistic and patriotic campaign to locate the international quatricentennial celebration of Columbus's discovery of America in the U.S. instead of Spain. To elect Bowen and others who, like Andrew Dickson White, had abilities, enthusiasm, or other assets to offer posed a problem that always plagues those who believe in democracy but know what is best for the people and have little faith that the people themselves share this wisdom. But the solution was simple. Instead of accepting nominations from the floor, the leaders proposed a motion, which passed, that allowed the president pro tem to appoint a nominating committee of three. The committee members made their choices immediately, and with even greater speed another motion carried that elected the entire list of proposed officers unanimously. This practice continued by tradition, with some refinements, until 1916 when, after an unhappy and virulent ruckus, the nominating committee was made elective.<sup>22</sup> With the constitution established and officers elected the association could begin its work. And the new officers had little doubt about what was to be done. As H. B. Adams stated, they foresaw "a national association of active workers from many local centres of academic learning and corporate influence," concentrating all their energy and local power in one central organization, which would promote scientific historical investigation, encourage original work by giving historians a forum to display their results and receive criticism, and maintain scientific standards by the publication of essays deemed worthy by the association's elected officials.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL STATUS for the new organization was essential to its success. To promote the AHA even before its establishment, H. B. Adams sent releases to the national press on the coming organization of an American historical association and wrote for the *Nation* a short exposition on this most recent manifestation of the "new historical movement." The purpose of the proposed association, he asserted, was not "narrow or provincial" but—and here he coined the happy phrase that he subsequently used over and over again—"to foster not merely American History, but history in America." He explained that "this enlarged idea of an American Historical Association representing all parts of the country and history in general, is the outgrowth of the catholic spirit represented by some of our American colleges and universities where students from various sections learn national and liberal ideas and catch glimpses of the world through the science of history."<sup>23</sup>

The representation at Saratoga scarcely substantiated Adams's claim; nevertheless, his driving aim was to make the association a national institution, a goal that sometimes overrode plans to promote the study of history. He assumed that once a national historical organization was formed the growth of "the science of history" would follow and inevitably diffuse and elucidate "national and liberal ideas," which would break down obsolete provincialism and create a republic based on the

<sup>22</sup> Ray Allen Billington, "Tempest in Clio's Teapot: The American Historical Association Rebellion of 1915," *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973): 348–69.

<sup>23</sup> Adams, "A New Historical Movement," *The Nation*, September 18, 1884, p. 240.

principles of the historic Teutonic community. And the best way to achieve national status in Adams's mind was to obtain a charter from Congress.

To realize this ambition, the young secretary turned more and more to influential but nonprofessional members. He wanted them to represent the association before various branches of the government and by their presence on the program swell the attendance at the AHA's annual meetings. For example, in 1887 Adams urged Bowen "to get Hamilton Fish or any other big whale" for the program of the Boston meeting.<sup>24</sup> By 1890, when the association was only six years old, nonacademic members had displaced professors of history in a majority of offices. From the time the organizers sacrificed C. K. Adams's claim to the first presidency in favor of his famous and influential teacher Andrew Dickson White, the office of president had been primarily an honorary one. The major criterion for election seemed to be practical—the prestige that the nominee would bring to the office, not, or only secondarily, his qualifications as a historian. Apparently the founders of the association tacitly agreed that, since officers were elected each year, a new person should hold the presidency annually, although they did not stipulate this in the constitution.<sup>25</sup>

At the spring meeting of 1886 in Washington, D.C., most members were neither enmeshed in high-level lobbying nor troubled by the question of the AHA's national visibility. The papers they read and heard were tedious; even the enthusiastic secretary could find little to say about their quality. If Adams had viewed the program as a whole, however, instead of summarizing each paper in order of its delivery, he might have made some generalizations. The preponderance of the essays, for instance, concerned various aspects of government or constitutional history. The development of the village community in Massachusetts, the early government of the Virginia colony, the Northwest Ordinance, the states-rights theory, the veto power of the Supreme Court were all subjects of papers based primarily on official documents. In other words, most of the academic historians were interested in the origins of current forms of government and political institutions. The tenor of these papers reflected work underway in university seminars. For example, in the autumn of 1885, Edward Channing at Harvard informed H. B. Adams, "My course is in full blast." His students, he wrote, had taken such topics as "the fisheries," a current subject of Anglo-American diplomacy, and "the Civil Service," still a hot issue in politics at the time. Because the roots of these problems were "so deeply laid in the past," he hoped "to get some good historical essays."<sup>26</sup>

These notions, however, probably did not occur to Adams as he wrote his report, which concentrated on the national nature and importance of the association with a view to obtaining the coveted charter. "It is striking evidence," he declared, "of the national aims of the growing Association, that it should so early have advanced upon Washington." He enumerated the achievements of the meeting: the friendly

<sup>24</sup> Adams to Bowen, May 17, 1887, AHA Records, series A, box 212, treasurer's file.

<sup>25</sup> For a list of presidents of the association, see Emil Pocock, "The Presidents of the American Historical Association: A Statistical Analysis," in this issue.

<sup>26</sup> Channing to Adams, October 26, 1885, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Herbert Baxter Adams Papers [hereafter, Adams Papers].

reunion of the Northern and Southern military historians, the peaceful discussion of the campaigns of the Civil War, "the historical representation of the New South," the presence of representatives from the Northern and Northwestern states and Canada, and "the treatment of almost every branch of our American history" ("branch" apparently meant "period"). Adams's emphasis on American history was accurate, for no European subjects vied for time on the program. In addition, he listed "the mingling of representatives, both professors and students, from various historical schools," and, finally, he noted the presence of congressmen and visitors from "various parts of the Union." "It was," Adams exulted, "a veritable national convention in the political centre of the United States for the furtherance of American history and of history in America."<sup>27</sup>

In September 1885, Justin Winsor had drafted a proposed charter for a national academy of history composed of fifty fellows and an unlimited number of members. Winsor took as his model the National Academy of Science, the only existing nationally chartered organization at all analogous to the historical association. The major purpose of the National Academy of Science had been to mobilize science to serve the war needs of the Union. It was closely affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution, and its proceedings were published as part of the Smithsonian's annual report to Congress.<sup>28</sup> Winsor's draft, however, did not meet with the approval of the rest of the AHA charter committee. It was unacceptable because the association had already established its form of organization and had turned down Winsor's earlier model of an elite honorary society in favor of a more democratic and utilitarian organization. Or perhaps it was because the reputation of the National Academy was at a low ebb at the time. Adams considered its meetings mere "picnic outings," and its work did not compare favorably with that of the older but more vigorous American Association for the Advancement of Science. Whatever the reason for rejecting Winsor's draft, the charter finally accepted in 1888 maintained the original structure of the association and secured the cherished benefits of a loose connection with the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>29</sup>

The members saw their new charter for the first time at the 1888 meeting. It was short and allowed the association latitude in organization and function. It named as incorporators the former presidents—White, Bancroft, and Winsor—and the current president, William Frederick Poole, as well as the secretary and the treasurer. The purpose of the association, the charter stated, was "the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America." The AHA could hold property worth up to \$500,000, make its own constitution and bylaws, and hold meetings anywhere it chose, but the central office had to be in Washington. The charter required the association to report annually to the secretary of the Smithsonian "concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America." The secretary of the Smithsonian, however, had the

<sup>27</sup> Adams, "Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., April 27–29, 1886," *AHA Papers*, 2: 5, 7.

<sup>28</sup> Winsor to Herbert Baxter Adams, September 26, 1885, as quoted in John Alfred Borome, "The Life and Letters of Justin Winsor" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1950), 463; and Winsor to Herbert Baxter Adams, July 20, 1887, April 18, 1888, Adams Papers.

<sup>29</sup> Borome, "The Life and Letters of Justin Winsor," 468; and *AHA Papers*, 3 (New York, 1889): 262.

power to censor these reports; he could “communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit.” The regents of the Smithsonian were authorized to permit the AHA to deposit anything it might collect in the library of the institution or in the National Museum. The charter passed Congress, and Grover Cleveland signed it on January 4, 1889.<sup>30</sup>

Affiliation with the Smithsonian Institution allowed the association to share in the prestige that Joseph Henry had built for this national scientific agency. Also, by including a new officer—an assistant secretary and curator—the association gained the free and extremely valuable services of A. Howard Clark, a curator at the Smithsonian. In addition, publication of the AHA’s annual reports was subsidized.<sup>31</sup> The acquisition of a corporate charter gave the AHA a national standing few other professional organizations could claim, because by fiat of Congress the association represented the historical profession to the country and to the world. For H. B. Adams, the acquisition of the national charter and alliance with the Smithsonian was a great victory. It was “the greatest blow,” he exclaimed, “ever struck for the cause of history in America.”<sup>32</sup> Adams now looked forward to the gradual growth of the prosperity and influence of the association.

The AHA became the forum for defining the nature and boundaries of the “new field” of history, for there was by no means a clear consensus on these matters. The pioneers of scientific history in America were, for the most part, good Republicans and nationalists. They were civil service and educational reformers, as were most of the members of the American Social Science Association. They conceived of history not only as a “science” but also as an introduction to a method of studying recent politics and government. Many of the young men who traveled to Germany during the days of constitutional and political debate before and after the Civil War went for training in the science of politics, which could not be obtained within the classical curriculum predominant in American colleges. On arriving in Germany they found that political institutions and issues were studied historically, that a nation’s present political problems and institutions could be understood only in the light of their historical development. They found at Berlin, Leipzig, and Göttingen that historians were political scientists, and political scientists were historians, and that one idea dominated them all—“all true development in politics and national life must be an outgrowth of the past, must be strictly historical in essential character.”<sup>33</sup> The new departments established in the 1870s and ’80s in American

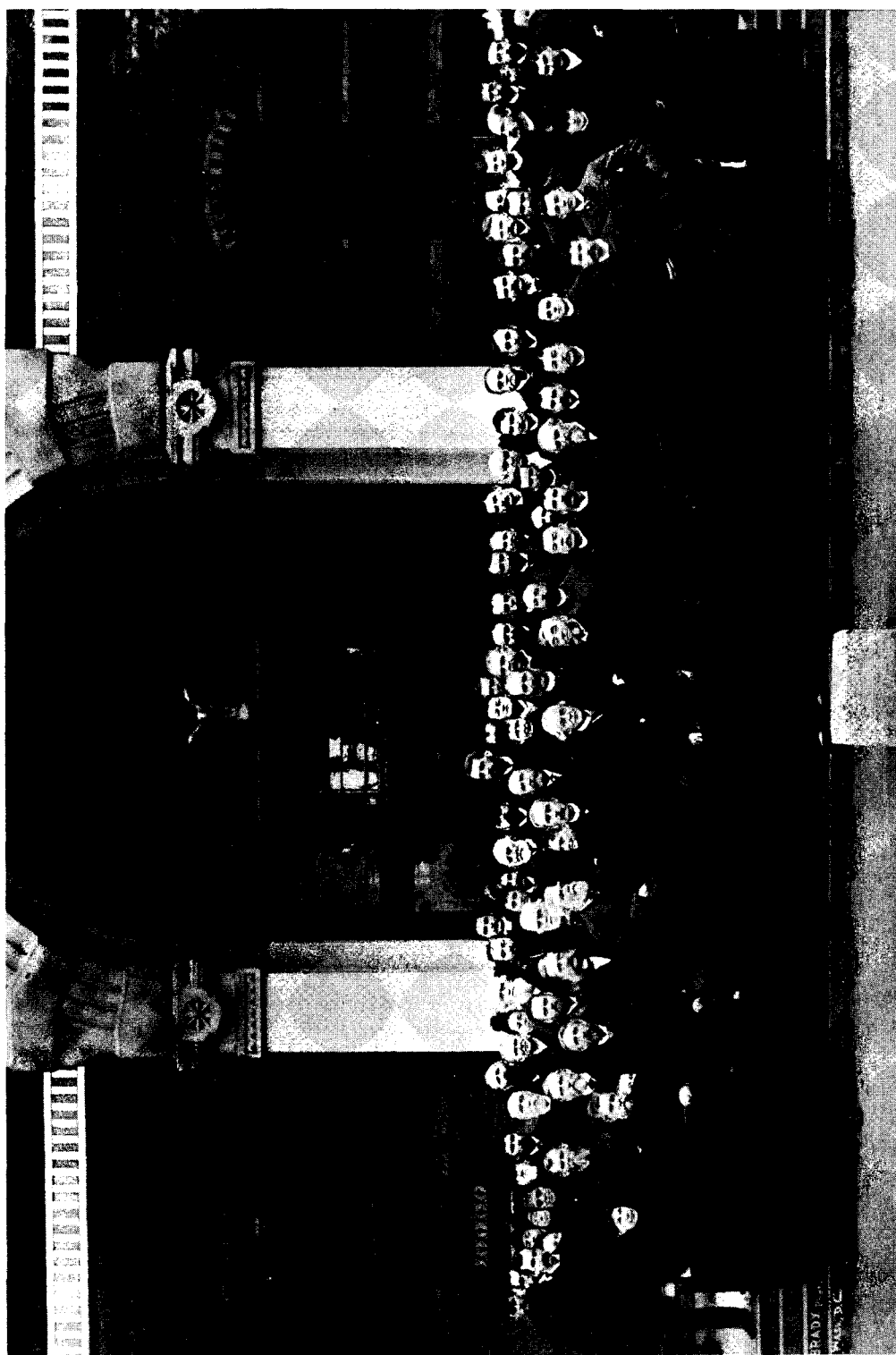
<sup>30</sup> “Act of Incorporation,” *AHA Papers*, 3: 522. For a complete legislative history of the act incorporating the American Historical Association, see A. Howard Clark to Dr. Cyrus Adler, October 18, 1890, AHA Records, Clark letterbook, 58–59.

<sup>31</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, “General Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting Held in Washington, D.C., December 28–31, 1889,” *Annual Report, 1889* (Washington, 1890), 18. The *Annual Report* was published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution with the aid of an annual appropriation by Congress, which varied from year to year, so that the number of copies and pages that the AHA could have depended on the mood of Congress. A representative printing of 1500 copies in 1894 included 844 for members, 81 for state historical societies and libraries, and 115 for European countries. This did not count the volumes printed for the Smithsonian or for senators and congressmen. A. Howard Clark to Herbert Baxter Adams, March 31, 1897, AHA Records, Clark letterbook.

<sup>32</sup> Adams to J. Franklin Jameson, February 5, 1890, printed in Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds., *An Historian’s World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 54 n. 74.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Kendall Adams, “Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America,” *AHA Papers*, 4 (New York, 1890): 59.





*Figure 2:* Annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., 1889, following the passage and signing of the congressional charter.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.

colleges and universities were often designated as departments of history and political science. The Johns Hopkins first monographic series was entitled *Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Many of these educational pioneers were as ambivalent as the titles of their departments indicate. John W. Burgess, although he wrote history, considered himself a political scientist and established the *Political Science Quarterly*. H. B. Adams thought of himself as a historian, and yet history to him was past politics. At the AHA's annual meeting in 1885, Eugene Schuyler was asked to comment on a paper about municipal government but refused. He declared that such a discussion was more appropriate for meetings of the American Social Science Association. Adams jumped up to support Schuyler's idea of excluding practical politics from the association, but he defended the historian's right and duty to study municipal institutions. He stated that "classical history is the history of cities and their politics." "A study of municipal institutions, past and present," Adams argued, "shows at once the origin and tendencies of modern democracy."<sup>34</sup>

A number of Adams's students went into political science rather than history. Woodrow Wilson, for instance, wrote his dissertation on congressional government and thought of himself more as a political scientist than as a historian. William A. Dunning (Ph.D., Columbia, 1885) saw himself as a historian and yet wrote two classic treatises on the development of political theory. Albert Bushnell Hart (Ph.D., Freiburg, 1883) first taught history but later moved into government and political science. Whether they obtained degrees in the United States or Germany, the pioneers of scientific history in America viewed history as a social science rather than as a humanistic study or a discipline with distinctive features of its own. History entered academic curricula as an approach to political science—in the words of Andrew Dickson White, as a method of "throwing light on our own problems."<sup>35</sup> The men who created the new universities deemed the science of politics an all-important subject in America in the age of growing cities, political corruption, and reconstruction in the South, and, in accepting political science, they accepted the current methods of its study. In their zeal to reveal unity and continuity in the evolution of social institutions, these early academic scholars emphasized the search for similarities and rejected the earlier historiography in the United States, which, although critical and very similar in the use of documents, emphasized uniqueness. To them that older approach appeared either provincial or antiquarian.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Adams used the term "politics" in its broadest meaning when he adapted Freeman's phrase "history is past politics." Adams wrote, "For him the Politeia or the commonwealth embraced all the highest interests of man. He did not neglect the subjects of art and literature." Later, he continued, "history, politics and economics—these together with historical jurisprudence, form the chief elements of our system of graduate study in the three year's course for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. We shall doubtless retain our motto, 'History is past politics and politics are present history,' as a convenient symbol of the essential unity of all political and historical science, and as a pleasant souvenir of Mr. Freeman." Adams, "Is History Past Politics?" *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 13th ser., no. 4 (Baltimore, 1895), 68, 80.

<sup>35</sup> White, *Autobiography*, 1 (New York, 1905): 42; and Adams, comp., "An Address on Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," *AHA Papers*, 1: 17. For example, with some trepidation, Woodrow Wilson agreed to write a volume in the "Epochs of American History" series, edited by Albert B. Hart. Wilson said, "The role of historian will be a new one for me, but I trust that my newness will not stick out in the result"; Wilson to Herbert Baxter Adams, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 120.

<sup>36</sup> "It is now recognized that the aim of the scientific and conscientious historian should be to discover and to state simply and truly what has happened in the past. In his researches he must be indefatigable, in his

"In history," declared H. B. Adams in 1883, "as in biology, live specimens are usually better than dead ones. As a live dog is better than a dead lion, so historical subjects which possess vitality or continuity of interest from age to age are the fittest for historical study."<sup>37</sup> This idea of continuity could be accepted by old romantic nationalists such as George Bancroft, although Bancroft himself was rejected by the new scientific historians. Faith in cultural and moral progress was an almost universal conviction in America, but the work of the romantic nationalists of the early part of the century revealed too clearly that their idea of progress was rooted in a religious faith that led them to trust intuition rather than observation. History was for them a demonstration of religious conviction and a creative and literary art that evoked a sense of the past based more on emotion than reason.<sup>38</sup>

The new historians had a similar faith in moral progress, but they equated that progress with the amoral process of evolution and believed that they could reveal by scientific procedures the nature of this moral and social progression. The idea that the village community is the primordial cell of the social organism, evolving slowly by reproduction into large units, fitted very nicely the need to explain the development of the new national state after the Civil War. Since the genetic principle was accepted as proved, all that historians had to do was demonstrate similarities between the institutions of the free towns of New England and those of Anglo-Saxon England and the Teutonic mark of the German forest. The next step was to argue that the free associations of men in village communities had multiplied in New England and formed states, which in turn formed the federal government, and that the South had been the victim of slavery, an alien growth stemming from the romance countries on the Mediterranean. The Civil War had rooted out this cancer, and now, as H. B. Adams declared in 1882, "town institutions are destined

---

judgments he must be guided by the laws of evidence; he is expected to examine and to distinguish different sorts of material open to him, he is pledged to keep in subordination his personal opinions. . . . He forswears the temptation of winning a reputation as a brilliant writer in order to have the credit of impressing the actual sequence and meaning of events upon the minds of his readers." H. Morse Stephens, "Modern Historical Writing," *World's Work*, 4 (1902): 2316.

<sup>37</sup> Adams, "New Methods of Study in History," *Journal of Social Sciences*, 3 (1883): 214.

<sup>38</sup> An anonymous historian, probably H. B. Adams, complained in a review of Bancroft's *History of the Constitution* that the work added nothing new. "History is with him a chronicle of events associated with and caused by distinguished men," and the reviewer suggested that for Bancroft "history interposes with evidence that tyranny and wrong lead inevitably to decay; that freedom and right, however hard may be the struggle, always prove resistless." But the reviewer contended that Bancroft's belief furnished no principle for the study of "history of the institutions or the development of constitutional law" and that Bancroft hopelessly confused the issues "by continual use of metaphor which however beautiful in itself is worse than useless in a historical work of this kind." See "Bancroft's History of the Constitution," *The Nation*, June 22, 1882, pp. 524-25. Even more damning is an obituary of Bancroft in which Talcott Williams eulogized the historian and ranked him with some of the greatest European scholars, but Williams concluded, "It would be idle to conceal the fact that his great work, whose first three volumes had gone through 15 editions 40 years ago, is challenged by all the young and active historical students of today." He continued, "Yet Bancroft's history is the last which will be written upon its style and plan. Every historical student knows that both are doomed, however its' great merits may save his history from oblivion. The vast canvas upon which he attempted, chapter by chapter, to portray the great drama of history is a fatally defective medium." Williams, [George Bancroft], *Philadelphia Press*, January 19, 1891. However obsolete Bancroft's books may have seemed to the new scientific historians, it did not faze H. B. Adams in his effort to obtain the famous historian's blessing on the new generation and, in particular, on his seminar. He invited Bancroft to attend the seminar, obtained his portrait to hang on the seminar room wall, and later persuaded the new American Historical Association to vote him in as the first member and in 1886 to elect him president. See Adams to Bancroft, November 10, 1883, April 16, April 25, 1884, March 3, 1886, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, George Bancroft Papers.

to spread over the whole South. They will take root with the common school.”<sup>39</sup> Adams was the advance agent of a new kind of history, and he made use of every means possible to spread the gospel of institutional history and German methodology. In 1887 he proclaimed the AHA “part of a new seminary plan to have its studies published in the proceedings of learned societies, in historical magazines, and in other ways suited to the propaganda of American institutional history.”<sup>40</sup> It was enough for Adams that the American Historical Association was formed, had obtained a congressional charter, and supported a publication to propagate the new knowledge. In its early years the association had disclaimed any intention of publishing historical documents; its mission was to publish only scholarly papers. The publication of sources would be left to local historical societies and the federal government. In Adams’s view the *Papers* of the AHA, five volumes of which appeared before the government subsidized the first volume of *Annual Reports*, constituted an adequate substitute for a national historical journal.<sup>41</sup>

IT REMAINED FOR THE FIRST GENERATION OF STUDENTS trained in the new American universities to carry forward the process of professionalization. In doing so, the students revolted against their mentors and turned history into a discipline separate from political science as well as the other social sciences and with a distinctive emphasis on understanding change rather than demonstrating continuity.

The ideological revolt by younger historians, which had generated by 1895 the increase and changes in the AHA’s activities, was largely conservative. They clung to the ideals of scientific objectivity and critical examination of evidence, yet they were far more interested in the uniqueness of historical events and preferred exploring the singularity of the United States to studying the similarity between American and European institutions. Although they, like their elders, believed in the evolutionary theory, in the continuity of history, and in progress, they sought the causes of progress through the impact of economic conditions, geography, and the exercise of individual will. And they placed greater emphasis on professional orthodoxy. To them history was *sui generis*, and other disciplines, if recognized at all, should contribute to its ends. They were less concerned than the AHA’s founders with history as a key to political reform and more concerned about the revision of historical interpretations.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams to Samuel A. Green, February 26, 1882, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Samuel A. Green Papers [hereafter, Green Papers].

<sup>40</sup> Adams, *Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, no. 2, 1887 (Washington, 1887), 174; and Adams to Daniel Coit Gilman, April 14, 1881, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 43. Adams told Gilman, “I want to see each candidate for the Ph.D. in history obtain some corporate recognition of his work, some local reputation which will help him in his future career”; Adams to Gilman, July 3, 1882, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 55.

<sup>41</sup> *AHA Papers*, 2: 91–92. For accounts of Jameson’s efforts to preserve manuscript materials, see David D. Van Tassel, “John Franklin Jameson,” in Clifford L. Lord, ed., *Keepers of the Past* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), 81–96; and Victor Gondos, *J. Franklin Jameson and the Birth of the National Archives, 1906–1926* (Philadelphia, 1981). After the fourth volume of the *AHA Papers* appeared, Adams said with pride, “the work begins to look like an American Historical Review”; Adams to C. W. Bowen, October 31, 1890, AHA Records, series A, box 4A.

<sup>42</sup> John Higham’s analysis of the ideas of the founders of the AHA is excellent. We differ somewhat in that he divided them into two groups: among the conservative evolutionists he included J. B. MacMaster, John Ford

As with most revolutions, the origins of this one were complex. They involved the alteration of structure and expansion of function of the AHA and the changing condition of the historical profession in this country and in the colleges and universities more than they did general developments in the contemporary world. When the seminars in the United States began producing Ph.D.s who sought jobs in the growing number of departments of history and political science, courses multiplied and specialization became inevitable.<sup>43</sup> It was all very well for the pioneers in history and political science to be unconcerned about possible conflicts between these subjects, since they often taught both. H. B. Adams, for instance, unified the two fields by choosing the title of "professor of institutional history." When Jameson, Adams's first student to receive the Ph.D., went to Brown in 1888 he was the first professor in his department to teach only history. Perhaps because of this he emphasized social as well as political forces in history in his teaching and writing. Similarly, Charles M. Andrews took Woodrow Wilson's position at Bryn Mawr but, unlike Wilson, emphasized history as his field of specialization.

The discussion of whether history was or was not a science continued within the AHA from its founding to the 1890s. This dialogue was necessary to crystalize the nature of the historical work that the new organization represented. As the echoes of this debate died away, a consensus formed among younger professional historians that history was neither a science nor a social science; it was a separate discipline whose methods for gathering, sifting, and analyzing evidence were no less scientific than those of other disciplines and hence equally capable of producing objective judgments.

As historians defined the boundaries of their discipline and refined its methods, another debate arose that had a more internal character than its predecessor and ultimately led not only to new schools of interpretation but also to the ideological and methodological independence of the new generation of professional historians from their mentors. The outcome contributed to a revolt against Adams's autocratic rule of the association and laid the foundation for some of the functional and structural elements of the organization that remain today—the *American Historical Review*, the system of standing committees, the prizes for outstanding manuscripts and books, the affiliations with other professional and learned societies, the rotation

---

Rhodes, Moses Coit Tyler, Henry Adams, Charles Francis Adams, and Theodore Roosevelt; among the professional historians as conservative evolutionists he included Herbert Baxter Adams, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles M. Andrews, Herbert Levi Osgood, and William A. Dunning. Frederick Jackson Turner he classified as a Progressive historian, which is certainly proper in the early twentieth century. See Higham *et al.*, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America*, 145–71. I have also differentiated two groups among the founders. For the most part, younger historians who obtained their Ph.D.s in American universities not only launched new schools of interpretation—such as the imperial school of colonial history and the "Dunning school" of Reconstruction history—but also, in general, broke from the "comparative approach," as H. B. Adams liked to call it, which found similarities between American and British political institutions that were traced backward by a continuous chain of evolution to a distant past in the forests of Germany.

<sup>43</sup> In 1884 there were few history courses and fewer job openings. Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard, commented, "When young men who are interested in historical study ask me if it would be advisable for them to teach history, . . . I am obliged to say it would be the height of imprudence"; Eliot, *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, May 1884, p. 423. By the opening of the new school year in 1904, there were four hundred fifty colleges, fifteen thousand instructors and over one hundred thousand students; John James Stevenson, "The Status of American College Professors," *Popular Science Monthly*, December 1904, pp. 122–30.



of annual meetings outside of Washington, and the aspiration to control the content and presentation of history at all levels of the educational system.

In 1890 the "germ theory," cherished and expounded by H. B. Adams at Johns Hopkins and C. K. Adams at Michigan, came under steady fire in papers read at the annual meetings by young American historians, many of whom were H. B. Adams's own students. They argued that one cannot simply prove a continuity of development by pointing out similarities among institutions. One young historian asserted, "While the weight of evidence is in favor of free tribesmen in the village community as over against the village in serfdom, yet in speaking of this as a state of liberty, of democracy, we are not to understand these words in the same moral, social, and political sense as were applied to the New England towns. It has required two thousand years to evolve the latter idea of political equality. Therefore, the comparison leads to the conception of a primordial political utopia which is historically *an error*."<sup>44</sup>

Others argued that uniqueness and change should be the focus of historians. "Every local history, properly written," Charles Gross contended, "will add to our knowledge of how the English nation was built up, for every town is an important stone of a great edifice."<sup>45</sup> This was a startling change in emphasis from H. B. Adams's position, asserted ten years earlier, that his study of the town of Plymouth, Massachusetts, "will be for town history what Huxley's work on the crawfish is for biology, i.e., typical of many things besides those described."<sup>46</sup> Efforts to defend the Teutonic "germ theory" served only to weaken the chain of continuity; although Germany, as the argument went, was the source of modern American democratic institutions, it also was the home of socialism, a political anathema to conservative American historians. Hence, it was pointed out that Germany, though the source of free institutions, had been conquered by Charles the Great and was thoroughly feudalized, subject to the rule of absolutism as completely as were the romance countries. Therefore, the pure strain of democratic institutions was carried on by the English, not the Germans.<sup>47</sup>

Once the chain of continuity was broken, it was easy to urge a shift in focus away from origins toward change, uniqueness, and development in history. Frederick Jackson Turner claimed that "too exclusive attention has been paid by students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors." Continuity and growth themselves do not explain progress. "Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modification lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape [them] to meet changing conditions."<sup>48</sup> Change, therefore, not continuity, became the important factor in history.

In other words, the debate before the 1890s over the nature of history was not

<sup>44</sup> Charles McLean Andrews, "The Theory of Village Community," *AHA Papers*, 5 (New York, 1891): 150. For an analysis of the development of Andrews's ideas and the legacy of H. B. Adams, see A. S. Eisenstadt, *Charles McLean Andrews: A Study in American Historical Writing* (New York, 1956), 3–28.

<sup>45</sup> Gross, "A Plea for Reform in the Study of English Municipal History," *AHA Papers*, 5: 3, 90–91.

<sup>46</sup> Adams to Samuel A. Green, November 3, 1880, Green Papers.

<sup>47</sup> William F. Allen, "The Place of the Northwest in General History," *AHA Papers*, 3: 342.

<sup>48</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report, 1893* (Washington, 1894), 201, 199.

between two groups, one believing that history is a science in search of laws and the other seeking to establish, by scientific methods, the facts and set them down without comment or interpretation. It was, rather, an effort to define the new field of scientific history for historians themselves and for the outside world. At the annual meeting in 1890 Robert H. Dabney argued that the whole debate revolved around semantics and the meaning of science. In response to his own question—"Is history a science?"—Dabney said yes, but, he added, "Science is a relative term, there being no absolutely perfect science, not even mathematics." Young William A. Dunning of Columbia strove to prove by "the Socratic method" that "history is a science of increasing precision." In summarizing this exchange, H. B. Adams admonished Dunning in a passing comment. "It may be here suggested that history is a science of man's progress in society, politics, and civilization. Thought and action must be organic to be historic."<sup>49</sup> In spite of this confusing controversy, the pioneers of scientific history agreed that history is indeed a science and that laws exist in history. The only issue between them was on the degree of exactness historical science could achieve—whether historians should be content to reveal the general laws of continuity and evolutionary progress or whether they could also discover more specific laws.

By 1900, however, this controversy had been stilled by a compromise, best formulated by Edward P. Cheyney for whom "the scientific method" was what counted. "The scientific method means nothing more than the simple method; the correct approach to a subject, seeking knowledge for its own sake without ulterior objects or ultimate expectations of any kind from it, using accurate methods of observation, logical processes of classification, trained powers of comprehension and explanation—that is all that a scientific method means, and it is just as applicable to history as to any other field of knowledge."<sup>50</sup>

WHILE THESE IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS, which erupted at the annual meetings, portended significant changes to come in the AHA, H. B. Adams was busy fending off more immediate threats to unity. The local historical societies proposed to form an organization of their own; amateur historians, who made up the largest portion of the membership, complained that the AHA was being run by and for college teachers and their students; young professionals complained that the offices were filled with "elderly swells" and "nabobs" and that the program was crowded with papers of little historical or intellectual value written by members with no professional credentials. Furthermore, Bowen, the treasurer, did not get along very well with A. Howard Clark, the assistant secretary, thus endangering the valued connection with the Smithsonian Institution. To balance the factions and interests was the duty of Adams, who effectively ran the association from 1884 to 1895 and who was anxious to preserve its unity and assure its steady growth.

<sup>49</sup> Dabney, "Is History a Science?" *AHA Papers*, 5: 263–64. The argument for two separate schools or groups can be found in W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1 (1940): 252–62. For another interpretation, see Edward N. Saveth, "Scientific History in America: The Eclipse of an Idea," in Donald A. Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett, eds., *Essays in American Historiography* (New York, 1960), 1–19.

<sup>50</sup> Cheyney, *Law in History and Other Essays* (New York, 1927), 143.

To head off the move for a separate organization of local historical societies, Adams sent out a circular promising closer affiliation and the publication of local news and activities in the *Annual Report*.<sup>51</sup> As for the young professionals, he told Jameson on October 25, 1889, "In my recent letter to Dr. Hart, I had no notion of repressing young men, but . . . there was some gentle criticism from men like Dr. G. Brown Goode to the effect that we had too many youngsters on our program. . . . We must preserve a proper balance between the boys and the patriarchs."<sup>52</sup> He used the diplomatic stratagem of finding the program "crowded" as a means of turning down unwanted papers. This turned out to be only a temporary expedient, for the effort to appease the historical societies brought new objections from the young professionals. Jameson, for example, protested to Adams that "the hope for good historical writing in the future rests with the teachers now that the instruction of the graduate has reached such an extension to make 'schools,' personal followings, and the learning of the trade possible. The historical societies I consider little account intellectually except as trustees of material. . . . A movement to maintain and strengthen the alliance with the professorial body appears to me therefore to be likely of more benefit to the quality of the association's operation than this."<sup>53</sup> To preserve the Smithsonian connection, Adams constantly shot letters back and forth to Bowen and Clark to maintain good relations between the two men.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, Bowen and his fiscal conservatism touched off the revolt among the

<sup>51</sup> Adams thanked Andrew Dickson White for improvements on the circular to the state historical societies. "I have shown the document to the Smithsonian authorities, and they cordially approve it. It will doubtless accomplish the object that we have in view and head off that convention of historical societies in Philadelphia, proposed by Mr. Stephens of the Southern California Historical Society." Adams to White, February 4, 1890, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 126. The AHA offered to set up exchanges of publications with the historical societies and to publish information about each of them; "Circular Letter to the State Historical Societies," *AHA Papers*, 4: 506. The question of the relationship of special and local historical societies to the AHA had already arisen in connection with the American Society of Church History, which became a section of the AHA in 1888 on the model of the various sections "of the Oriental Society, The Association for the Advancement of Science, and The Evangelical Alliance Conference." Samuel M. Jackson to Herbert Baxter Adams, May 16, 1888, AHA Records, series A, box 50. In 1892 the Railway Historical Association sought the same kind of affiliation: A. Howard Clark to Herbert Baxter Adams, June 13, 1892; Clark to James B. Angell, July 25, 1892; Clark to J. E. Watkins, August 12, 1892, AHA Records, Clark letterbook. There is no record that the Railway Historical Association ever received affiliation, and the American Society of Church History became the Church History Section but was dissolved in 1902 for lack of interest. It might well have set a precedent for organization along topical and sectional lines. The council resisted all such overtures, with the exception of the establishment of the Pacific Coast branch in 1904. Other similar proposals—for example, by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association—were rebuffed. Instead, the AHA adopted a plan presented by Lucy Salmon in 1897, by which any local historical society might affiliate with the AHA by vote of the Executive Council and payment of the ordinary life membership fee. The AHA sent the affiliated societies programs and reports and published the list of affiliated societies and their officers in the *Annual Report*. Herbert Baxter Adams, "Secretary's Report," *Annual Report*, 1897, 6–7. Later, a conference on state and local history was set up, which in 1938 became the American Association for State and Local History.

<sup>52</sup> Adams to Jameson, October 24, 1889, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 54 n. 74. Jameson also wrote to Woodrow Wilson, "[the AHA] seems to me to be giving more and more weight to those members who are simply 'prominent citizens,' presidents of local historical societies, and that class of person, distinguished for being distinguished, and to be injuring its scientific value by striving to achieve popular distinction and prestige." Jameson to Wilson, March 9, 1890, *ibid.*, 54.

<sup>53</sup> Jameson to Adams, February 21, 1890, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 128.

<sup>54</sup> Clark complained about abrupt letters from Bowen, which included Bowen's complaints about the expenses Clark incurred; Clark to Adams, March 10, 1891, March 14, 1893; Clark to Bowen, March 10, 1891, AHA Records, Clark letterbook. In 1893 Clark all but threatened to resign over letters from Bowen. Adams wrote, "I hope you will be very considerate in what you say to Clark for he really carries a great and thankless burden. He represents Dr. Goode and the Smithsonian Institution and is absolutely trustworthy. It would be

young professionals within the association. Having established their ideological and methodological independence, they now sought freer access to publication than was available in the *Annual Report*. A journal appearing periodically, containing research articles and reviews, and run by professional historians for professional historians was an ideal that even Adams professed at one time. In 1889 he wrote to Bowen, "We must have an American Historical Review under the auspices of the Association."<sup>55</sup> Many such ideas were floating around, but the issue came to a head when Martha Lamb, editor of the *Magazine of American History*, died, and the publisher offered the magazine to the AHA. Bowen, however, demurred; he believed the AHA could not afford to take on this additional burden.<sup>56</sup> Immediately, but independently, historians at Harvard and Cornell began plans to fill the breach. In 1894 they got wind of each other's activities and set up a joint meeting in New York City. A representative group of twenty-six historians from major graduate schools agreed to establish the *American Historical Review* as a private venture for a trial period of three years. The group chose an editorial board and J. Franklin Jameson as the first editor.<sup>57</sup> Adams expressed some anxiety about this development to Clark. "I fear the institution of the *American Historical Review* will interfere somewhat with our annual programs, for all ambitious writers of history in this country will be anxious to publish in the magazine. I am quite in sympathy with the enterprise . . . but I decline to have any direct connection with it because of my relation to the university studies and to the American Historical Association."<sup>58</sup> In 1898, at the end of a successful three-year trial period, the association, in spite of the continued opposition of Bowen and Adams, agreed to subsidize the *Review* by buying copies for each member on the condition that the association would have no editorial responsibilities or financial liabilities for the journal. Thus, the editorial board of the *Review*, a self-perpetuating body composed solely of professional historians, became their initial power base within the association.<sup>59</sup>

At the annual meeting in Washington in 1895, a group almost identical with that which had inspired the founding of the *American Historical Review* headed a highly

---

the greatest misfortune in the world for us to create any ill feelings or dissatisfactions in that quarter." Adams to Bowen, March 20, 1893, AHA Records, series A, box 5.

<sup>55</sup> Adams to Bowen, September 17, 1889, reprinted in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 121.

<sup>56</sup> Victor Constant to Bowen, November 24, 1893; Bowen to Constant, November 29, 1893, AHA Records, series A, box 5. Regarding Adams's earlier idea of a journal, Clark wrote that "Professor Goode does not much favor the idea of an historical quarterly and has said to me that the government report should be enough without the expense of Putnam's edition"; Clark to Herbert Baxter Adams, February 24, 1890, AHA Records, Clark letterbook.

<sup>57</sup> For a full account of the founding of the *AHR*, see Jameson, "The American Historical Review, 1895–1920," *AHR*, 26 (1920–21): 1–17. For more detail, see Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 65 nn. 152, 153. Reviews of new books was a major feature of the new journal. "A canon of reviewing should be laid down by the Editor-in-chief directing each reviewer to ascertain how far any new book complies with the methods of the scientific school of history, and how far it contains new matter, quite apart from the reputation of the author or the predilection of the reviewer; historical students and writers will therefore find criticisms by specialists, and will acquire confidence by the knowledge that each book is tested by a definite standard"; "The Plan for the American Historical Review," April 1895, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., George Burton Adams Papers [hereafter, G. B. Adams Papers]. On Jameson's efforts to set high standards, see the essay by Morey D. Rothberg in this issue. For a full biography of Jameson, see Rothberg, "Servant to History: A Study of John Franklin Jameson, 1859–1937" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1982).

<sup>58</sup> Adams to Clark, October 30, 1895, AHA Records, series A, box 6.

<sup>59</sup> Adams, "Secretary's Report," *Annual Report, 1898* (Washington, 1899), 5.

significant revolt against H. B. Adams's virtual one-man rule and limited view of the AHA's structure and function. Council member George Burton Adams, with active support from Hart and Jameson, led a successful move to create the first standing committee of the AHA, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, charged with locating, calendaring, and editing privately held manuscripts of national significance. During its long existence, the commission printed in the AHA *Annual Report* editions of major collections of correspondence and other documents, performing for the nation at large what the local societies had long been doing for localities and regions in their transactions and collections.<sup>60</sup> At the same time the association voted to hold future annual meetings at cities other than the national capital. Since 1889 the membership had been frozen at about six hundred, and the leadership hoped to thaw the ice by convening in regional centers of colleges and universities, whose professional historians would attend and join. The members also agreed to use some of the slowly accumulating capital to award a prize and gold medal for the best monograph in American history. On presenting the award for the first time in 1896, the association named it for Justin Winsor.<sup>61</sup>

The next step in the revolt also came in 1896, when the association, again with the misgivings of Adams and some older members, accepted the request of the National Education Association to appoint a committee to plan a curriculum for history in the secondary schools.<sup>62</sup> Once academic historians had generally agreed on the methods and objectives of history, they evidently felt comfortable about assuming the responsibility of overseeing the teaching of history at all levels of education. Ephraim Emerton had already published an influential article that sought to set standards for the graduate training of historians. Now it was the task of the young professionals to put their stamp on the secondary school curriculum. The Executive Council appointed a Committee of Seven, which published in 1899 its highly influential report, *The Study of History in Schools*. Its standards were adopted by secondary schools, colleges, and universities throughout the country as the basis for college entrance requirements in history.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, "Report of the Proceedings, Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 26–27, 1895," *Annual Report, 1895* (Washington, 1896), 10.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 11–12. Adams intended to centralize activities in the national capital and supported "the expediency of always meeting in Washington." He knew that there were "many kickers," but they were mainly from Harvard. Albert B. Hart wanted the next meeting north of Philadelphia, that is New England, but Adams concluded, "I think that New England has more to gain from Washington than the Association has from New England"; Adams to Bowen, December 23, 1890, AHA Records, series A, box 6. In 1895 Adams attempted to argue with Hart, pointing out that the association had "tried the policy of swinging around the circle, but the proposed Columbus meeting failed, the Chicago meeting was not successful, and it was impossible to get even a program for the decennial at Saratoga in 1895." Adams to Hart, December 16, 1895, AHA Records, series A, AHA Programs, 1889–1900, box 453.

<sup>62</sup> The committee consisted of Andrew C. McLaughlin (chairman), Herbert Baxter Adams, George L. Fox, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles H. Haskins, Lucy M. Salmon, and H. Morse Stephens. See McLaughlin *et al.*, *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Seven* (New York, 1899), v–vi. Adams continued to express his distaste for what he considered a petty and annoying chore. He wrote his friend George Burton Adams at Yale, "We are having a great deal of bother with our committee on secondary education, and I almost wish we had never touched the matter." Herbert Baxter Adams to George Burton Adams, February 15, 1897, G. B. Adams Papers. For an excellent analysis of the ideas of the new professional historians about teaching history, see Deborah L. Haines, "Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years," *Journal of American History*, 63 (1976–77): 892–912.

<sup>63</sup> Emerton, "The Requirements for the Historical Doctorate in America," *Annual Report, 1893*, 77–90. A. H. Clark, writing to the chairman of the House committee on printing to support a congressional appropriation



The Committee of Seven suggested that the ideal curriculum for history in secondary schools should include four years of study, five hours a week, with one year each of ancient, English or medieval, European, and American history, and in American history special emphasis should be placed on the Federal period, with a collateral study of civil government. The committee recommended the use of textbooks written by experts, written exercises, written or oral reports, maps and map-making, collateral reading in secondary materials, and even the use of primary sources. For over thirty years secondary schools throughout the country followed the program proposed by the Committee of Seven. The committee also established a strong precedent for the association's continuing concern for the teaching of history at all levels of formal education as a legitimate activity of the profession and a continuing function of the AHA.<sup>64</sup>

Yet another consequence of the generational revolt of the 1890s was passage in 1898 of an amendment to article four of the constitution expanding the elected membership of the Executive Council from four to six. Younger members of the association were disturbed about the growing number of former presidents on the Executive Council, who were, for the most part, amateur historians with little interest in the teaching of history.<sup>65</sup> By 1900 the new professionals were in full control, and the association was a far cry from the "small society of scholars quietly pursuing together the study of history" that H. B. Adams and his allies had founded in 1884. Despite the signal achievement of securing a national charter, government subvention of the publication of the *Annual Report*, a membership roll of eight hundred people, and a treasury bulging with over \$5,000, the essential activities of the association were still restricted to one meeting a year and publication of the papers presented in the *Annual Report*.

H. B. Adams indeed had laid the foundation for much that followed. He had, for example, insisted that the membership be open and fought a successful battle against elitism, which might have killed the association at the outset.<sup>66</sup> He and C. K. Adams were responsible for the Executive Council resolution in 1884 that specifically included women in the membership, although this did not mean that women had a much easier time finding a place in the profession. In the AHA they were included on committees and even on the council, but only one woman, Nellie Neilson, has to date served as president. In the early days even the council dinners were often closed to women members since the meetings took place in all-male clubs such as the Metropolitan, Cosmos, and Century clubs.<sup>67</sup> Adams's attainment of a national charter proved more beneficial in symbol than in any

---

for printing a new edition of the report of the Committee of Seven for distribution to schools, pointed out that the report was "an important work" and that "Harvard University changed entrance requirements on its account"; Clark to Joel T. Heatwole, May 14, 1901, AHA Records, Clark letterbook. Also see the notes of Charles W. Eliot's address to the annual meeting of the AHA in the *Annual Report*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), 24.

<sup>64</sup> McLaughlin *et al.*, *Study of History in Schools*, 34–43.

<sup>65</sup> *Annual Report*, 1898, 6.

<sup>66</sup> In 1900 Adams looked with some disquiet on the rapid expansion of the membership. He told Bowen, "I should advise caution in the rapid expansion of the Association. I think new members should come in by nomination on the part of existing members, who will vouch for the character of the men and obtain their consent before proposing their names." Adams to Bowen, November 22, 1900, AHA Records, series A, box 11, Papers of the Secretary to the Council.

<sup>67</sup> "There is nothing in the constitution to prevent the admission of women into the Association upon the same qualifications as those required of men." Resolutions of the Executive Council, no. 6, *AHA Papers*, 1: 40.



Figure 3: Nellie Neilson, 1873–1947.

Photograph reproduced courtesy of Mount Holyoke College Library and Archives, South Hadley, Mass.

At the meeting in Saratoga in September 1885, Channing noted, "The ladies too were well represented by Mrs. Lamb, Miss Cowan and Miss Lucy W. Salmon each of whom read papers"; Channing, "Historical Discussions at Saratoga," *New York Independent*, September 17, 1885. Adams, perhaps typical of his generation, was somewhat ambivalent about professional women. In 1896 he wrote Clark, "Send Miss Katherine Coman, Wellesley College, Massachusetts, our *Annual Report* for 1894 which, she says, has not been received. She wants to resign from the Association, but I want to keep her in"; Adams to Clark, October 14, 1896, AHA Records, series A, box 4. A year later Lucy Salmon, a member of the Committee of Seven and a professor of history at Vassar, suggested adding an additional woman to the committee, but Adams demurred. "I am inclined to think that one woman is enough!" Adams to George Burton Adams, January 7, 1897, G. B. Adams Papers. Ephraim D. Adams noted a typical example of the kinds of exclusion practiced by the Pacific Coast branch of the AHA. "The program is startling in its elimination of women." It was "a big mistake to exclude them from the dinner in the evening, and personally, if the Faculty Club cannot open its dining room, to women, I should very much prefer to see the dinner held elsewhere." Adams to Frederick J. Teggart, November 5, 1908, *AHA Papers*,

material form except for the long-term subsidy of the *Annual Report*. The connection with the Smithsonian did not result in a substantial library or in documentary collections, as the founders planned, but did raise the specter of censorship. With the resignation of A. Howard Clark in 1901, no effort was made to continue the association.

Adams failed in his efforts to hold together the unstable coalition of groups, composed of amateur scholars, antiquarians, distinguished men of letters, and professional historians, that had originally founded the AHA. As it became increasingly clear that the professionals were in control, members of other groups either became inactive or dropped out. The amateurs shared Edward Eggleston's complaint "that [the association] meets at times and places impossible to me and discusses subjects I have no interest in. It seems to be run in the interests of college professors only to give those of us who are not of that clan the cold shoulder."<sup>68</sup> He was quite right; the younger generation of college teachers, in attempting to professionalize the association, was, in fact, making an effort to replace the traditional approach to history and was aiming for the time when trained historians would cover the country, when their standards would be the only standards for history, and when the American Historical Association would not only be a professional but also a truly national organization.

By 1900 the small army of professionally trained historians enjoyed high prestige, which owed less to their adoption of the scientific method and the popular awe of science than to what they seemed to offer to a nation troubled by acute social and political problems. Editors, like E. L. Godkin of the *Nation*, used only professional historians to review historical works, and articles by professional historians consistently appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *North American Review*, *New Englander*, *South Atlantic Quarterly* (founded by two Southern historians), *World's Work*, and *Century* magazine. Publishers, such as Charles Scribner and Henry Holt, published the work of academic historians and listed them as readers and critics of historical manuscripts, and President Cleveland appointed professionally trained historians to the commission that negotiated the Venezuelan boundary dispute.<sup>69</sup>

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STUDY OF HISTORY as a profession in the public mind and in the minds of historians gave the national organization a new importance as the arbiter of professional competence and attainment. Historians from the far-flung outposts of the academic empire sought places on the programs of the annual

---

Pacific Coast Branch, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. Lucy Salmon continued her crusade on behalf of academic women within the association when she became a member of the council. "I do not wish to seem to press the names of women for membership on any of these committees; and yet, as I think I have written more than once before, I can but feel that the Association has by self-denying ordinance been deprived of the services of a good many able women." Salmon to Edwards B. Green, November 25, 1919, AHA Records, series A, box 9. In addition to being the only woman to serve as president of the American Historical Association, Nellie Neilson was a secretary of the AHA Council, a distinguished medieval historian, and a professor of history at Mount Holyoke College.

<sup>68</sup> Eggleston to Bowen, January 2, 1889, AHA Records, series A, box 4.

<sup>69</sup> Stephens, "Modern Historical Writing," 2316. Frederick Jackson Turner was one scholar who did not publish very much but was sought after by many publishers. See Ray A. Billington, "Why Some Historians Rarely Write History: A Case Study of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 50 (1963): 3-27, and *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York, 1973), 185-208.

meetings, acceptance of their articles in the *Annual Report* and *American Historical Review*, the right to review and be reviewed in the latter, and positions on the official committees of the association. Earlier generations of American historians gained satisfaction from love of the work itself, and from mainly local but sometimes national recognition. For the new historians, however, history was not a product of local loyalty or pride of place; it was a field of knowledge and livelihood. A successful career—promotion and raises—could be gained only through recognition by the national academic community, to which by 1900 only the American Historical Association and its official journal provided access.

The association still reflected the early narrow concern of historians with political institutions and constitutional history, but by 1900 the AHA had diverged from H. B. Adams's initial policy of publishing only original papers and had begun an ambitious publication program reflective of the interests of historians at that time. It published mostly bibliographies of public documents and the papers of public men but also lobbied for the creation of state and national archives. Yet in 1901, only six years after the "palace revolt," the association meeting in Washington, attended by two hundred members, could view with pride the accomplishments of its sixteen years. Sixteen-hundred names now swelled the membership list, representing all parts of the United States, "including a large majority of professional writers and teachers of American history"—a rapid increase in two years and double the number of members in 1894.<sup>70</sup> The association had published five volumes of *Papers* and eleven volumes of the *Annual Report*, covering all branches of American history and historical study. The Historical Manuscript Commission had issued three reports, and the Committee of Seven's *The Study of History in Schools*, published as a separate volume by Macmillan in 1899, was selling quite well. The association now had an official journal in the *American Historical Review*; ten standing committees concerned with the collection and publication of manuscripts, secondary school curricula in history, and the centralization of government documents and bibliographies; the Winsor prize for an unpublished monograph exemplary of the highest standards of historical scholarship; and a general committee representing state and local historical societies. The association even voted to supervise a multivolume rewriting of American history in cooperation with Harper and Brothers, which took over the project and published it as the *American Nation Series*, edited by Albert B. Hart.

The turn of the century signified many things to many people, but to the association and its council it meant the end of an era. Herbert Baxter Adams resigned. In a letter relinquishing his position as secretary, Adams continued to press his own vision of the AHA, urging the Executive Council to replace him with A. Howard Clark and to centralize the organization in the national capital "to preserve our historic policy of connection with Washington and the Smithsonian Institution." Although a number of council members sought to promote the candidacy of able historians for Adams's position, George Burton Adams, a consummate politician, won. A compromise was struck, and Charles H. Clark became corresponding secretary and Haskins, secretary to the council. G. B.

<sup>70</sup> *Annual Report, 1900* (Washington, 1901), 17–18, 22.

Adams, one of the instigators of the palace revolt, wrote to Bowen, "the practices changed and the executive of the Association is now really the Council, and this seems to me for the full-grown association, a much better thing,"<sup>71</sup> H. B. Adams died six months later leaving a bequest of \$5,000 to his beloved association, but his greatest legacy to the historical profession was the American Historical Association itself.

<sup>71</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams to Bowen, November 22, 1900, *Annual Report, 1900*, 24; and George Burton Adams to Bowen, December 4, 1900, AHA Records, series A, box 10.



---

“To Set a Standard of Workmanship  
and Compel Men to Conform to It”:  
John Franklin Jameson  
as Editor of the *American Historical Review*

---

MOREY D. ROTHBERG

THE QUOTATION FROM JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON that provided the title for this essay also defines the problem it attempts to resolve. Living when the study of history has been fragmented almost beyond comprehension, we might wonder how any historian at any time could attempt to establish a single standard by which to measure his own work and that of his colleagues. What was that standard? How did Jameson come to pronounce it? How successful was he, as the first and premier editor of the *American Historical Review*, in establishing a “standard of workmanship” in historical writing? The answer to this last question, which invites an exploration of the preceding ones, is that he was not very successful in meeting the goals he set. Partly because of the lingering influence of genteel culture, which vitiated efforts to impose scholarly rigor on historical work, and partly because of social and political developments that exerted countervailing pressure on attempts to create a unitary science of history, Jameson was no more able to rein in the historical profession than he could make the sun stand still. To say this is not to conclude that he was a failure as a managing editor, for under his stewardship the *Review* established itself as the leading historical journal in this country and as one of the most acclaimed of its kind in the world. Nor does Jameson’s “failure” diminish his historical significance, for he was one of the most visible proponents, certainly one of the most enduring, of a variant of “scientific” history that at one point guided the most influential graduate seminars in America. His decline paralleled the demise of a school of history, and, thus, in examining his career, we gain a sense of the dynamics of historical writing, of the way in which the ideal of academic “professionalism” embodies political beliefs that change as the political and social climate surrounding universities changes.

I read an earlier version of this essay at a session on American historiography at the 1982 meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia. I would like to thank Mary O. Furner and Robert Skotheim, the commentators on the panel, for their thoughtful remarks and John L. Thomas, my dissertation advisor at Brown University, who provided numerous helpful comments on both the dissertation and the essay. A Beveridge grant in 1983 from the American Historical Association made research possible at the Henry E.

THE VISION OF A HISTORICAL PROFESSION united behind a single standard of scholarly excellence was not Jameson's alone. He shared this commitment with virtually all who comprised the first generation of American academic historians. Under the direction of Herbert Baxter Adams, Jameson's mentor at Johns Hopkins University in the 1880s, the historical seminar became a laboratory, "where books are treated like mineralogical specimens, passed about from hand to hand, examined, and tested."<sup>1</sup> To Adams and other "scientific historians" of the late nineteenth century, the path to sound scholarship had been cleared by Leopold von Ranke. A science of history, Ranke appeared to instruct, depends above all else on documentation. Free of any presuppositions, historians would, in the words of their master, establish *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, "things as they actually happened."<sup>2</sup>

Declaring themselves unconstrained by partisan political commitments, the scientific historians actually saw an appeal to facts as a means by which the genteel culture they valued could assert its primacy in an era apparently characterized by boss rule in the cities and corporate corruption of state and national legislatures.<sup>3</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams's study of local institutional history, for example, had political implications, for he drew a line of continuous development from local attachments to national citizenship and from national citizenship to membership in the international community, by-passing partisan political institutions entirely.<sup>4</sup> Jameson came to Johns Hopkins in 1880 as a Massachusetts-born youth of twenty-one, armed with a Calvinist commitment to self-sacrifice and the Mugwump conviction that control of public affairs must be wrested from both plutocrats and ward heelers and returned to individuals of breeding and proper moral tone. He shared with Adams a commitment to nationalism and to the college lecture hall as a new arena of political activity. Jameson had little faith in the vitality of the local community, however, and he anticipated the self-styled Progressives of the early twentieth century by emphasizing the value of organization and technique in a bureaucratizing society.<sup>5</sup>

A stellar academic record at both Amherst College, from which he graduated in 1879, and Johns Hopkins could not convince Jameson that he was anything but a pedant and a plodder, and he turned away from a nascent commitment to social history and toward historiography and historical criticism as vital but subsidiary disciplines out of which he felt he could develop a career. Earning the first

---

Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and the J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History, 1983–84, sponsored jointly by the American Historical Association and the Library of Congress, provided time, financial support, and research facilities.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert B. Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, no. 2, 1877 (Washington, 1887), 75.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays* (Seattle, 1967), 22, 24. My translation. Also see George Burton Adams, "History and the Philosophy of History," *AHR*, 14 (1908–09): 223, 226.

<sup>3</sup> For two discussions of the cultural implications of scientific history, see John Higham *et al.*, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), 92–101; and Deborah L. Haines, "Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years," *Journal of American History*, 63 (1976–77): 892–912.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, "Co-operation in University Work," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1st ser., no. 2 (1882): 49.

<sup>5</sup> For further details on Jameson's early development, see Morey D. Rothberg, "Servant to History: A Study of John Franklin Jameson, 1859–1937" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1982), chaps. 1, 2.

doctorate in history at Hopkins in 1882, Jameson remained there as an instructor through the spring of 1888. In 1886, he presented a series of public lectures "on historical writing in America from the period of colonization to the present," which were revised and published in 1891 as the *History of Historical Writing in America*. In the era of Bancroft, Parkman, and Motley, he pointed out, great historical writing was also great art, but no longer. Individual brilliance had yielded to mere competence. "My view is that there will not be produced among us any work of supereminent genius, but that there will be a large amount of good second-class work done." In their dullness and mediocrity, historians were adapting to a civilization in which such qualities were increasingly acceptable, even necessary. America was first and foremost a business civilization, he announced, that had "transferred to the fields of literature and science the habits of business management."<sup>6</sup>

With centralized organization and control seemingly so important to modern historical writing, an enterprising scholar with a tolerance for tedium could gain both prestige and authority as the editor of a professional journal. So Jameson may have thought, for, when he left Baltimore in 1888 to assume a professorship of history at Brown University, he took with him the idea of an "American Historical Review."<sup>7</sup> Discussions with scholars at Harvard who were thinking along the same lines convinced him that his own plans were too audacious, but in 1895 the desire of historians at a number of Northern universities to create a national organ for the historical profession gave Jameson the opportunity he sought. Almost simultaneously, the history faculties at Cornell and Harvard each decided to publish such a journal, but the skillful mediation of George Burton Adams, a professor of medieval history at Yale, brought the two groups together in an effort both to avoid the dissipation of scholarly resources and to develop an effective professional counterweight to the influence that Herbert Baxter Adams exerted over the American Historical Association as its secretary. The *Review* was established apart from the association and underwritten during its first three years by an independent group of guarantors.<sup>8</sup> The same year that the *Review* was born, moreover,

<sup>6</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, "Historical Writing in the United States since 1861: A Public Lecture, Delivered in the Hall of Johns Hopkins University," *Englische Studien*, 13 (1889): 235. Also see "Historical and Political Science," *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 5 (1886): 132.

<sup>7</sup> John Franklin Jameson, diary, June 4, [1888], Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, John Franklin Jameson Papers [hereafter, Jameson Papers], box 4.

<sup>8</sup> See Jameson, diary, November 29, [1889], Jameson Papers. The correspondence of George Burton Adams at Yale University provides a detailed account of the negotiations that finally led to the creation of the *American Historical Review*. Much of the correspondence appears to be copies that Adams kept of his own letters and of letters he received, most of which he sent to Jameson in 1920 for the article the latter wrote on the history of the *Review*. See George Burton Adams to H. Morse Stephens, December 31, 1894; Adams to Ephraim Emerton, December 31, 1894; Emerton to Adams, January 28, 1895; Emerton to Adams, February 27, 1895; Stephens to Adams, February 16, 1895; Emerton to Adams, March 2, 1895; Moses Coit Tyler, George L. Burr, and H. Morse Stephens to Adams, February 17, 1895; Adams to Stephens, February 28, 1895; Adams to Emerton, February 28, 1895; Memorandum, "Prof. Stephen's visit [to Adams] of March 3, 1895," March 5, 1895; Stephens to Adams, March 8, 1895; Adams to Emerton, March 4, 1895; Tyler, Burr, and Stephens to Adams, March 8, 1895; Adams to Stephens, March 5, 1895; Emerton to Adams, March 12, 1895; Adams to Stephens, March 14, 1895; George Burton Adams to [Herbert Baxter] Adams, March 15, 22, 1895; and Herbert B. Adams to George B. Adams, March 21, 1895, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., George Burton Adams Papers. There is also a list in this collection of the letters that Adams sent to Jameson for his article. Also see Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909," *AHR*, 15 (1909-10): 17.



Figure 1: J. Franklin Jameson, President of the American Historical Association, 1907.  
Photograph (ca. 1892) reproduced courtesy of Francis Jameson, Washington, D.C.

several of its founders were instrumental in persuading the Executive Council of the American Historical Association to rotate the location of the association's annual meeting, rather than convene routinely in Washington, D.C., as Adams preferred.<sup>9</sup>

Jameson was invited to attend the April 1895 conference in New York City, which founded the *Review* and selected a board of editors for the new journal.<sup>10</sup> His possession of a Hopkins doctorate and a professorship at Brown, as well as the initiative he had displayed (through an address in 1890 to the American Historical

<sup>9</sup> Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884–1909," 18.

<sup>10</sup> Jameson, "The American Historical Review, 1895–1920," *AHR*, 15 (1909–10): 5–6.

Association, subsequently published in its *Annual Report*) in promoting the need for governmental support of historical research, made him an attractive candidate for the managing editorship of the *Review*, which required ability and at least the appearance of ideological neutrality. Jameson was gratified when he was elected to this position at the age of thirty-six, shortly after the *Review* was established.<sup>11</sup>

Jameson retained the managing editorship until 1901 when he left Brown to head the history department at the University of Chicago. His inaugural lecture at Chicago gave evidence of political and editorial convictions that were equally unsparing of sentiment. "The world cares far less for eloquence than it did a generation ago," he observed. Now it wanted facts; realism in fiction had arisen concurrently with the development of "professional or professorial history-writing." Nineteenth-century historians bathed in the warm glow of romantic liberalism, but "old-fashioned whiggery is dead; the political theories that have taken its place borrow their postulates from the domain of physical science."<sup>12</sup> It was unfortunate that history could not be both exciting and accurate, but if a choice had to be made there was no question where Jameson's sympathies lay. Objectivity was well worth the sacrifice of a gripping narrative.<sup>13</sup> Now, moreover, there were standards to which scholars could be expected to adhere. Two centuries previously, monastic communities and scientific academies had set these boundaries; historical journals, which were peculiarly a product of the late-nineteenth century, performed the same task in contemporary scholarship. "To evoke originality, to kindle the fires of genius is not their function," Jameson pointed out, "but to regularize, to criticise, to restrain vagaries, to set a standard of workmanship and compel men to conform to it."<sup>14</sup> While neither historians nor their public rejoiced at the lifeless condition of historical writing, each might take comfort from its reassuring solidity.

Jameson resumed the editorship of the *Review* in 1905, when he left Chicago to become the director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, where he served for twenty-three years. At the Carnegie Institution, he initiated a breathtaking array of projects—guides to foreign archives, campaigns for a national historical publications commission and a national archives, and a bibliographical guide (*Writings on American History*). He took on, furthermore, numerous influential assignments within the American Historical Association, the presidency of which he held in 1907. These many activities were but a partial realization of Jameson's vision of a great national historical enterprise emanating from Washington under his leadership. He provided in fact the scholarly counterpart to the political Progressivism that sought to subordinate local commitments to the creation of a homogeneous national state. The *Review* was paramount to this scheme, because here the fruits of historical professionalization would be regularly displayed and a national standard for scholarship established. The time and effort

<sup>11</sup> Jameson to John Jameson, May 6, 1895, Jameson Papers, box 11, file 1895. For Jameson's promotion of governmental support of history, see his "The Expenditures of Foreign Governments in Behalf of History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* [hereafter, *Annual Report*], 1891 (Washington, 1892), 31–61. For the notice of Jameson's address before the association, see *Annual Report*, 1890 (Washington, 1891), 9–10.

<sup>12</sup> Jameson, "The Influence of Universities upon Historical Writing," *University Record of the University of Chicago*, 6 (1902): 297–98.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.



he spent editing the *Review* was monumental. As Andrew McLaughlin, who succeeded Jameson between 1901 and 1905, explained the job, the managing editor was responsible for all the copy in the journal exclusive of advertising: articles, book reviews, documents, and "News and Notes." He handled all correspondence on these matters, secured contributors, and proofread the entire text. "If one thinks of how much of a task it is to prepare each three months, a hundred thousand words of copy, correct in every particular as far as possible, and to put that through the press, he will gain some idea of the labor involved, not only in doing this but in securing the articles, getting hold of all the new books, selecting reviewers, corresponding with them and with the publishers, and reading the articles and rejecting those which do not seem suitable."<sup>15</sup>

Help was secured in editing the "News and Notes," and Jameson's staff in the Department of Historical Research checked footnotes for accuracy. But assembling and editing the *Review* remained largely the task of the managing editor, and Jameson displayed a meticulousness that was McLaughlin's envy and despair. "I have been very much struck by the care exhibited in the annotation of the documents and by your evidence of scholarly learning in that connection," the latter confessed on becoming the managing editor.<sup>16</sup> Although the work was exhausting, Jameson believed himself to be creating an identity for the historical profession in America through the *Review's* pages. In his mind there could be nothing substandard about its appearance and content. Papers most likely to win acceptance were scholarly but not excessively technical, popular in appeal but not antiquarian, far-reaching in their implications but displaying maturity and depth on the part of the author, provocative but not partisan. Threading the eye of a needle must have seemed easier to prospective contributors. An article submitted in 1915 on "Secession in South Carolina in 1851 [*sic*]" met Jameson's disapproval because the heavily footnoted essay seemed to present "too elaborate a treatment of the episode for the uses of a journal which, like ours, must entertain somewhat general aims."<sup>17</sup> Jameson chose not even to read a paper on alterations in the western boundary of Arkansas but relented when the author insisted that the essay was "written primarily from the national point of view."<sup>18</sup> Yet he declined to publish it, because "the history of boundary arrangements is intrinsically one that can hardly be treated in such a manner as to give that readableness which a general historical journal must seek to maintain."<sup>19</sup> In 1910 he rejected for similar reasons a paper by Herbert Bolton on the discovery of a manuscript written by Father Eusebio Kino in Spanish California. To Bolton this revealed "a difficulty that is going to be felt more and more, namely the lack of a suitable place for the publication of papers that are of regional interest as most papers are."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> [McLaughlin] to J. H. Hollander, December 8, 1902, Records of the American Historical Association [hereafter, AHA Records], Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, box 258, file H, 1902.

<sup>16</sup> McLaughlin to Jameson, December 13, 1900, Jameson Papers, box 110, file 1078.

<sup>17</sup> [Jameson] to N. W. Stephenson, May 8, 1915, AHA Records, box 284, file S, 1915.

<sup>18</sup> J. H. Reynolds to Jameson, September 8, 1908, AHA Records, box 271, file R, 1906–08.

<sup>19</sup> Jameson to J. H. Reynolds, October 28, 1908, AHA Records, box 271, file R, 1906–08.

<sup>20</sup> [Jameson] to Bolton, February 4, 1910; Bolton to Jameson, February 15, 1910, AHA Records, box 274, file B, 1910.

By 1915 Bolton's solitary voice had been joined by many others, but to Jameson local history smacked of antiquarianism. Only the larger implications of local studies gained his attention. "*American history locally exemplified*" was the prescription he gave to a session of the American Historical Association in 1897.<sup>21</sup> When Solon J. Buck, a research associate at the University of Illinois, submitted a paper on "Independent Parties in the Western United States, 1873–1876," drawn from a larger study of the Granger movement, he proposed to shorten his twelve-thousand-word manuscript by focusing on Illinois.<sup>22</sup> Maintain the broader perspective was Jameson's advice, but, when Buck complied with the request, the paper was turned down anyway. "You have done much solid and substantial work in tracing the events in the history of those parties in Illinois and elsewhere," Jameson conceded, and he thought the paper surely would find a place in a local or state historical journal. But the readers of the *American Historical Review*, according to its editor, wanted more than simply a narrative, "and I do not think that your paper fully develops the significance of the phenomenon which you wish to treat. Very likely you are economist enough and historian enough to do this, but in this manuscript I do not think you have done it."<sup>23</sup>

Buck's work on the Granger movement ultimately won him the recognition that Jameson could not give him. In any case, manuscripts by younger scholars rarely gained acceptance by the *Review*. The historical profession's house organ, insisted Jameson, was no place for fledgling historians whose ambition exceeded their intellectual maturity. He returned the manuscript of one contributor with the observation that her article, "Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707," contained much valuable information, but "to meet the critical judgment of our small body of experts in colonial commerce one would need to have been more steeped in the knowledge of general colonial conditions than I can think to have been possible for you."<sup>24</sup> The author of a paper on the establishment of the University of Berlin earned accolades for work that was "well done, very creditable as the work of a young man; but if a general historical journal prints an article upon the founding and early history of a great university it will be expected to treat of the subject with a maturity and grasp and power which is really not to be expected from one of the younger men."<sup>25</sup>

An essay that seemed too broad could meet the same fate as one deemed too specialized. A discussion of the Knights Templar merited acceptance only with the proviso that a six-page general introduction be eliminated, for it did not seem to Jameson that readers of the *Review* were completely unversed in the subject.<sup>26</sup> An article by Frederic Paxson on the Pacific railroads did not pass muster. Although the scholarship was sound, Jameson acknowledged, "it only rarely happens that a

<sup>21</sup> Jameson, "The Functions of State and Local Historical Societies with Respect to Research and Publication," *Annual Report, 1897* (Washington, 1898), 56.

<sup>22</sup> Buck to Jameson, April 6, 1910, AHA Records, box 274, file B, 1910.

<sup>23</sup> [Jameson] to Buck, April 12, 1910; Buck to Jameson, April 27, 1910; [Jameson] to Buck, May 2, 1910, AHA Records, box 274, file B, 1910.

<sup>24</sup> [Jameson] to Theodora Keith, February 1, 1908, AHA Records, box 269, file K, 1906–08.

<sup>25</sup> [Jameson] to G. A. Bricker, May 21, 1910, AHA Records, box 274, file B, 1910.

<sup>26</sup> [Jameson] to Clarence E. Perkins, October 29, 1909, AHA Records, box 273, file P, 1909.

text which is prepared for general reading is also equally well adapted to service as an article in an historical journal.”<sup>27</sup> One last hurdle that each contributor had to surmount was the charge of political partisanship, for any author whose political opinions were clearly evident tainted the scientific objectivity of the journal. Before Jameson would accept an article on the governor-general of the Philippines, he requested that the author remove some of his observations on contemporary political affairs. “[W]hile I should not wish to cut you off [fr]om expounding the ‘lessons of history’ regarding the future government of the Philippines, I should take it kindly if you should be able to minimize references to a particular measure now before Congress, the Jones bill.”<sup>28</sup>

A STERN JUDGE OF TALENT AND PURPOSE sat in the managing editor’s chair of the *American Historical Review*, yet those contributions that met Jameson’s approval received a degree of attention rarely lavished on journal articles by editors whose other responsibilities were far less burdensome. Younger scholars in particular found Jameson replicating the paternalistic attitude he had exhibited toward newcomers to Johns Hopkins in the 1880s. A submission on “British Druidism and Roman War Policy” stimulated him to provide nearly four pages of suggestions for revision. No expert on Druids or early English history, Jameson was alert to logical inconsistency and a lack of substantial evidence. Moreover, the author’s peremptory dismissal of opposing arguments was likely to put off rather than engage the reader. “[T]he asperity of these remarks is justified only if you have proved your case and made it certain that those who think otherwise than yourself are quite wrong.”<sup>29</sup> U. B. Phillips, the Southern historian, early in his career won Jameson’s admiration and contributed several articles to the *Review*, but not without the editor’s careful scrutiny of his work. An essay on the black belt in the antebellum South submitted in 1905 elicited both praise and the admonition that the paper’s sweeping assertions rested on meager evidence. Its strengths lay “in its last half, where you are able to present out of concrete materials, to which you give references, an interesting demonstration of social and economic transition.”<sup>30</sup>

The exacting standards by which Jameson banished one article after another from the pages of the *Review*, along with his constant exhortation to successful contributors that they scrutinize and revise their submissions, seemingly guaranteed that each issue would be a model of probity and intellectual stimulation. No one knew better than he how far from the ideal the journal often strayed. Publicly, he insisted that *Review* articles fared well in comparison with those published in the “better sort of European journal,” but the material submitted sometimes prompted Jameson to wring his hands in despair.<sup>31</sup> “I do not think that anybody has for six

<sup>27</sup> Paxson to Jameson, May 17, 1909; [Jameson] to Paxson, May 15, 26, 1909, AHA Records, box 273, file P, 1909.

<sup>28</sup> David P. Barrows to Jameson, September 25, 1915; [Jameson] to Barrows, October 7, 1915, AHA Records, box 282, file B, 1915.

<sup>29</sup> [Jameson], “Notes on Mr. Tamblyn’s article,” [1909], AHA Records, box 274, file T, 1909. These notes are included with a letter from Jameson to Tamblyn, July 23, 1909.

<sup>30</sup> [Jameson] to Phillips, November 25, 1905, AHA Records, box 265, file P, 1905.

<sup>31</sup> Jameson, “The Present State of Historical Writing in America,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new ser., 20 (1909–10): 416.

months past sent into the *American Historical Review* an article that was worth printing," he complained in 1909. The situation reminded him of the church in New Hampshire "where the elder rejected candidate after candidate until the dominie said, 'Weel elder, I think if the Laird wants to have a kirk in Londonderry he must een take such as he can get.'"<sup>32</sup>

Over the course of each year, substantial work did appear. Claude Van Tyne's discussion of sovereignty in the American Revolution breathed new life into an old subject, and James A. Woodburn's essay on Thaddeus Stevens and the conduct of the Civil War made the issues of that time as compelling as they had been during the great conflict itself.<sup>33</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner offered samples from his *The Rise of the New West*; James Westfall Thompson explored the economic foundations of the Edict of Nantes; and Charles McLean Andrews argued convincingly the case for the history of colonial commerce and the recognition of colonial history as a field worthy of study on its own terms and not merely as the prelude to the American Revolution. One writer on Southern economic history boldly suggested in 1908 that historians "must study slavery as an economic institution without regard to its ethical or political aspects."<sup>34</sup> But these were tiny rivulets of meaningful research and speculation that trickled through barren stretches of arid prose—on the Privy Council during the reign of Richard II, the office of intendant in New France, the Confederate post office department, and British parliamentary debates as reported by French observers. Even more substantial articles on the origins of the English constitution and the treatment of religious dissenters in Elizabethan England followed well-worn paths of institutional and political history.<sup>35</sup>

The book reviews were a perpetual source of despair. "Bad work in books of any magnitude is seldom properly scored in our pages except in unsigned articles," Jameson commented, and most reviewers chose to sign. As a result of a misplaced sense of decorum, "the average tone of our reviews is considerably too laudatory, so that a sharply critical review stands out in the minds of our readers, and often brings me a letter characterizing it as an attack."<sup>36</sup> Joseph Parker Warren, a former colleague at Chicago, explained that his review of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Life and Times of Stephen Higginson* was too long because of his attempt to be generous to a highly regarded public figure. "The book is, on the whole, rambling and inconclusive: but to say so bluntly seemed to me indecent on account of Colonel Higginson's high standing and present age and failing powers."<sup>37</sup> When Marcus

<sup>32</sup> [Jameson] to A. C. McLaughlin, August 31, 1909, AHA Records, box 273, file M, 1909.

<sup>33</sup> Van Tyne, "Sovereignty in the American Revolution: An Historical Study," *AHR*, 12 (1907): 527–45; and Woodburn, "The Attitude of Thaddeus Stevens toward the Conduct of the Civil War," *ibid.*, 567–83.

<sup>34</sup> Turner, "The Colonization of the West, 1820–1830," *AHR*, 11 (1905–06): 303–27. "The South, 1820–1830," *ibid.*, 559–73; Thompson, "Some Economic Factors in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *AHR*, 14 (1908–09): 38–50; and Andrews, "Colonial Commerce," *AHR*, 20 (1914–15): 49–63. Alfred Holt Stone, "Some Problems of Southern Economic History," *AHR*, 13 (1907–08): 779.

<sup>35</sup> James F. Baldwin, "The Privy Council of the Time of Richard II," *AHR*, 12 (1906–07): 1–14; W. B. Munro, "The Office of Intendant in New France: A Study in French Colonial Policy," *ibid.*, 15–38; W. F. McCaleb, "The Organization of the Post-Office Department of the Confederacy," *ibid.*, 66–74; Paul Mantoux, "French Reports of British Parliamentary Debates in the Eighteenth Century," *ibid.*, 244–69. Also see George B. Adams, "The Origins of the English Constitution," *AHR*, 13 (1907–08): 229–245; Roger B. Merriman, "Some Notes on the Treatment of English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth," *ibid.*, 480–500.

<sup>36</sup> [Jameson] to Archibald Cary Coolidge, July 16, 1909, AHA Records, box 272, file C, 1909.

<sup>37</sup> Warren to Jameson, May 29, [1908], AHA Records, box 272, file W, 1906–08.

Jernegan savaged the second edition of the *Harvard Guide to American History*, Albert Bushnell Hart, one of its authors, waxed indignant. Each of these men, and others of similar standing, had been instructed “to stand with his heels on the line, not to squint, to put his shoulders back. I submit that not one of them is a man who has need of reproof, or admonition, or ought to be made the target for pop-guns.”<sup>38</sup>

Only part of the blame for the lackluster appearance of the *Review* could be laid at the doorstep of scientific history, with its emphasis on dry factuality, or attributed to genteel restraint. Submissions to the journal in its early history were few and far between; so small was the number of contributors that each issue usually exhausted the supply of articles.<sup>39</sup> Jameson accurately identified one cause when he charged in 1909 that inflation and low professorial salaries made the lure of popular histories irresistible; it was unreasonable to “expect the best of the academics universally to prefer the austere prosecution of the unprofitable to the golden rewards of publishers’ enterprises.”<sup>40</sup> On four separate occasions, Jameson requested a submission from Woodrow Wilson; each time, Wilson refused, at last acknowledging, “I know you will deem me a churl, but really the thing is impossible, honourable as I should find a place in the *Review* to be. The fact is that the editors of the popular monthlies offer me such prices nowadays that I am corrupted.”<sup>41</sup> The impression that legal and constitutional history was not the *Review*’s domain kept William MacDonald, Jameson’s successor at Brown, from contributing, but he promised to submit an article, “if you want it and if I can turn an honest penny out of it; for I have to make my writing pay a little money if it can.”<sup>42</sup>

With each passing year, the case for broadening the scope of the *Review* became more compelling. The turn of the century saw the emergence of a generation of scholars whose intellectual vitality promised a revolution in historical writing. James Harvey Robinson in 1908 trumpeted a “New History,” which proposed to embrace society in its totality rather than just its elite. A survey in 1912 of contemporary history texts convinced him that scholars provided “a sadly inadequate and misleading review of the past, and it might almost seem as if historians had joined in a conspiracy to foster a narrow, relatively unedifying conception of the true scope and interest of historical study.”<sup>43</sup> The following year Charles Beard simultaneously praised the previous generation of scientific historians for their insistence on accuracy and then dismissed these writers as classifiers of evidence that they did not pretend to understand.<sup>44</sup> What the younger historians wanted to know, as Frederick Teggart explained in 1910, was the difference between the “circumstance” and the “substance” of history. “The mind will not long content itself with a

<sup>38</sup> Albert Bushnell Hart to George L. Burr, October 7, 1913, AHA Records, box 277, file H, 1913. Also see Peter Novick, “The Myth of the Professionalization of History,” paper presented at the Seventy-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Detroit, April 1–4, 1981.

<sup>39</sup> [Jameson] to George B. Adams, July 2, 1913, AHA Records, box 277, file A, 1913.

<sup>40</sup> Jameson, “Department of Historical Research,” in Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Year Book, 1909* (Washington, 1910), 109.

<sup>41</sup> Wilson to Jameson, November 11, 1895, April 27, 1896, February 27, 1898, February 21, 1900, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, reel 65.

<sup>42</sup> MacDonald to Jameson, September 13, 1909, AHA Records, box 273, file M, 1909. Also see Novick, “Myth of the Professionalization of History.”

<sup>43</sup> Robinson, *History* (New York, 1908), and *The New History* (New York, 1912), 2–3.

<sup>44</sup> Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913), 4.



point of view that does not yield significant results," Teggart insisted, "and the attempt to protect history from generalization has led to desertions, usurpations of its territory, and much unconscious or unacknowledged theorizing."<sup>45</sup>

Change there must be, Jameson recognized, but to a historian of his temperament, whose methodological conservatism consistently triumphed over the expansiveness of his intellectual ambitions, the ground lying beyond the documents was infirm and invited chaos. "I have always thought it much more difficult to document with any sense of security, the social and economic history of the United States than the political or constitutional," he confessed to Frederick Jackson Turner in 1927. "You do not have definitely limited bodies of materials, handed down by authority, like statutes or other manageable series, but a vast blot of miscellaneous material from which the historian picks out what he wants, and so the effort to document must often be a process of selection, and if selection, always open to the suspicion of being a biased selection, or one made to sustain a set of views."<sup>46</sup> Then, too, an intellect steeped in Rankean historical science and shaped by the nationalistic fervor of post-Civil War Massachusetts would encounter serious difficulties charting the course of a profession whose members increasingly considered any theory fifty years old as an embarrassment, and whose minds were bent on restructuring power relationships in an industrial society rather than on affirming a sense of national unity. "About once in a generation—1815, 1848, 1861, 1898—we have a heightening of national sentiment, and for the time seem to be especially moved by patriotic motives," he observed to William E. Dodd in 1913. "Midway between those high points the curve sags, and we have times when the nation seems to be thinking only of prosperity, of material development, and of those sentiments of cosmopolitan, as distinguished from national, humanitarianism that go with times of peace." Dodd's regional conception of antebellum politics, or Dunning's economic analysis of the Civil War and Reconstruction, might have interested Jameson's patriotic and moralistic father, he suggested, "but would not have convinced him."<sup>47</sup> The legacy of the Civil War remained uncompleted; the threads of national unity sewn together at Appomattox could not be unraveled by scholars heedless of the blood and treasure that the war had cost. Perhaps another crisis would revive the national spirit and remind historians where their scholarly obligations rested. Until that time, Jameson could only watch and wait.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG WESTERN AND SOUTHERN HISTORIANS with the conduct of both the American Historical Association and the *Review* intensified through the early years of this century and culminated in a rancorous dispute between 1913 and 1915 in which Jameson was accused of malfeasance and an autocratic attitude that brooked no signs of dissent. "I think that Jameson founded the *Review* more securely than anyone could have done," University of Wisconsin professor Carl

<sup>45</sup> Teggart, "The Circumstance or the Substance of History," *AHR*, 15 (1909–10): 710.

<sup>46</sup> [Jameson] to Turner, November 25, 1927, Jameson Papers, box 132, file 1653.

<sup>47</sup> Jameson to Dodd, February 5, 1913, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, William E. Dodd Papers [hereafter, Dodd Papers], box 9, file 1913, Jan–June, A–H.



*Figure 2: The Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, [1910–15?]. Bottom row, left to right: Catharine Bowes, Elizabeth Donnan, Frances Davenport, Cornelia Pierce, and Georgia Sanderlin. Top row, left to right: Leo F. Stock, Irvin H. Campbell, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles O. Paullin, Edmund C. Burnett, and Waldo G. Leland. Photograph reproduced courtesy of Francis Jameson, Washington, D.C.*

Russell Fish commented in 1911. "Though many would not agree with me . . . if it were the case of founding it a new . . . he would be our best man," but, he continued, "I believe he has given the *Review* all he can in the way of new ideas and that several others would today do it better than he."<sup>48</sup> Frank Hodder at the University of Kansas was less charitable in explaining why he was reluctant to submit a paper on Stephen Douglas. Jameson "has a fixed notion that I do nothing but putter with details," he informed William E. Dodd. "He is also constitutional[ly] afraid of things that differ radically from accepted accounts."<sup>49</sup> When Dunbar Rowland, a Mississippi archivist, attacked the AHA system of elections as oligarchical at the 1913 annual meeting in Charleston, Jameson dismissed the episode as a "tempest in a teapot," but Southerners applauded.<sup>50</sup> "I understand that Dr. Dunbar Rowland threw a bomb into the camp of the official ring at Charleston," a professor at the University of Arkansas noted. "The order of succession seems pretty well fixed." Charles Ambler, a young Virginia historian, "saw the whole 'scrap' at Charleston, and my sympath[ies] were wholly with Roland." Ambler viewed Jameson as the prime mover behind most scholarly appointments in his own locality, including one to a choice position at Washington and Lee University. "This [Jameson] is doing without regard to the fitness of the men in the local field, losing sight of the fact that some men will not ask for a promotion or get back of a political scheme to promote themselves. His patronage makes almost impossible a successful assault upon his career."<sup>51</sup>

Jameson's reluctance to publish the work of younger scholars seemingly guaranteed resentment, but the good of the profession, as he saw it, came first. "I look forward to the time when there will be an increasing and ultimately irresistible chorus of those who say that Jameson, though well enough in his own day, has become quite impossible now," he remarked, "but having no means of support except history, am desirous to postpone the cataclysm as long as possible."<sup>52</sup> It proved difficult, however, to shrug off the charges of malfeasance in office leveled by insurgents within the AHA; even more vexing for Jameson might have been the suggestion friends made that he kept too tight a grip on the contents of the journal.<sup>53</sup> Clarence Alvord, editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and a champion of Jameson in the Midwest, urged the "ring" controlling the AHA to shed its blinders and recognize the diversity that now characterized the historical profession. No one could deny the success of the association or of the *Review*, but "the whole movement in western and southwestern history grew up to manhood

<sup>48</sup> Fish to Frederick J. Turner, December 17, 1911, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, TU box 16, file 46.

<sup>49</sup> Hodder to Dodd, December 2, 1912, Dodd Papers, box 9, file 1912, H-Z.

<sup>50</sup> [Jameson] to Waldo G. Leland, January 8, 1914, Jameson Papers, box 102, file 971.

<sup>51</sup> David Y. Thomas to William E. Dodd, December 7, 1914, Dodd Papers, box 11, file 1914-15, H-Z; Ambler to Dodd, March 11, 1914, Dodd Papers, box 10, File 1914, A-G. For further discussion of the 1913 meeting at Charleston and subsequent events, see Ray Allen Billington, "Tempest in Clio's Teapot: The American Historical Association Rebellion of 1915," *AHR*, 78 (1973): 348-69.

<sup>52</sup> [Jameson] to Frederick J. Turner, June 5, 1913, AHA Records, box 279, file T, 1913.

<sup>53</sup> See Frederic Bancroft *et al.*, *Why the American Historical Association Needs Thorough Reorganization* (Washington, 1915), 6-7; and [Jameson] to E. P. Cheyney, September 29, 1915, AHR Records, box 282, file C, 1915.

without much recognition from the American Historical Association, although Jameson has been personally most kind to both these schools."<sup>54</sup>

For the *Review* itself, Alvord felt little but admiration. "My own opinion is that the *American Historical Review* is one of the best edited magazines in the country and one of the best in the world and I have never had any cause for criticism of it," he remarked to Turner. If few Western historians made the pages of the *Review*, that was understandable, for "my own experience is that the westerners are not very good writers and they certainly will have to write better before they should be admitted to the *American Historical Review*." Even so, more could be done "to overcome the feeling among westerners and southerners" that the journal "is not their organ." To his own comments, Alvord appended those of a younger historian, who felt that "the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are doing more for American historical scholarship than the *American Historical Review*. They must necessarily be the means of expression of the younger crowd."<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the *Review* was not the most suitable forum for "local" history, Alvord conceded. "Still from the large number of comments that have been made to me I gather that the number of men who never read any of the articles in the *American Historical Review* is very large. I am beginning to wonder whether a magazine which takes the world's history for its field is not dooming itself to just such a consequence."<sup>56</sup> Pressure on Jameson came at the same time from some of the Europeanists, who complained that the *Review* did not print enough specialized articles in their fields. In 1916, James W. Thompson proposed a journal in European history, which, as another scholar explained to Jameson, "can be as stupid and uninteresting as it wished to be, and which can never hope to meet expenses."<sup>57</sup>

Jameson did not enjoy criticism, for the *American Historical Review* was an extension of his paternalistic attitude toward the historical profession at large. "I have always meant that the *Review* should be managed, in every detail, on the interest primarily of its readers—rather, for instance, than any of its writers—have held, in other words that it was my duty to make it, in every particular, the best that I possibly could," he explained in 1915.<sup>58</sup> Some historians might see the managing editor's job as that of boosting the morale of fledgling scholars, but Jameson concluded "that to advocate encouragement of the sort named is to say that it will be my duty of two articles, to prefer the inferior, if written by an inconspicuous man," and that professional harmony must come at the expense of sound history.<sup>59</sup>

MORE WAS AT STAKE than choosing between "good" and "bad" writers of history, however. It was inconceivable to Jameson that serious scholars could find local history, at least local *American* history, compelling. Yet, according to Alvord, such

<sup>54</sup> Alvord to Frank E. Melvin, October 14, 1915, copy in AHA Records, box 29, file M, 1915.

<sup>55</sup> Alvord to Turner, January 11, 1915, copy in AHA Records, box 284, file T, 1915. The name of the younger historian is omitted in this copy.

<sup>56</sup> Alvord to Frederick J. Turner, February 3, 1915, AHA Records, box 284, file T, 1915.

<sup>57</sup> George Burton Adams to Jameson, February 13, 1916, AHA Records, box 285, file A, 1916.

<sup>58</sup> Jameson to Allen Johnson, November 3, 1915, AHA Records, box 283, file J, 1915.

<sup>59</sup> [Jameson] to Evarts B. Greene, April 17, 1915, AHA Records, box 283, file G, 1915.

was the case. "A first class local article may be of tremendous importance to all scholars," he insisted. "To take an extreme case, I can conceive of a most careful study of the settlement of Champaign County, Illinois that would be worthy of being printed in the *American Historical Review*." Charles Haskins encountered no difficulty publishing similar articles on Normandy, "and I see no reason why we should not print in the *American Historical Review* a careful study of conditions in Texas at some given period, and I believe such articles would be read as generally as articles in the *Review* are read today."<sup>60</sup> The history of a region, section, state, or locality thus could be intellectually rewarding and perhaps politically significant as well. American political thought in the early twentieth century was hostile to suggestions that regionalism had an important role to play in charting the nation's destiny. Thomas Jefferson was the *bête noire* of Herbert Croly's 1909 manifesto, *The Promise of American Life*, because it was Jefferson who gave primacy to local concerns at the expense of nationalism. Those who sought to resurrect the yeoman farmer as the exemplar of political virtue, Croly complained, "do not realize . . . how thoroughly Jeffersonian individualism must be abandoned for the benefit of a genuinely individual and social consummation; and they do not realize how dangerous and fallacious a chart their cherished principle of equal rights may well become."<sup>61</sup> But while Jameson's generation labeled an interest in sectional issues as at best parochial and, more darkly, disloyal, younger historians seemed free of such shibboleths, eager in fact to identify sources of political and cultural identity distinct from, and possibly in opposition to, those of the national state.

If it is true that this conflict—between regionalism and nationalism—began to dominate the historical profession in the years prior to World War I, Jameson had reason to feel estranged. American participation in the war, however, provided a new litmus test of patriotism and nationalism. In addition to donating office space at the Department of Historical Research to the National Board for Historical Service, Jameson determined that the *Review* should also do its bit for the war effort. The tenets of scientific history did not permit political partisanship to sully the pages of a historical journal, but who could reasonably argue that a victory over the Central Powers did not represent a triumph over the forces of darkness? Thus it was that in 1917 Jameson sought an article on the history of German economic expansion, possibly the history of the Baghdad railway. "[M]y idea is to help to aid in informing the American mind [as] to what should be expected from a victorious Germany by showing one portion of their general process of economic expansion and exploitation."<sup>62</sup> Perhaps an article on France after Waterloo would provide a basis for understanding the behavior of the present combatants. He suggested to C. D. Hazen, a professor at Columbia, that a connecting link between France in 1815 and Germany a century later was that each nation "has for a long time successfully withstood the world in arms, but finally has been clubbed into willingness to be good; no doubt most other elements are different."<sup>63</sup> The

<sup>60</sup> Alvord to Frederick J. Turner, February 3, 1915, copy in AHA Records, box 284, file T, 1915.

<sup>61</sup> Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909; Indianapolis, 1965), 153.

<sup>62</sup> [Jameson] to Charles H. Hull, July 17, 1917, AHA Records, box 289, file H, 1917. See Abbott Payson Usher, "Interpretations of Recent Economic Progress in Germany," *AHR*, 23 (1917-18): 797-815.

<sup>63</sup> [Jameson] to Hazen, November 2, 1917, AHA Records, box 289, file H, 1917.



obstructive role that an unrestrained press could play in wartime also concerned Jameson, and he solicited an article on censorship of newspapers by the federal government during the Civil War, "one that would show the attempts made to restrain the evasion of restrictions, and especially the results of the leakage of military information under a system approaching (as I suppose) entire freedom."<sup>64</sup>

Considering the controversy that surrounded Jameson's editorship of the *Review* prior to the First World War, the correspondence files of the journal for the years following the war are a study in tranquillity—at least up to 1928, when the Department of Historical Research was effectively dissolved and Jameson's connection with the *Review* ended. Gone are the extended discussions over the kinds of articles suitable for a "general historical journal"; no longer is Jameson chastised for narrow-mindedness. Indeed, no one seems to have had much of substance to say to him. Presumably Jameson was relieved not to have to defend himself against charges that he was at best stodgy, at worst an intellectual tyrant. But in a world torn by economic and social conflict, he no longer could deny the claims of mature scholars that social history must find a place in the pages of the *Review*. Political, constitutional, and diplomatic history still held sway, but articles on American immigration as a field of study, Jacksonian democracy in Massachusetts, poor whites in the antebellum South, and free blacks in post-Civil War Mississippi also appeared.<sup>65</sup> Articles on the social and economic history of Europe reinforced the impression that a shift had occurred.<sup>66</sup>

To Jameson, the world was still divided between objective seekers of truth and agitators masquerading as intellectuals. "[W]hatever degree of indifference the public may have toward ideals of disinterested statesmanship, it is surely over-represented in the writing class," he commented in 1926. "Our writing comes too largely from young men and women (Hebrew and other) in New York City, whose view of American life is bounded by such horizons as can be seen from the upper stories of the skyscrapers."<sup>67</sup> Younger historians, however, were no longer required to accept Jameson's judgment. The establishment of new journals or the transformation of older ones absorbed much of the potential for discontent. The author of a paper submitted in 1926 on Spain's colonial policy in Latin America was referred to the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*.<sup>68</sup> If Herbert Bolton found Jameson unwilling in 1925 to publish his essay, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia," both the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and the *New Mexico Historical Quarterly*, established in 1926, were receptive.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> [Jameson] to Carl Russell Fish, July 7, 1917, AHA Records, box 288, file F, 1917. Also see James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," *AHR*, 23 (1917–18): 303–23.

<sup>65</sup> See Marcus L. Hansen, "The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research," *AHR*, 32 (1926–27): 500–18; Arthur B. Darling, "Jacksonian Democracy in Massachusetts, 1824–1848," *AHR*, 29 (1923–24): 271–87; Paul H. Buck, "The Poor Whites of the Ante-bellum South," *AHR*, 31 (1925–26): 41–54; and Charles Sydnor, "The Free Negro in Mississippi before the Civil War," *AHR*, 32 (1926–27): 769–88.

<sup>66</sup> See Edward R. Turner, "English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *AHR*, 27 (1921–22): 1–23; N. S. B. Gras, "The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America," *ibid.*, 695–708; Witt Bowden, "The Influence of Manufacturers on Some of the Early Policies of William Pitt," *AHR*, 29 (1923–24): 655–74; and Frances Morehouse, "The Irish Migration of the Forties," *AHR*, 33 (1927–28): 579–92.

<sup>67</sup> [Jameson] to Theodore Clarke Smith, October 4, 1926, AHA Records, box 306, file S, 1926.

<sup>68</sup> [Jameson] to W. S. Robertson, February 11, 1926, AHA Records, box 306, file F, 1926.

<sup>69</sup> Bolton to Jameson, January 6, 1925; [Jameson] to Bolton, January 27, 1925, AHA Records, box 300, file B.

A number of these state and regional journals had existed contemporaneously with the *American Historical Review*, but prior to the 1920s it was a brave, perhaps foolhardy, scholar who submitted contributions to most of them, genteel chronicles that they were. In the years immediately surrounding World War I, academic historians in the South, Midwest, and West either took control of existing historical society periodicals, as in the case of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and *Indiana Magazine of History*, or created new outlets for publication such as the *Minnesota History Bulletin* in 1915, the *North Carolina Historical Review* in 1924, and the *New Mexico Historical Quarterly*. Here were forums for the discussion of social, educational, agricultural, economic, and religious history on the state level. Tedious genealogical accounts and eulogies to local luminaries did not disappear, but beside them now were discussions of public school education in Georgia, Methodist circuit riders in Indiana, Norwegian immigrants, and case studies in the history of socialism, Progressivism, and Populism—the last of which Jameson had dismissed in 1891 as “a movement on the part of the masses hitherto but slightly engaged in politics, which threatens to put the conduct of our public affairs in the hands of a vast horde of unintelligent farmers, whose ardency and inexperience combine to put them in the power of loud demagogues and skillful wire-pullers.”<sup>70</sup>

The emergence of these journals testifies to a shift in the nation's intellectual axis. The historians who contributed to them were not oblivious to the existence of the nation or of a national community of scholars. But in the experiences of individuals, communities, and states they saw problems attacked and resolved that were national in scope. A study of the effect of the Civil War on Minnesota convinced one historian that “the partial economic emancipation of women and consequent general advance in status gained by women during the Rebellion was not lost when peace came.”<sup>71</sup> John D. Hicks, exploring the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina, found that “it was the entrance of the Alliance which drove from power in North Carolina the ruling caste of elderly politicians whose conservatism had for years thwarted every progressive or forward looking movement.”<sup>72</sup> Where, historians

1924–25. Also see Bolton, “Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1925): 115–30; “Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, 3 (1928): 41–72. Bolton did publish an interpretive article in the *Review* during Jameson's tenure. See “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies,” *AHR*, 23 (1917–18): 42–61.

<sup>70</sup> [Jameson], “The Movements of 1830. Conclusion,” [Lectures on the constitutional history of the South, 1891], 6–7. Jameson Papers, box 25. Manuscripts of various lectures given on the American Revolution; II. Lectures on the South: III. American Blood. On these lectures, see Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds. *An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 56 n. 88. For a sampling of the contents of these journals, see C. Mildred Thompson, “The Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia in 1865–66,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1921): 40–49; William H. Kilpatrick, “The Beginnings of the Public School System in Georgia,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1921): 3–19; Roland H. Harper, “Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1850 to 1880,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1921): 3–27; Richard H. Shryock, “The Early Industrial Revolution in the Empire State,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1927): 109–28; Ora Ellen Cox, “The Socialist Party in Indiana since 1896,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, 12 (1916): 95–130; William Warren Sweet, “Early Methodist Circuits in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, 10 (1914): 359–68; Carl Painter, “The Progressive Party in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, 16 (1920): 173–283; Lester B. Shippee, “Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota,” *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2 (1918): 389–412. Theodore C. Blegen, “The Norwegian Government and the Early Norwegian Emigration,” *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 6 (1925): 115–40; John D. Hicks, “The Birth of the Populist Party,” *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 9 (1928): 219–47, and “The Farmer's Alliance in North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, 2 (1925): 162–87.

<sup>71</sup> Shippee, “Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War,” 411.

<sup>72</sup> Hicks, “Farmer's Alliance in North Carolina,” 186.

now seemed to ask, was the source of the nation's strength? Did it lie in the power of the national state to encourage or even coerce obedience to a single set of cultural norms? Or was it to be found in the states and localities, which provided an array of political and social alternatives to the standards of behavior established by an intellectual elite along the Eastern seaboard? Before the First World War, these questions rarely occurred to professional scholars and intellectuals, most of whom clung tenaciously to the familiar confines of Boston and New York. But the oppressiveness with which the federal government and the aroused public opinion stifled dissent during the war provoked concern, which became outrage among intellectuals for whom Wilsonian idealism had promised both national unity and social justice. "We act as if we wanted Americanization to take place only on our own terms, and not by the consent of the governed," Randolph Bourne observed in 1916. The creation of a national culture was essential, he concluded, but "what we emphatically do not want is that these distinctive [immigrant] qualities should be washed out into a tasteless, colorless fluid of uniformity."<sup>73</sup>

WHILE THE DEBACLE AT VERSAILLES and an outbreak of red-baiting might lead liberal publicist Harold Stearns to bemoan the "technique of liberal failure," other writers whose seemingly provincial concerns had previously earned them a large measure of scorn now found an audience. A half-century of urbanization and political centralization had blended the diverse elements of American culture into a shapeless mass, said urban critic William Smythe. The remedy to cultural anomie was the garden city, "where neighbors are near enough, but not too near; where an approximate equality of fortune exists, so that there are no wide gulfs to be bridged; where the people, though diversified in race, religion and commercial pursuits are, nevertheless, united by a common interest and enthusiasm, lending a certain fervor to their lives."<sup>74</sup> The myth of a national culture stood exposed as the manipulative device of commercial interests and ambitious politicians, Lewis Mumford announced in the 1920s in a series of books on the connection between culture and society. Only the locality, set within a clearly defined regional culture, offered to restore a genuine balance between communal and individual rights.<sup>75</sup>

Eastern intellectuals thus made common cause with scholars in Western public and private universities, where institutional support and cultural sanction were available to those willing to contest the cultural and political control that national Progressivism sought to impose. In no instance was the connection between the university and regional culture more clearly evident than at the University of Washington, where in 1927 V. L. Parrington provided the most sustained assault on Progressive attitudes with the first two volumes of his *Main Currents in American Thought*. Now that Hamiltonian nationalism combined with a grasping industrialism had bled dry the vital processes of democracy, Parrington insisted, it was time to

<sup>73</sup> Bourne, "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1916, pp. 86–97, reprinted in Carl Resek, ed., *War and the Intellectuals: Essays by Randolph S. Bourne* (Evanston, Ill., 1964), 108, 113.

<sup>74</sup> Smythe, *City Homes on Country Lanes: Philosophy and Practice of the Home in a Garden* (New York, 1921), 171.

<sup>75</sup> See Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York, 1924), 16–17, 186, 197, 207, and *The Golden Day* (New York, 1926), 38, 158, 159, 236.

restore Jeffersonianism and regionalism to political supremacy. The war between North and South contained the most somber implications for contemporary America; when the Southern tradition of local autonomy was crushed, "the nation hurried forward along the path of an unquestioning and uncritical consolidation, that was to throw the coercive powers of a centralizing state into the hands of the new industrialism."<sup>76</sup> Urban planners, literary critics, and historians alike sought local and regional examples of democracy, locating sources of political power that the previous generation had found convenient to ignore.

The uses of history thus diverged, and the paths of historians with them. Jameson's own absorption in the creation of the National Archives and the production of such scholarly enterprises as the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Documentary History of the Slave Trade* marked his disengagement from further battles of historical interpretation. These and other institutional monuments to fact-finding constituted his response to those who successfully countered the dominance over historical affairs that he had attempted to exert. Although the *Review* passed into different hands and served different purposes, Jameson's influence continued. The format of the journal remained essentially the same, and the design of other historical journals mimicked the style he created for the *Review*. Zealous employment of footnotes in narrowly focused articles and monographs also paid tribute to a scholar for whom the goal of a grand synthesis, however admirable, appeared to be an ever-receding mirage. Jameson's success in maintaining the preeminent position of the *American Historical Review* was in some measure his undoing; the pages of the *Review* became the telephone exchange of the historical profession, allowing a sense of national identity to coexist with local and often countervailing centers of discourse. His own intellectual contribution, if limited, was nonetheless crucial. The very rigidity of his commitment to nationalism and to institutional history, in addition to his well-honed sense of good form and substance, tested the tensile strength of succeeding historical interpretations. Jameson provided the first term in the dialectical process by which history is written; he set a standard where none had existed before.

<sup>76</sup> Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, volume 2, *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860* (New York, 1927), 464-65. In addition, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York, 1970), 428-34.

---

## Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography

---

DANIEL JOSEPH SINGAL

PLACING RICHARD HOFSTADTER IN THE CONTEXT of American historiography has been a difficult task for several years. At first everyone appeared to agree with the assessment in John Higham's famous essay of 1959, which defined the consensus school and included Hofstadter among its members. Following Higham's lead, most writers at the time almost axiomatically linked Hofstadter with Louis Hartz, Daniel Boorstin, Clinton Rossiter, and others who have celebrated the supposed absence of ideological politics in America. The basis for this judgment was *The American Political Tradition*, a book Hofstadter published in 1948 at the beginning of his career. As he observed in the introduction, his "studies in the ideology of American statesmanship" had convinced him "of the need for a reinterpretation of our political traditions which emphasized the common climate of American opinion." "However much at odds on specific issues," he continued, "the major political traditions have shared a belief in the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism, the value of competition; they have accepted the economic virtues of capitalist culture as necessary qualities of man." The break with the Progressive school, with its emphasis on a fierce endemic struggle between rich and poor, capitalist and democrat, could not seem more clear.<sup>1</sup>

Yet a number of recent writers on Hofstadter have been troubled by the consensus label. In 1969 Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., raised the first doubts about it, and Christopher Lasch, Richard Gillam, Daniel Walker Howe, Peter Elliott Finn, Stanley Elkins, and Eric L. McKittrick have all followed suit. Hofstadter may have acknowledged the existence of a bourgeois capitalist consensus in America,

I am grateful to Alan Brinkley, James L. Crouthamel, Carol V. R. George, John Higham, Beatrice K. Hofstadter, Robert A. Huff, Richard Latner, Eric L. McKittrick, Michael O'Brien, and Leo P. Ribuffo for their helpful suggestions and criticisms. I am also indebted to Hobart and William Smith Colleges for providing a special term of leave during which this essay was written, and to the late Richard Reinitz, whose splendid innovation of teaching historiography in place of a survey as the introductory course in American history supplied me with an ideal setting for developing my ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948; New York, 1974), xxxvi–xxxvii; John Higham, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus': Homogenizing Our History," *Commentary*, 27 (1959): 94–95; Bernard Sternsher, *Consensus, Conflict, and American Historians* (Bloomington, Ind., 1975), 9–12, 71–74; Richard Reinitz, *Irony and Consciousness: American Historiography and Reinhold Niebuhr's Vision* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1980), 147, 204 n.; Charles Forcey, "Richard Hofstadter: Consensus in Conflict," paper presented at the Seventy-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Detroit, April 1–4, 1981; and J. R. Pole, *Paths to the American Past* (New York, 1979), 265–66, 268, 300–01.



Schlesinger maintained, but he “perceived the consensus from a radical perspective, from the outside, and deplored it.” Consensus history, as Higham’s article described it, reflected the pervasive social and cultural conservatism of the 1950s; its works revealed “a placid, unexciting past” in which America appeared “a happy land, adventurous in manner but conservative in substance, and—above all—remarkably homogeneous.” Although Higham himself later amended this definition to take account of the considerable variations and disagreements within the school, the dominant image of consensus writing continues to center on an admiring portrayal of a nation enjoying broad agreement on its basic ideological principles and hence unusual political and social stability. But surely little of this image held true for Hofstadter, especially in *The American Political Tradition*. Gillam stated the case succinctly, “At times lambasted as ‘consensus’ or ‘counterprogressive’ history, the book is in fact acutely critical in tone—an exposé—and retains certain categories of Progressive-Marxist scholarship.” Perhaps nothing captures better Hofstadter’s distance from the celebratory intellectual temper of the 1950s than the sign he kept posted above his desk. It read “Hofstadter’s Indomitable Skepticism.”<sup>2</sup>

Hofstadter’s ambiguous relationship to consensus history is only one of several important questions about his work that remain unresolved. It is likely, for example, that Howe and Finn expressed a widespread opinion when they claimed that Hofstadter “was probably the most prominent member of a distinguished generation of American historians” and an archetypal intellectual of his times. Nonetheless, few could say with certainty what his influence has been either on his craft or on American intellectual life as a whole. Most important, no one has really examined his career to see exactly how it developed. Was there a significant shift in his thought or approach during the three decades that he was active as an interpreter of the American past, and, if so, what can that shift tell us about his historiographic role? When examined from this perspective, Hofstadter’s work appears only marginally related to the debate over conflict versus consensus. Ironically, the consensus label fits him least well early in his career, when he was most commonly regarded as a consensus writer, but with a fair degree of accuracy in the 1960s, when he himself was trying quietly to refute it.<sup>3</sup>

To understand Hofstadter’s real significance, it is far more useful to focus on his

<sup>2</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., “Richard Hofstadter,” in Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks, eds., *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians* (New York, 1969), 289–92; Higham, “Cult of ‘Consensus,’” 93–95; Richard Gillam, “Richard Hofstadter, C. Wright Mills, and ‘The Critical Ideal,’” *American Scholar*, 47 (1977–78): 76–77; Christopher Lasch, “Foreword,” in Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, xiv, xxiii; Daniel Walker Howe and Peter Elliott Finn, “Richard Hofstadter: The Ironies of an American Historian,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 43 (1974): 2–3; Stanley M. Elkins and Eric L. McKittrick, “Richard Hofstadter: A Progress” in Elkins and McKittrick, eds., *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial* (New York, 1974), 310; Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (Homewood, Ill., 1973), 241–43, 344–46; John Higham, *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), 144–45, and *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America* (1965; Baltimore, 1983), 214, 221, 225. Higham also revised his earlier estimate of Hofstadter as a consensus writer, taking note of Hofstadter’s critical intent and tragic vision of the American past; *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America*, 213, 228.

<sup>3</sup> Howe and Finn, “Richard Hofstadter,” 1, 16. Hofstadter never explicitly repudiated the consensus label, but he did make clear his discomfort with it. Writing in 1967, he noted that the designation “has been very awkward for me, in the sense that it has linked me with other historians with whom I have significant differences, and because I have some serious misgivings of my own about what is known as consensus history.” In essence, he thought the consensus approach a useful, though distinctly temporary, corrective to the excesses

lifelong quest to comprehend the relationship between politics and ideas in America—or, as he referred to it, the study of “political culture.” “Call me a political historian mainly interested in the role of ideas in politics, an historian of political culture rather than of parties or institutions,” he told an interviewer in 1960. He began this quest with an assumption, derived from both Progressivism and Marxism, that political behavior was invariably rational, that people acted politically in accordance with their interests, and that political leaders served to articulate those interests in coherent ideologies. Before long that assumption lay in shambles, and the rhetoric of political leaders appeared to him a case of crass opportunism at best or of hopeless irrationality at worst. The balance of his career centered on his persistent attempt to find an explanatory scheme that would enable him to make rational sense of seemingly irrational behavior. Through a growing appreciation of the symbolic uses of politics and the adoption of pluralist theory, he gradually arrived at a conception of American political culture that not only satisfied his intellectual needs but also served as an invaluable stepping-stone for the generation of historians that came after him.<sup>4</sup>

In a more general sense Hofstadter stands out as an excellent example of a mid-twentieth-century modernist intellectual. Modernist thought and culture began its ascendancy among American thinkers around the turn of the century through a process of rebellion against the fundamental dualism of Victorianism, which insisted on a clear division between the human and the animal, the rational and the irrational, the moral and the immoral. Modernists believed that reality is much too complex to be comprehended by such a bipolar model, that human beings cannot be understood without exploring their irrational and often animalistic impulses, and that all knowledge of the world and all moral judgments must necessarily be tentative and relativistic. The Progressive writers who nurtured Hofstadter took the initial steps toward a break with the Victorian sensibility but still retained its basic moral dichotomy as the organizing principle of their work. That dualistic mode of thought in turn became Hofstadter’s chief complaint against the Progressives, along with their alleged tendency to oversimplify issues and their excessive rationalism. For him, the test of good history—and, more broadly, of good thought—was a willingness to grapple with complexity, above all with the vast complexity of the human psyche. Accordingly he spent his career absorbing relevant modernist insights from a number of allied fields, especially literary studies, psychology, sociology, and political science, and demonstrating how they could illuminate the study of American history. In this way, too, he made a vital contribution to American historiography. By tracing Hofstadter’s development, then, we may not only comprehend his true historiographic status but also gain valuable clues for discerning the nature of American historical writing in our own day.<sup>5</sup>

---

of Progressive historiography. See Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, xxviii–xxix, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York, 1968), 444 n. , 444–45, and “Communication,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 15 (1954): 328.

<sup>4</sup> David Hawke, “Interview: Richard Hofstadter,” *History*, 3 (New York, 1960): 135; and Hofstadter, “History and the Social Sciences,” in Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (New York, 1956), 361.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of modernist culture, see Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill, 1982), 4–8, 261–62. Of the Progressive historians

WHATEVER ELSE MAY BE SAID OF Hofstadter's early years, it is apparent that they made him keenly aware of both ethnic diversity and the fragile nature of human existence. Born in 1916 in Buffalo, New York, to a Polish Jewish father and a mother of Lutheran extraction, he was reared as an Episcopalian, though it was his Jewish heritage with which he later identified to the extent that he preserved any ethnic consciousness at all. Emil A. Hofstadter, who had emigrated from Cracow as a young boy, ardently pursued assimilation and middle-class respectability, manifesting precisely the cast of mind that his son came to describe as the American consensus. The family's fortunes, however, took a tragic turn when Hofstadter was ten; his mother, Katherine Hill Hofstadter, suddenly died. It was the first of several such tragedies that stalked his life and served to make him wary of the optimistic bourgeois world view his father espoused.<sup>6</sup>

After serving as president of his high school graduating class—the only political office he ever held—Hofstadter remained in his native city to take an undergraduate degree in 1937 at the University of Buffalo, majoring in philosophy and history. There he came under two contradictory influences: the work of Charles A. Beard, with its thoroughgoing materialism, and the example of his mentor at Buffalo, the diplomatic historian Julius W. Pratt, who challenged the Progressive reliance on economic causation in explaining American foreign policy. The tension between these two approaches was evident in Hofstadter's senior thesis, which vigorously attacked Beard's notion that the Civil War represented a "Second American Revolution" launched by Northern capitalists to achieve control of the federal government. By examining the tariff and homestead issues, Hofstadter found that, with the exception of the iron and steel makers, "the majority of capitalists . . . opposed the Republicans" in 1860. But, he quickly added, their opposition was "based upon economic reasons," in particular the calculation that they would profit more from free trade than from protection. Thus, Hofstadter, although he had already begun his assault on Beard, clung to the Progressive notion that politics could be explained primarily in terms of rational self-interest.<sup>7</sup>

Anxious to participate in the intellectual and political ferment of the 1930s,

---

Hofstadter wrote, "Their conception of political man was at bottom—even though they may not always have been prepared to defend it—highly rationalistic. . . . In politics he sought to realize his interests, of which he had a fairly clear and basically accurate conception, and which he saw and defined almost exclusively in economic terms." "Today," he continued, "under the impact of a more informed sense of the considerations that enter into human action, the simple synthesis offered by the progressive historians is breaking down. Historians are replacing their economic man with a creature who is prey to a variety of motives and concerns." Hofstadter, "History and Sociology in the United States," in Seymour Martin Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York, 1968), 17. Also see Hofstadter, *Progressive Historians*, 442–44, 463.

<sup>6</sup> Paula S. Fass, "Richard Hofstadter," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 17 (Detroit, 1983): 211, 213; and Alfred Kazin, *New York Jew* (New York, 1978), 14–15.

<sup>7</sup> Hofstadter, "Academic Vitae," n.d., and "The Tariff and Homestead Issues in the Republican Campaign of 1860" (senior tutorial thesis, University of Buffalo, 1936), ii–iv, 32, Columbia University Library, New York City, Richard Hofstadter Papers [hereafter, Hofstadter Papers], box 19; Fass, "Richard Hofstadter," 213; and Hawke, "Interview," 140–41. Hofstadter later condensed his undergraduate thesis and noticeably softened the critique of Beard. See his "The Tariff Issue on the Eve of the Civil War," *AHR*, 44 (1938–39): 50–55. Compare the argument of Julius W. Pratt on late nineteenth-century imperialism: "Controvert as it may current fashions in historical interpretation, the observation must be made that the rise of an expansionist philosophy in the United States owed little to economic influences. . . . The need of American business for colonial markets and fields of investment was discovered not by business men but by historians and other intellectuals, by journalists and politicians." Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), 22.

Hofstadter moved in the fall of 1937 to New York City. On his father's insistence he initially enrolled in the Columbia University law school. In the spring, however, he switched to the graduate school in history at Columbia, from which he earned the master's degree in 1938 and doctorate in 1942. Arriving, Alfred Kazin recalled, as "the all-American blond collegian with crew cut just in from Buffalo," Hofstadter soon found himself swept up in the ongoing political wars of the Left. Whether he officially joined the Communist party is unclear, but it is certain that, under the influence of his first wife, Felice Swados, he did attend some party meetings and become involved with the Communist-leaning National Maritime Union in Brooklyn. Sailors and other proletarian harbingers of revolution descended on the Hofstadter household for free meals and political talk. His own political development, however, paralleled that of the circle of highly talented young writers affiliated with the Trotskyist *Partisan Review*, a group that had broken with the Communist party and Stalinism by 1937 and became in time the nucleus of the postwar New York intelligentsia. Hofstadter was connected to this group through Kazin, his graduate school friend, and, while remaining characteristically on the periphery, he ultimately drew from its ranks some of his most important personal and professional associations.<sup>8</sup>

Although increasingly disillusioned with Russia, the *Partisan* writers in the late 1930s still held to the "scientific" side of Marxism, which maintained that history could be construed in a rational, comprehensive pattern if only the proper framework was applied. Most of all, the *Partisan* coterie possessed a deep-rooted belief in what Terry A. Cooney and others have identified as "cosmopolitanism." Its objectives, according to Cooney, included "the conquest of crippling parochialisms, the attainment of intellectual sophistication, [and] the triumph of secularism and rationalism." In fact, with its stress on diversity, relativism, change, and complexity and its sharp opposition to traditional Victorian ideals of homogeneity, stability, and moral innocence, cosmopolitanism should properly be seen as an urban variant of modernism. Where cosmopolitan thinkers differed from other modernists was in the tendency to connect their dearest values with city life, while locating the source of the culture they detested in the countryside. To them, small-town America constituted a hotbed of bigotry, political reaction, and anti-intellectualism; populism, both at home and abroad, Cooney told us, was already linked in their minds with incipient fascism. In the early 1930s, they had assumed that international communism would be the vehicle of the cosmopolitan future, but, as the decade wore on and especially as news of the purge of party intellectuals during the Moscow trials seeped in, their disenchantment grew. By 1938 most had reinvested

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Kazin, "Richard Hofstadter, 1916–1970," *American Scholar*, 40 (1971): 397, 400; Beatrice K. Hofstadter to the author, March 13, March 29, 1983; Fass, "Richard Hofstadter," 213–14; Gillam, "Richard Hofstadter," 71, 74; Alfred Kazin, *Starting Out in the Thirties* (Boston, 1965), 101–06; Lasch, "Foreword," xii; and James Burkhart Gilbert, *Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America* (New York, 1968), 164–68, 185–87. M. Laurent Cesari, who is currently completing a doctoral dissertation on Hofstadter at the University of Paris, claims to have uncovered substantial evidence that Hofstadter was indeed a member of the Communist party, that he joined a cell at Columbia in 1937 well after the first news of the purge trials reached America, and that he remained in the organization until the Nazi-Soviet Pact was announced in late 1939 (though he had left in all but name by February of that year). If Cesari is correct, this evidence would not only fortify the analysis of Hofstadter's political development presented here but also help explain many things about his later career, especially his intense but cautious response to McCarthyism in the 1950s. Cesari to the author, September 29, December 7, 1983.

their faith in a professional urban intelligentsia, composed of people like themselves. This new intellectual class—detached from all provincial concerns and prejudices, devoted almost religiously to its calling, and committed to a ruthless social criticism—represented the only hope they saw of activating cosmopolitan values.<sup>9</sup>

Given his urban background and ethnic origins, Hofstadter was bound to find this style of thought appealing. Like most members of the *Partisan* circle, moreover, he was as much a child of the 1920s as of the 1930s—his earliest intellectual heroes had been writers like H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis who initiated that decade's "revolt against the village." For Hofstadter and the others, the fierce conflict that Mencken depicted between an older, individualistic, agrarian America given to fundamentalism and prohibition and a new, urban, polyglot nation that was secular and tolerant blended easily with Depression-era Marxism to help produce the cosmopolitan mentality. Hofstadter also shared the group's scorn for the New Deal. Compared to Marxist theory, New Deal liberalism seemed unsophisticated and lacking in coherent plan; furthermore, its parochial appeals to ethnic and regional constituencies were highly repellent. Hofstadter liked to amuse his friends with skillful and caustic parodies of, in Kazin's words, "our favorite non-hero, F. D. R." On a more serious level, Hofstadter's master's thesis at Columbia documented the misery visited on Southern sharecroppers by New Deal policies.<sup>10</sup>

To describe the young Hofstadter as a passionate revolutionary would be wrong; to underestimate the intensity of his Marxist conviction or the degree of his eventual disillusionment would be no less mistaken. The conceptual framework to which he subscribed in the 1930s divided the world clearly and predictably between those countries representing the reactionary past and those belonging to the socialist future. But that framework soon began to crumble under the impact of unexpected events, starting with the Popular Front in France and continuing through the Spanish Civil War and Moscow trials. For Hofstadter, the worst shock came with the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939. The pact, he later commented, paraphrasing Lenin, "threw me off the great locomotive of history, and onto the dustbin of history." National leaders, he had believed, acted in rough consonance with their ideologies, and their ideologies in turn reflected class interests. Now the far Right and far Left appeared to be joining forces in what seemed to him a politically senseless union. Those like himself on the Left, he reported in 1940, were trapped in a "pall of frustration" and could no longer find their way. The attempt to make "scientific" sense of political reality was dead. In many respects, Hofstadter's subsequent career as a historian was devoted to the effort to achieve an alternative understanding of political reality in the wake of this perceived disaster.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Terry A. Cooney, "Cosmopolitan Values and the Identification of Reaction: *Partisan Review* in the 1930s," *Journal of American History*, 68 (1981–82): 582–84, 587, 592–93, 597; David A. Hollinger, "Ethnic Diversity, Cosmopolitanism, and the Emergence of the American Liberal Intelligentsia," *American Quarterly*, 27 (1975): 135–36, 145–46; and Richard H. Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (New York, 1973), 336–37.

<sup>10</sup> Kazin, *New York Jew*, 15–16; Hawke, "Interview," 140; Pells, *Radical Visions*, 83–84; and Hofstadter, "The Southeastern Cotton Tenants Under the AAA, 1933–1935" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1938).

<sup>11</sup> Hofstadter, remarks at a special meeting with his graduate students, New York City, September 1968; Hofstadter, review of Max Lerner's *Ideas Are Weapons*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 55 (1940): 621; and Pells,



HOFSTADTER'S STARTING POINT IN THAT QUEST was his doctoral dissertation, published in 1944 as *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915*. A straightforward and craftsmanlike work of intellectual history for the most part, it also afforded Hofstadter the chance to reconnoiter his enemy, the conservative ideology of individualism and laissez-faire. The book is a narrative of progress and reform, which begins with the philosophical system of Herbert Spencer and proceeds to Spencer's chief American disciples, to his initial critics, and, finally, to the rise of what Hofstadter called a "new collectivism" in thinkers like Thorstein Veblen and John Dewey. Hofstadter's own allegiance clearly lay with that "new collectivism" and its vision of a cohesive society and active state guided by rational thought. Dewey in particular received praise as a writer with a keen social consciousness who "preached the effectiveness of intelligence as an instrument in modifying the world." This aspect of socialist thought had the greatest appeal for Hofstadter, and it remained his ideal even after his disillusionment with Marxism was complete.<sup>12</sup>

But could "intelligence" ever become an effective instrument for shaping American society? Could intellectuals look forward someday soon to navigating the ship of state? Hofstadter's findings were not encouraging. The uses made of Darwinian theory during the Gilded Age suggested that "social ideas," when they enter the political arena, soon lose their integrity. Rather, they rapidly become the property of the dominant class. According to Hofstadter, "In determining whether such ideas are accepted, truth and logic are less important criteria than suitability to the intellectual needs and preconceptions of social interests. This is one of the great difficulties that must be faced by rational strategists of social change." If the prognosis for social planning looked poor, the concept of class conflict, at least, appeared to offer a rational strategy for undertaking political analysis. But this holds true, Hofstadter soon discovered, only when writing about intellectuals who generally mean what they say. On turning to mainstream politicians in his next book, he found that they were very different indeed.<sup>13</sup>

The years following the publication of *Social Darwinism in American Thought* were both difficult and crucial for Hofstadter. Felice Swados died in August 1945, less than two years after the birth of their first child. "It is certainly not too much to suggest," wrote Paula S. Fass, "that his young wife's death, itself an echo of the earlier loss of his mother, underwrote the profound sense of humility Hofstadter brought to his analysis of human experience and historical knowledge." But along with the humility, one suspects, came an understandable element of bitterness discernible in the iconoclastic tone that entered his writing at this time. In the wake of this tragedy, Hofstadter moved steadily to rebuild his life. In 1946 he left his initial teaching post at the University of Maryland to become assistant professor of history at Columbia, where he remained for the rest of his career. In January 1947 he married Beatrice Kevitt and established the close-knit family existence that

---

*Radical Visions*, 347. I was present during the special meeting, called to discuss the violent events that had closed down Columbia University the previous spring, when Hofstadter recounted his own political activities during the 1930s and his subsequent disillusionment. In an interview a few years later he again emphasized his early radicalism; see "The Age of Rubbish," *Newsweek*, July 6, 1970, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (1944; Boston, 1955), 167–69, 134–36; and Elkins and McKittrick, "Hofstadter: A Progress," 303–04.

<sup>13</sup> Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, 201, 203–04.

proved an essential source of support in the years ahead. The award of an Alfred A. Knopf fellowship began his long and mutually advantageous association with that prestigious publishing house. And, finally, during these years he wrote *The American Political Tradition*, an authentic masterpiece that secured his professional reputation once and for all.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to its pathbreaking qualities, *The American Political Tradition* is one of the most jaundiced views of American political history ever written by a major scholar. That it sold so well for so long (over one million copies) and was adopted as a textbook by thousands of colleges and high schools throughout the country is surely an irony. For in it Hofstadter examined American political leadership from the Founding Fathers to Franklin D. Roosevelt and found in the main a record of unremitting opportunism. The only consistent social goal these men shared, he contended, was to bolster bourgeois capitalism—to allow the middle classes to gorge themselves at the trough. On this one point there was a consensus. Those political conflicts that did occur, he told us, were essentially charades, since no significant beliefs or issues were at stake. But again, Hofstadter found this consensus only to condemn it in the most acid terms. Certainly the widespread acceptance of “the economic virtues of capitalist culture as necessary qualities of man” was not for him a mark of American superiority.<sup>15</sup>

Nor did he deal kindly with the idols of early American politics. He saw the Founding Fathers much as Beard did, as economic realists trying to protect their financial interests from the depredations of “aggressive dirt farmers” and “the propertyless masses of the towns.” Their antidemocratic sentiments, he explained, led to a constitution mainly designed to protect individual property rights—a document that had become largely anachronistic and oppressive by the twentieth century. Thomas Jefferson is likewise depicted as a patronizing aristocrat rather than as a real man of the people. A “pragmatic” politician who abhorred conflict, Jefferson, Hofstadter complained, “had not the temperament of an agitator, hardly even of a leader in the qualities that leadership requires under modern democracy.” Most of all, Hofstadter could not forgive Jefferson his absorption in partisan politics. “If he had been the crusading democrat of Jeffersonian legend he could not have been so successful a machine leader.” Neither did Andrew Jackson possess guiding principles that Hofstadter could detect, except political expediency and a violent temper. A fundamentally ambitious man who hitched his star to a constituency hungering for economic mobility, Jackson, in Hofstadter’s estimate, did what was politically advantageous at each juncture; no rational economic purpose whatever was to be found in his bank war.<sup>16</sup>

The ultimate in opportunism did not come until the twentieth century. Although

<sup>14</sup> Fass, “Richard Hofstadter,” 215. With his firm ties to his family, university, publisher, and urban locale, it is striking how rooted Hofstadter became for a supposedly rootless modern intellectual. I suspect that this secure personal and professional life was essential in enabling him to sustain his critical stance toward American society.

<sup>15</sup> Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, xxxvi–xxxvii; Schlesinger, “Richard Hofstadter,” 289–90; Lasch, “Foreword,” xiv; Reinitz, *Irony and Consciousness*, 132; and Gillam, “Richard Hofstadter,” 76–77. Prior to the book’s publication, Hofstadter believed he was writing for an audience midway between a scholarly and a popular one, “a relatively small one, I suppose.” Hofstadter to Howard K. Beale, February 11, 1948, Hofstadter Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, 4–5, 14–16, 20–21, 26, 31–32, 45, 61, 69–70, 74–78.



*Figure 1: Richard Hofstadter, 1916–70.*  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Beatrice K. Hofstadter, New York, N.Y.

Hofstadter insisted privately to Howard K. Beale that he admired Theodore Roosevelt, the TR found in *The American Political Tradition* seems a virtual maniac capable of striking at anything in sight. His trust-busting campaign was nothing but rhetoric. “There was a hundred times more noise than accomplishment.” Why, then, did Roosevelt lash out so vigorously at the trusts? He had learned, Hofstadter asserted, that an ambitious politician must control his temper, and thus his “penchant for violence . . . had to be discharged on a purely verbal level.” This explained Roosevelt’s apparent advocacy of a reform position in the Northern

Securities case, among others. "Such equivocations are the life of practical politics," Hofstadter wrote disparagingly, "but while they often sound weak and halting in the mouths of the ordinary politician, Roosevelt had a way of giving them a fine aggressive surge." His main historical function, it follows, had been to comfort anxious members of the middle class in an age of unparalleled corporate growth. "With his uncanny instinct for impalpable falsehoods he articulated their fears in a string of plausible superficialities." So much for the hero of the Progressive generation.<sup>17</sup>

Hofstadter was more ambivalent toward the second Roosevelt. Although he titled the chapter "Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Patrician as Opportunist," he granted for the first time that opportunism in the hands of a master politician might have its merits. To be sure, FDR was "neither systematic nor consistent" in his philosophy; he "provided no clearly articulated break with the inherited faith." But he did adopt a flexible and kindhearted approach to the nation's problems, along with "a kind of intuitive wisdom" for knowing what the people really wanted. His program was "politically, if not economically, coherent." Still, Hofstadter could not overcome the deep disdain he and his friends had felt during the 1930s at Roosevelt's failure to approach issues with a requisite sense of their complexity. As Kazin recalled, "We were obsessed by Roosevelt, he was so much the wily slippery confidence man unable for very long to satisfy 'people of principle.' But his real fault was that we did not know where his bantering elusive sense of superiority came from, what he had done to deserve so much power. . . . Roosevelt, the aristo-politician, forever mischievous, condescending, knew how to say 'my old friend' in eleven languages. He reduced everything into one-sentence paragraphs, and with this seductive simplicity was in touch with millions." How could a man so lacking in bona fide intellectuality, so simplistic in his habits of mind, become the nation's leader at such a desperate moment in history? That was the question that rankled Hofstadter. In this respect, *The American Political Tradition* can be seen as an extended critique of the New Deal read backwards into American history.<sup>18</sup>

By contrast, the one favorable portrait in the book, that of the abolitionist Wendell Phillips, reveals the sort of political leader Hofstadter tended to admire. Clearly Phillips was not an opportunist; rather, he possessed and acted on "a reasoned philosophy of agitation." His career reflected what Hofstadter saw as the special role of the agitator in history. Unlike the conventional pragmatic politician, the agitator deliberately concerns himself with the ultimate possibilities in any historical situation. Although such a person may appear utopian and foolish most

<sup>17</sup> Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, 270, 272–78, 293–96, 298; and Hofstadter to Howard K. Beale, February 11, 1948, Hofstadter Papers. It seems likely that TR became such a special object of Hofstadter's attention because, as Hofstadter once put it, Roosevelt was "one of the very few American presidents since the day of John Quincy Adams who had any pretensions to being an intellectual or a cultural force." The temptation for debunking must have been overwhelming. See Hofstadter, "The Rough Rider," *Commentary*, 12 (1951): 196.

<sup>18</sup> Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, xxxvi, 411–13, 421–22, 427; and Kazin, *New York Jew*, 15–16. Hofstadter's indictment of FDR was especially strong in the area of foreign policy. Comparing Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson, he wrote that it was "hard to imagine Roosevelt . . . straining as desperately at Yalta or Teheran as Wilson did at Paris for detailed factual understanding, for intellectual consistency and moral responsibility"; *American Political Tradition*, 458.

of the time, events will catch up to him. When the inevitable social crisis occurs, “the logical and doctrinaire mind of the agitator become[s] at one with the realities, and he appears overnight to the people a plausible and forceful thinker.” At last the alienated, radical intellectual, in other words, becomes effective in the democratic arena, and the people respond to his logic rather than to the usual empty rhetoric. To Hofstadter in 1948, such moments of crisis held far more appeal than the sorry spectacle of “normal” American politics.<sup>19</sup>

Compared to Hofstadter’s later works, *The American Political Tradition* is especially striking in its almost total obliviousness toward the symbolic uses of politics. His analysis of Jackson’s attack on the Bank of the United States, for example, proceeds primarily in terms of legal and economic considerations. There is no clear recognition that Old Hickory’s actions may have reverberated through the nation’s political structure and helped shape a new constituency for the Democratic party. More broadly, the book lacks any systematic conception of the function of political parties—a subject of intense interest to Hofstadter by the 1960s. Indeed, far from praising the two-party system, Hofstadter at this time registered his grave doubts about its role in a democracy. “The best defense of the two-party system is the argument that while it permits the majority to govern, as it should, it also centralizes the opposition in a single minority group, thus preventing the dissipation of minority energy in sectarian disputes and checking any tyrannical tendencies on the part of the ‘ins.’ This argument has seldom fitted the facts of American life, where party differences have rarely been profound and party structure has been so rigid that minorities, instead of being focused in either major party when it was out, have rather had to sunder their traditional party ties and—in most cases—drown in the political seas.” Nothing could contrast more sharply with what he wrote some twenty years later in *The Idea of a Party System*—the result of his long quest to find a new understanding of American political culture.<sup>20</sup>

AFTER HOFSTADTER published *The American Political Tradition*, he engaged in extensive interdisciplinary reading, especially in the fields of political sociology, social psychology, psychoanalytic theory, and literary criticism. Three Columbia colleagues proved especially influential at this juncture: Lionel Trilling, whose symbolic interpretations of literary texts suggested a similar approach to political rhetoric; C. Wright Mills, who in *White Collar* (1951) detailed the status anxieties and aspirations of the new corporate middle class; and Robert K. Merton, whose sociological concept of “latent function” permitted an analyst to construe in rational terms behavior that at first sight appears highly irrational. As Elkins and McKittrick pointed out, one of the “most arresting” examples of latent function that Merton cited was the urban political machine; on one level it seemed shamelessly to exploit its constituents, while on another it in fact rendered them important social and cultural services. In addition, Hofstadter rapidly assimilated the basic premises of

<sup>19</sup> Hofstadter, *American Political Tradition*, 176–79, 183–84.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 76–78, 80–81, 231. On Hofstadter’s estimate of political parties at this time, see his “From Calhoun to the Dixiecrats,” *Social Research*, 16 (1949): 149.



psychoanalytic thought, both directly through the works of Freud, and indirectly through such writers as Harold Lasswell, John Dollard, and David Riesman. Always insistent that the historian must never overtly psychoanalyze his subjects, Hofstadter made abundant indirect use of Freudian insights in comprehending political motives.<sup>21</sup>

Aside from Freud, however, perhaps the most important influence came from Karl Mannheim, whose *Ideology and Utopia* Hofstadter had read but did not fully absorb until the early 1950s. Mannheim sought to rescue the concept of ideology from orthodox Marxism by expanding it to reflect more than just the economic interests of a given social class. In his definition, an ideology mirrors the total "life-situation" of a class or group and is derived directly from its day-to-day experiences. Nonetheless, Mannheim tended to retain the conventional Marxist notion of ideology as narrow, limited, and false precisely because the vision of any one class was necessarily constricted by its position within society. The task of the analyst, accordingly, is to identify the errors in various ideologies by connecting them to their respective social bases. "It is only when we more or less consciously seek to discover the source of their untruthfulness in a social factor," Mannheim concluded, "that we are properly making an ideological interpretation."<sup>22</sup>

At first Mannheim's broadened concept of ideology proved immensely liberating to Hofstadter, especially when combined with other methods for studying symbolic action that he was discovering. It allowed him to move beyond the comparatively primitive debunking approach of predecessors like Beard, who had explained the political outlook of the Founding Fathers by reference to their personal finances, and to focus on a wide range of social determinants, such as status, ethnicity, vocation, and religion. Moreover, Hofstadter applied the concept dynamically, exactly as Mannheim intended, explaining certain styles of thought by the process of change in a group's position in the social hierarchy. Here lay the foundation for the "status politics" approach that Hofstadter employed in some of his most pioneering work in the 1950s and early 1960s. But here paradoxically also lay what in time became a major obstacle to Hofstadter's further progress as a historian, what prevented him from keeping up with those who moved to a less pejorative concept of ideology far more supple and sophisticated than Mannheim's.<sup>23</sup>

These new influences on Hofstadter first became apparent in his 1952 article, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines." Building on the work of Julius Pratt, Hofstadter noted that the politics surrounding the acquisition of the islands, when viewed from the standpoint of economic interests, was filled with contradictions. Business leaders who ultimately benefited from the Spanish-American War had originally opposed it, while few of the jingoists who clamored for it had any

<sup>21</sup> Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, 1957), 51, 64–66, 73–80; Elkins and McKittrick, "Richard Hofstadter," 318–19; Gillam, "Richard Hofstadter," 79–80; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, 1951); and Hofstadter, "History and the Social Sciences," 361–62.

<sup>22</sup> Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, trans. by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (1936; New York, 1968), 56, 78, 81, 61; Hofstadter, "History and the Social Sciences," 361–62; and Job L. Dittberner, *The End of Ideology and American Social Thought, 1930–1960* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 13–14, 20–21.

<sup>23</sup> Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 82–83.

material stake in annexation. To make sense of these events, Hofstadter ventured “onto the high and dangerous ground of social psychology,” a terrain he felt must always be visited whenever “simple rationalistic explanations of national behavior leave us dissatisfied.” The real source of expansionist fervor, he claimed, had been “the psychic crisis of the 1890’s,” brought about by a number of interlocking factors ranging from the rapid growth of large corporations to the general belief that the frontier was fast disappearing. These changes created a widespread anxiety about the country’s future, manifested by “a restless aggressiveness, a desire to be assured that the power and vitality of the nation was not wanting.” The war in turn served as a safe outlet for discharging these aggressive impulses, because its proponents could present it, “quite truthfully, as an idealistic and humanitarian crusade.” Thus, the irrational needs of the psyche, even more than the calculated pursuit of profits, supplied the key to an understanding of the Gilded Age.<sup>24</sup>

Hofstadter developed this style of symbolic analysis further in *The Age of Reform* (1955), a study of American political culture from Populism to the New Deal that became perhaps his most original and influential book. “So dramatically did Hofstadter revolutionize the study of American history through his emphasis on the function of symbolic statements and symbolic behavior,” Howe and Finn noted, “that it is difficult to remember today how innovative these concepts once were.” The book’s starting point was the paradox of a successful reform movement—Progressivism—taking place during a period of general prosperity. If economic causes could not account for this phenomenon, he reasoned, Progressivism must be seen as a symbolic crusade that had provided vital psychic comfort in the midst of rapid social change. For Hofstadter, that change was decisive in recent American history, marking as it did the transition from a traditional, localistic agrarian society to a new urban, industrial civilization based on techniques of large-scale bureaucratic organization. The middle classes, Hofstadter explained, both welcomed this transformation as evidence of progress and feared it as a threat to their social status and most cherished values. Unable, and often unwilling, to reverse the course of historical development, middle-class Americans were at least able to ease their adjustment to it through participation in Progressive reform. Viewed from this psychological perspective, Hofstadter held, Progressive political rhetoric was anything but meaningless.<sup>25</sup>

One dramatic result of this “status politics” approach was Hofstadter’s re-evaluation of Theodore Roosevelt. Previously condemned for his “carnal larynx,” TR now became “the first major political leader” to respond effectively to the plight of the Progressive constituency. No longer did Hofstadter consider Roosevelt’s antitrust actions “a hundred times more noise than accomplishment.” “These moves,” he wrote, “by suggesting that the country at last had a President capable of taking a strong and independent stand in such matters, gave people confidence. . . . They were symbolic acts of the highest importance.” On the practical side, antitrust

<sup>24</sup> Richard Hofstadter, “Manifest Destiny and the Philippines,” in Daniel Aaron, ed., *America in Crisis* (New York, 1952), 197, 183, 199, 174–75, 180, 182.

<sup>25</sup> Howe and Finn, “Richard Hofstadter,” 10; and Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 5–7, 212–14, 217.

agitation served to put big business "on the defensive and to create a climate of opinion in which some reform legislation was possible." For those potential critics on the Left who might disdain such limited achievements, Hofstadter cited the speculations of Franz Neumann on how different twentieth-century German history might have been had that country experienced a Progressive movement. "So, after all," Hofstadter concluded, almost as if talking to his earlier self, "even the overblown rhetoric of the antitrust movement finds its place, and even the Progressive charade of antimonopoly takes on a function that goes beyond mere entertainment."<sup>26</sup>

Equally striking was Hofstadter's fresh estimate of the New Deal, now described as a "drastic new departure" in American reform. Franklin Roosevelt, once derided as a man lacking coherent beliefs, became "a seasoned professional politician" who practiced "opportunistic virtuosity." Having "learned his trade straddling the terrible antagonisms of the 1920s," Roosevelt was perfectly suited to bridge the great cultural divisions within his party by gathering the reform-minded middle class, labor, the South, and various urban immigrant groups into a durable coalition. Thus, the alternative verdict, "If, from an economic standpoint, the New Deal was altogether lacking in that rationality or consistency which is implied in the concept of planning, from a political standpoint it represented a masterly shifting equipoise of interests." Hofstadter's initial allegiance to John Dewey and other "rational strategists of social change" was clearly starting to wane.<sup>27</sup>

But if symbolic analysis led Hofstadter to a new appreciation of Progressivism and the New Deal, the opposite was true of Populism. Given his solicitude for the rural poor in his master's thesis, Hofstadter might have been expected to look favorably on the farmers' revolt. In his account, however, the Populists were men who looked primarily backwards, clinging to a mythical view of themselves as self-sufficient yeomen, although they had long since entered the modern world of capitalist competition. As a consequence they were doomed to repeated frustrations that in turn brought them to bigotry, xenophobia, and paranoid delusions. It is true that his often-quoted remark on how the movement had "turned sour, become illiberal and ill-tempered" referred not just to Populism but to "the Populist-Progressive tradition" as a whole; still, his many critics were surely right in detecting a particular animus against Populism and in claiming that he gave it a sinister coloration the movement did not really deserve. The key question, then, concerns his resort to a double standard. If Hofstadter was willing to grant the urban middle classes their symbolic comforts, why could he not do the same for the desperate and ruined farmers who needed such comforts even more?<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hofstadter, "Manifest Destiny," 195, and *Age of Reform*, 235, 237, 254–56.

<sup>27</sup> Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 303, 307, 319. Two years later, Hofstadter escalated his enthusiasm for Roosevelt still more, writing of FDR's "gorgeous political virtuosity" and "gift for the genial straddle." See his "The Age of Hoover," *Encounter*, 9 (1957): 76–77.

<sup>28</sup> Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 62–64, 58–59, 70–72, 77–81, 20. For criticism of Hofstadter's treatment of Populism, see William A. Williams, "The Age of Re-Forming History," *Nation*, 182 (1956): 554; Norman Pollock, "Hofstadter on Populism: A Critique of *The Age of Reform*," *Journal of Southern History*, 26 (1960): 478–500; Schlesinger, "Richard Hofstadter," 301–03; C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 141–66; and Michael Paul Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 172–73, 183–85. For a recent treatment of the subject that disagrees with Hofstadter in some



Figure 2: Charles A. Beard, President of the American Historical Association, 1933.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.

The reason of course was McCarthyism and the rise of the “radical right.” In the introduction to *The Age of Reform*, Hofstadter wrote that one of his chief aims was to show “that side of Populism and Progressivism—particularly of Populism—which seems very strongly to foreshadow some aspects of the cranky pseudo-conservatism of our time.” Most writers on Hofstadter, however, have misunderstood the specific

---

respects but in others appears to provide significant support for his interpretation, see James Turner, “Understanding the Populists,” *Journal of American History*, 67 (1980–81): 355–56, 368–71.

manner in which the new Right affected him. It assuredly did not cause him to lose faith in popular democracy per se, as Michael Paul Rogin and others have suggested. His continued strong sympathy for working-class and minority movements in American history attests to that fact. Rather, McCarthyism served to revive and strengthen those cosmopolitan values that he retained from his 1930s world view, with its intense prejudice against small-town America. The gravest threat to personal and intellectual freedom, according to Hofstadter, always came from "local vigilantism"; by comparison, the vast powers of the federal government or large corporations seemed relatively benign. Thus, the terrifying aspect of McCarthy's crusade was its demonstration of how "it is now possible . . . for the local mobs to be animated from a central point, so that they can act in concert." This in turn was why the Populists appeared so dangerous—*not* because they were a mass movement but because they clearly represented that older, village America that Hofstadter identified instinctively as the source of political reaction and as a threat to all of his beliefs.<sup>29</sup>

That perceived threat was to preoccupy Hofstadter throughout the following decade, producing an increasingly important effect on his thought. As the first page of *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) announced, the book was undertaken as a "response to the political and intellectual conditions of the 1950's," especially McCarthyism. In it Hofstadter, following his cosmopolitan values, traced the source of anti-intellectualism in America to the common people, led by their evangelical preachers and by the "small-town lawyers and businessmen who are elected to Congress." Inherently suspicious of learning and urbanity, such folk reacted with righteous fury as events in the twentieth century undermined their village culture. "The older America . . . was wrapped in the security of continental isolation, village society, the Protestant denominations, and a flourishing industrial capitalism. But reluctantly, year by year, it has been drawn into the twentieth century and forced to cope with its unpleasant realities: first the incursions of cosmopolitanism and skepticism, then the disappearance of American isolationism and easy military security, the collapse of traditional capitalism and its supplementation by a centralized welfare state, finally the unrelenting costs and stringencies of the Second World War, the Korean War, and the cold war. As a consequence, the heartland of America, filled with people who are often fundamentalist in religion, nativist in prejudice, isolationist in foreign policy, and conservative in economics,

<sup>29</sup> Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 20, "Liberty Bonds," *New York Review of Books*, January 23, 1964, p. 12, "A Progressive Hero," *New York Review of Books*, February 6, 1964, p. 8; Rogin, *Intellectuals and McCarthy*, 2–3; and Kenneth S. Lynn, "Elitism on the Left," *The Reporter*, July 4, 1963, pp. 37–40. Writing in 1969, Hofstadter went so far as to blame most of the violence in American history on small-town culture. "The story of our diminished violence, in those areas of our life where it has in fact largely been brought under control, has been in good part the story of the submergence and defeat of arbitrary, bigoted, self-satisfied local forces by the advancing cosmopolitan sentiment of a larger, somewhat more neutrally-minded state, or, better, national public. It has been marked by the replacement of small-town vigilantes by state authorities or national troops; the subordination of local sheriffs harboring secret or even open mob sympathies to the external forces of relatively neutral law." By contrast, Hofstadter did not especially fear the organized working class, even when it resorted to violence. In the same essay he noted that "most American violence" has come from those on the political right and has been "unleashed against abolitionists, Catholics, radicals, workers and labor organizers, Negroes, Orientals, and other ethnic or racial or ideological minorities." Hofstadter, "Reflections on Violence in the United States," in Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, eds., *American Violence: A Documentary History* (New York, 1970), 28, 11.



has constantly rumbled with an underground revolt against all these tormenting manifestations of our modern predicament." The most virulent outbreak of this mounting anger, he wrote, was the "Great Inquisition" of the 1950s.<sup>30</sup>

Again, it should be stressed that here Hofstadter did not take an antidemocratic as much as an antivillage stance. If anything, he sympathized with those whose way of life was being swept away by the rush of events. "Perhaps the truly remarkable thing about the common American response to the modern world," he suggested, "has been its patience and generosity" on most occasions. Nor did he blame the people alone for the tensions that existed between them and the intellectuals. On the contrary, he recognized that much of that tension arose from the very nature of the life of the mind, with its elitist tendency to rank individuals on the basis of intelligence and attainment and with its "aristocratic" requirements of extensive education and leisure. "It is rare for an American intellectual to confront candidly the unresolvable conflict between the elite character of his own class and his democratic aspirations." Yet that was one of Hofstadter's main objectives in this book. His conclusion held that such conflicts in modern society are inevitable, normal, and often healthy, especially when they serve to deflate the pretensions of intellectuals and to keep them in touch with reality.<sup>31</sup>

What Hofstadter vigorously condemned in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* and elsewhere was the dogmatic and fanatical mentality of those traditionalists who became political extremists. The problem with these "one hundred per centers," whom he believed had spearheaded both the fundamentalist crusade in the 1920s and the postwar radical Right, was their insistence on seeing issues in polar terms; they could "tolerate no ambiguities, no equivocations, no reservations, and no criticism." Their diametric opposites were the practicing politicians, whose mentality, as he described it, sounds suspiciously like that of the modernist intellectual. "It accepts conflict as a central and enduring reality and understands human society as a form of equipoise based upon the continuing process of compromise. It shuns ultimate showdowns and looks upon the ideal of total partisan victory as unattainable, as merely another variety of threat to the kind of balance with which it is familiar. It is sensitive to nuances and sees things in degrees. It is essentially relativist and skeptical, but at the same time circumspect and humane." Regardless of whether the garden-variety politico really possesses the subtlety attributed to him here, this passage clearly reveals the transition that had taken place in Hofstadter's thought. His previous belief that effective political action must be guided by a rational, cohesive, and well-articulated set of "social ideas" had given way to an admiration for the professional's ability to juggle skillfully the interests and ideals of competing social groups, even though the outcome may often appear irrational. This explains his double standard on Populism; the Progressives had employed

<sup>30</sup> Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1963), 3, 36–37, 42.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 42–43, 407–08. Most reviewers of Hofstadter's *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* regarded it as yet another attack on American mass culture. One of the few who caught Hofstadter's more subtle intent was Benjamin DeMott. See his "America Absolved," *New York Review of Books*, Summer 1963, p. 13. Hofstadter himself insisted with some exasperation on his attempt at even-handedness. As he wrote an old friend, "The idea that I am trying to understand something and not draw up indictments or hand out absolution is, I can now see, something that it will be very hard for many people to get." Hofstadter to Harvey Swados, n.d. [June 1963], University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Harvey Swados Papers.

symbolic politics flexibly and pragmatically, as evidenced by TR, while the Populists had indulged in the sort of strident moralism that Hofstadter associated with the fundamentalist mind and with village America.<sup>32</sup>

In the mid-1960s, after witnessing the spectacle of the Goldwater campaign, Hofstadter further elaborated this concept of extremist politics and designated it the “paranoid style.” Its identifying characteristic, he wrote, was the contention that all social ills could be traced to a single conspiratorial source and that consequently evil could be eliminated at one stroke by “some kind of final act of victory.” To achieve that victory would require “not the usual methods of give-and-take, but an all-out crusade.” This mentality, Hofstadter added, was not limited to the contemporary radical Right but could be found in such diverse movements as Anti-Masonry, Soviet communism, and, of course, Populism. All shared an “apocalyptic and absolutist framework.” In Hofstadter’s view, moreover, the paranoid style was unquestionably a manifestation of status politics. For those caught up in it, the main concern became the respect others accorded their cultural beliefs, rather than their economic well-being. In the case of the radical Right, the upsurge of paranoia reflected in essence a resurgence of the old 1920s fundamentalist crusade, which had been “interrupted and deflected by the depression, the New Deal, and the war” and whose adherents had reemerged convinced that they had at last located the source of their troubles in an international communist conspiracy.<sup>33</sup>

But was this descent into paranoia an inevitable tendency of status politics? And did Hofstadter, as some critics charged, condemn all popular political movements? Here Hofstadter was remarkably unclear. At times, especially in those essays written during and immediately after the 1964 presidential campaign, his answer seemed to be yes. Because status politics entailed moral issues that could not easily be compromised, he appeared to say, the result of protracted agitation would always be unresolvable conflict, frustration, and an ultimate resort to fantasy. Interest politics, by contrast, was concerned with matters subject to normal bargaining through the brokerage of “skilled professionals”—a process that anchored it solidly in reality and made it typically “pragmatic” and “nonideological” in character. At other times, though, Hofstadter implied that the concerns of status politics—“religion, morals, personal style, and culture”—could enter the regular political process, that a truly skillful leader would be adept at juggling symbolic along with economic issues. His favorable assessment of Theodore Roosevelt in *The Age of Reform* rested squarely on that premise. Nor was Hofstadter invariably opposed to mass movements that engage in status politics. From the 1940s onward, for example, he warmly supported the civil rights movement, going so far as to march at Selma in 1965. In sum, though the charge that he was terrified of popular democracy will not hold up, it is true that his concept of status politics became increasingly confused. A distinction plainly existed in his mind between “normal” and “extremist” status politics, but he was never able to articulate it and all too frequently lost track of it.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, 118–19, 134–35.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1965), 4, 7–14, xii, 29, 17, 72–74, 77.

<sup>34</sup> Hofstadter, “Goldwater and His Party: The True Believer and the Radical Right,” *Encounter*, 23 (1964): 5,

The Goldwater campaign had one other significant effect on Hofstadter; it supplied the final impetus for his embrace of a pluralist view of American politics. Indeed, his admiration for the two-party system now became a virtual obsession. In America, he argued, the "political party seems to be a rather blunt instrument, . . . but it is in fact a highly sophisticated piece of apparatus, very appropriate to its vital function." Its various rituals, meaningless as they might at first appear, were all designed to keep the system operating smoothly. A perfect example was the party platform, "an important symbolic act, in which the leaders prove to themselves and to the country that they stand close enough to agree on a statement of promises and proposals." The very vagueness of those proposals was itself a virtue, "a token of the capacity to compromise." To Hofstadter in 1964, nothing was more important than keeping the issues sufficiently blurred. "Critics of our system. . . have often argued that a sharper division in our party ideologies along conservative and progressive lines would serve us better. They have assumed that keener ideological debate and greater intellectual clarity would be identical, and that it would be better to fight out our social issues to some kind of satisfactory finish rather than to go on smoothing them over in the inconclusive manner of our major parties. It appears that we are now about to get a sharper ideological division, and keener social conflict, and they may not like it as well as they anticipated." At the start of his career he had treated consensus politics and the American party system with a critic's scorn; now he angrily accused Goldwater of violating "the basic American consensus."<sup>35</sup>

Hofstadter's perception of the 1964 campaign arose directly from his cosmopolitan and pluralist values. In his view, Goldwater was in essence "a small-town politician," "a prosperous provincial merchant" who had never learned the rules of the game. "Much of his difficulty," Hofstadter claimed, stemmed from "the fact that his serious political education began only recently." Above all, Goldwater and his staff (also made up of "amateurs and provincials") ignored the "professional code" of American politics, with its stress on downplaying partisan emotions and conciliating defeated opponents. True professionals, Hofstadter insisted, were aware "that their promises, which express rather what they think they should offer to do than what they think they can do, cannot be perfectly fulfilled." Instinctively they turn away from ideology as too "divisive." But Goldwater, the "partisan evangelist," could not fathom these "baffling ambiguities and compromises" of the system; he saw the world in polar terms of good versus evil. With disdain for the usual bargaining and bickering of interest politics, Goldwater aimed "to drive the politics out of politics," and Hofstadter, having just gained an appreciation of the system's inner workings, could not let that happen without protest.<sup>36</sup>

In his remaining years, alongside various historiographic writings, Hofstadter devoted his time to exploring the origins of two-party politics in America. Most

---

"A Long View: Goldwater in History," *New York Review of Books*, October 8, 1964, p. 18, *Paranoid Style*, 77, 86–90, ix, 121, 52–53; conversation with Hofstadter, New York City, April 5, 1968; and Rogin, *Intellectuals and McCarthy*, 15, 17, 22–23, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Hofstadter, "Goldwater and His Party," 3–5, *Paranoid Style*, 107–08, and "A Long View," 20.

<sup>36</sup> Hofstadter, "Goldwater and His Party," 8, 13. "A Long View," 19, 17, *Paranoid Style*, 101–07, 121, and "The Goldwater Debacle," *Encounter*, 24 (1965): 68.

striking was how thoroughly his views on the early national period had changed since 1948. Jefferson, condemned earlier as “a machine leader” was lauded in *The Idea of a Party System* (1969) precisely for “his part in creating the first truly popular party in . . . the Western world.” Once accused of hypocrisy for his decision to retain Hamilton’s bank, he was now said to have possessed an admirably “circumspect and calculating mind,” as demonstrated by his willingness “to accept [the bank’s] existence, even its expansion, so long as he could go on grumbling and denouncing it.” The true hero of the book, however, was surely Martin Van Buren, the consummate party operator who, Hofstadter noted, once displayed his “agile flexibility” by giving a lengthy speech on the tariff, only to leave his listeners totally divided as to how he stood on the issue. The son of an upstate New York tavern keeper, Van Buren had risen from local politics, learning his trade the hard way. Blessed with “keen intelligence but no notable intellectual brilliance or wit,” he was “the placatory professional politician, whose leadership comes in large part out of his taste for political association, his liking for people, and his sportsmanlike ability to experience political conflict without taking it as ground for political rancor.”<sup>37</sup>

The thesis of the book, in short, amounted to an untrammelled celebration of pluralism. Although the Founding Fathers had begun as antiparty thinkers, Hofstadter told us, they learned through “the pragmatic pressures of political conflict” the benefits of party organization. Parties, they discovered, were indispensable instruments of cohesion in a rootless, scattered, and dynamic society like the United States. Parties were also essential for realizing the nation’s democratic creed. Only by uniting through party discipline could ordinary men hope to match the advantages of wealth and standing that the well-born brought to political affairs; that was why leaders like Van Buren willingly surrendered their own opinions to that of the party majority. Such men learned further from experience the need for preserving a legitimate opposition in a free society. The sacred function of the opposition party, they came to realize, was to articulate the grievances of discontented citizens, to fashion those grievances into plausible programs, and to bargain with the majority party in hopes of reaching a new social “consensus.”<sup>38</sup>

Several writers have detected a strong conservative trend in these later works, and one has gone so far as to enroll Hofstadter posthumously among the “neo-conservative” intellectuals of the late 1970s and 1980s. Certainly one can charge him with accepting too uncritically the formulations of pluralist political science; still, the conservative label does not really fit a complex figure like Hofstadter. Seen from one standpoint, his pluralist beliefs reflected a move away from his earlier elitism. His new favorites, the members of Van Buren’s Albany Regency, were, as he pointed out, “locals rather than cosmopolitans,” self-made men from obscure small-town backgrounds rather than well-educated and urbane intellectuals. Surely Hofstadter’s ability to surmount his cosmopolitanism and recognize the special

<sup>37</sup> Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), I, 150, 159–60, 247–48, 215–16.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 84, 252, 70–71, 209, 243–46, and “The Development of Political Parties,” in John A. Garraty, ed., *Interpreting American History: Conversations with Historians* (Toronto, 1970), 152, 159.

talents of such men cannot be construed as antidemocratic. Moreover, though he valued moderation and pragmatism, Hofstadter also made it plain that he did not favor an "excess of consensus." His endorsement of the two-party system was premised on the assumption that the parties would always take substantive issues seriously and would reflect real social divisions in their respective programs. The two major parties "may not differ as night from day," he observed, "but some of the issues they pose are clear enough to enable a thinking person to make a rational choice between them at most points in history." The politics he enjoyed were always partisan and contentious, rather than bland and tranquil; his favorite decade remained the 1930s, not the 1950s.<sup>39</sup>

Whether or not he had shifted toward the Right, the intrinsic appeal of pluralism was most decisive for Hofstadter. For one thing, it provided him with an analytic framework complex and flexible enough to do justice to his basic modernist tenets. Ever since William James and John Dewey first articulated the pluralistic mode of thought, it has helped shape the modernist vision of an open and unfinished world in which a multiplicity of historical forces and beliefs vie constantly with one another without any attaining permanent dominance. Such an approach has allowed modernist writers to fulfill their primary objective of portraying human existence in its full paradoxical intricacy. Thus, Hofstadter, once his pluralist perspective had matured, was able to construe the workings of the American political system as at once dynamic and stable, contingent and predictable, combative and consensual—an account far more intellectually satisfying to him than that provided by his initial Progressive-Marxist perspective.<sup>40</sup>

But the chief reason why Hofstadter embraced pluralist theory was that it served to answer the riddle with which he had begun his career. It explained for him the seeming disjunction between the public rhetoric and actual behavior of political leaders. Rituals, like party platforms and conciliatory patronage, that appeared inexplicable if measured by standards of ideological consistency became fully comprehensible when seen as a means of preserving party cohesion. And what pluralist theory could not explain, his concept of status or symbolic politics frequently could, although, as we have noted, his understanding of how to combine party and symbolic politics was murky at best. Thus, Hofstadter completed his quest. American politics might appear hopelessly irrational on the surface, but, once its latent functions and distinctive culture were correctly interpreted, it had to be considered, if not a thing of shining beauty, at least the best system of governance yet devised.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Steinfels, *The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics* (New York, 1979), 5, 17, 32; Hofstadter, *Idea of a Party System*, 240–41, 5 n. . "Political Parties," in C. Vann Woodward, ed., *The Comparative Approach to American History* (New York, 1968), 210, 215–16, "Development of Parties," 159; and Howe and Finn, "Richard Hofstadter," 17–18. A highly perceptive critique of Hofstadter's embrace of pluralism, which ties it directly to his ideological enthusiasms of the 1930s, appeared in Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia, 1983), 238–39, 240–47. Hofstadter seems a poor candidate for inclusion among the "neo-conservatives," since he failed both to join the Congress for Cultural Freedom and to contribute regularly to *The Public Interest*, two prime criteria for identifying a neoconservative according to Steinfels. Moreover, his whole critique of the "paranoid style" amounted to an indirect attack on American attitudes toward the Cold War. See Steinfels, *Neoconservatives*, 5, 29, 48.

<sup>40</sup> Hofstadter, *Progressive Historians*, 442; and Singal, *War Within*, 8.



IN RECENT YEARS, WRITERS ON AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY have been asking with increasing frequency whether a new central paradigm has emerged to take the place of consensus history. At first it appeared that the New Left or Marxist approach might supply the answer, but with the passing years it has become clear that the Marxists represent only one of many new voices in the postconsensus era. Others have looked to the new social history as a potential organizing force, with its quantitative techniques, imaginative use of nonliterary sources, and borrowings from social science theory. Once again, however, the movement has not proved to be as central as expected. Although the influence of the new social historians has been extensive, it has typically taken the form of methodological innovation rather than an overarching interpretation of the American past. Faced with these facts, many have given up the search for a new synthesis except to suggest that a revival of narrative history may be in store. How, one wonders, could an organizing scheme ever be found that would encompass the work of most major historians of the last two decades, writers as disparate in research interests and political views as Bernard Bailyn, Eugene D. Genovese, and Robert H. Wiebe?<sup>41</sup>

If the basis for such an interpretive synthesis does exist, perhaps the best way to discover it would be to recall the manner in which the previous synthesis arose. Consensus writers in the 1940s and 1950s did not set out in concert to create something called consensus history. Rather, simultaneously but individually they became dissatisfied with the Progressive portrait of American history as a perpetual battleground between two warring ideologies representing two distinct economic groups—the “people” versus the “interests.” As John Higham reminded us, this process was gradual and “cumulative.” “One after another, the great crises, which progressive historians had depicted as turning points in the battle between democracy and privilege, came under fresh examination. In each case the scale of conflict seemed to shrink. Sharp divisions between periods, sections, groups, and ideologies disappeared.” Not every important study of American history published during the 1950s participated in this reinterpretation or even accepted its premises, but enough did, directly or indirectly, to constitute a trend. The place to hunt for a new synthesis, then, would be in those areas where scholars have recently challenged the belief central to consensus history that the nation’s past has been characterized by the absence of ideological conflict. And, indeed, what one finds in many of the most influential books of the last two decades is a common emphasis on ideological change, to the point where one might even speak of a new “ideological change” mode of interpretation. Such an approach has certainly become dominant for those who work in Hofstadter’s own bailiwick, the history of American political culture, and perhaps among American historians generally.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Bernard Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” *AHR*, 87 (1982): 2–6, 24; C. Vann Woodward, “A Short History of American History,” *New York Times Book Review*, August 8, 1982, pp. 3, 14; and Higham, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America*, 238–40. Also see Lawrence Stone, “The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History,” *Past and Present*, no. 85 (1979): 3–24.

<sup>42</sup> Higham, *History: Humanistic Scholarship in America*, 214; Wise, *American Historical Explanations*, 83–85; and Hofstadter, *Progressive Historians*, 437–39. It should be emphasized that no historiographic synthesis ever gains complete sway over historians of a given generation. As Michael G. Kammen reminded us, “Those who assume that once-upon-a-time a Beardian synthesis truly prevailed have either forgotten, or else never knew, how many serious historians refused to accept that synthesis even in its *soi-disant* hey-day.” Rather, it is a case of one style of

Most significant, this new synthesis came into being partly as the result of a new concept of ideology that developed in the social sciences during the late 1950s and early 1960s and gained rapid acceptance among historians. The foremost exponent of this new concept was the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, whose writings have been cited so often by historians that it has become something of a professional embarrassment. "More than any recent vogue," Ronald G. Walters observed, "this one cuts across the methodological, national, and temporal boundaries that usually divide the profession. Reading Geertz appears to be one of the few things shared by people who seldom read each other." Social historians, political historians, and intellectual historians, Marxists, liberals, and conservatives—all have made abundant use of Geertz.<sup>43</sup>

The reason for this broad appeal is that Geertz, for better or worse, succeeded in neutralizing the concept of ideology, eliminating its totalitarian connotations, and transforming it into a valuable analytic tool. He insisted on seeing ideology as "a cultural system"—a complex array of symbols, values, and beliefs that enables members of a society to order and give meaning to their political and social lives. Ideology, within this definition, reflects the entire way of life prevalent in the society, not just the status of a particular class or group. (In the Marxist variation, derived from Antonio Gramsci, the "ruling class" succeeds in imposing its values on the rest of society through "cultural hegemony," but the practical result is much the same.) Ideology changes not with periodic shifts within the social structure but in consonance with changes in the whole social and economic order. In this new formulation, moreover, ideology is not invariably partial or erroneous—again in sharp contrast to Mannheim. To the extent that ideology embodies the meanings with which people interpret their social environment, it is epistemologically "true." As Geertz put it, the earlier contentions "that the findings of (social) science necessarily will undermine the validity of the beliefs and values that ideology has chosen to defend and propagate seem most dubious assumptions."<sup>44</sup>

Employing this powerful new concept, historians have uncovered patterns of ideology and ideological change running throughout the American past. While no author to date has traced such changes over the full course of three and a half centuries, many have attempted to delineate the chief ideologies and to show how one has given way to another. In each case, it has been assumed that the ideologies are not divisive but in fact provide an important source of cohesion for the society. Eric Foner's comment on the ideology of the North just prior to the Civil War is an example. "Like all ideologies, the Republicans' was more than merely the sum of its

---

interpretation setting the terms of scholarly debate to a greater extent than any other and providing whatever focus temporarily exists in an inherently centrifugal discipline. Kammen, "Extending the Reach of American Cultural History: A Retrospective Glance and a Prospectus," paper presented at the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Cincinnati, April 6–9, 1983. I am grateful to Kammen for supplying me with a copy of his paper.

<sup>43</sup> Walters also detected "a generational element in Geertz's popularity," observing that many of the historians who have borrowed from him "came of intellectual age in the 1950s and early 1960s"; Walters, "Signs of the Times: Clifford Geertz and Historians," *Social Research*, 47 (1978): 537–39, 541, 551.

<sup>44</sup> Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York, 1964), 62–64, 72; Nigel Harris, *Beliefs in Society: The Problem of Ideology* (London, 1968), 41–43; and Walters, "Signs of the Times," 541, 545–46, 548.

component parts: it must be understood as a total Gestalt, whose elements blended into and reinforced one another. Indeed, the key to its widespread acceptance was its multifaceted nature. A profoundly successful fusion of value and interest, the ideology could appeal in different ways to various groups within the party, and it gave northerners of divergent social and political backgrounds a basis for collective action. It provided the moral consensus which allowed the North, for the first time in history, to mobilize an entire society in modern warfare." As Foner demonstrated, even the majority of Northern Democrats shared this "free soil" ideology. Yet this ideological "consensus" was perforce temporary: "paradoxically, at the time of its greatest success, the seeds of the later failure of that ideology were already present. Fundamental changes were at work in the social and economic structure of the North, transforming and undermining many of its free-labor assumptions." Not ideological conflict, in short, but rather a conception of continuous ideological change lies at the heart of this mode of interpretation.<sup>45</sup>

Any attempt here to describe the cumulative findings of this "school" must be brief and superficial. Because the historians who pioneered this new approach sometimes contradict one another, many difficulties arise when their work is spliced together to form a chronological sequence. Moreover, when viewed closely, the subject inevitably becomes complicated: ideologies often overlap, their impact varies considerably in terms of specific geographic regions and social groups, and in several cases once-dominant ideologies linger long after their era of ascendancy. The reign of any one ideology, in short, is never really firm or complete; rather, it seems to be a case of a continuing dialogue between the ideology (or ideologies) of the moment and those that remain from the past. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern a general pattern of five major ideologies arranged in a cyclical fashion that constitute the basis for this new interpretive synthesis.

First in the sequence came Puritanism, which, as Michael Walzer pointed out in 1965, was as much an ideology as a formal theology. Since that time, a multitude of colonial-era "community studies" have appeared that have usually been regarded as methodological archetypes of the new social history. In fact, most have centered on the story of how Puritan ideology initially flourished in the American environment, then gradually became undermined as social and economic conditions changed. In his study of Dedham, Massachusetts, for example, Kenneth A. Lockridge showed how "the coherent social vision" of a harmonious communal order that motivated the town's founders slowly fell apart over the span of a century in the face of demographic pressures on land, the rise of commercial activity, and the ensuing political conflict. By the 1730s, he concluded, these factors "had done much to supply the experiential foundations of a new ideology."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970), 10, 307–10, 316–17.

<sup>46</sup> Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years* (New York, 1970), 4, 17–18, 135–36, 144–47, 175; and Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 27, 66. Also see Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); and Stephen Foster, *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England* (New Haven, 1971).

What began to replace Puritanism by the mid-eighteenth century was republicanism. Perhaps no other American ideology has received so much attention from historians, primarily because of the role it plays in current interpretations of the American Revolution. A number of writers, including Robert E. Shalhope and Dorothy Ross, have ably summarized this growing body of literature. As the typical account describes it, republican ideology was based on a concern for individual liberties balanced against the need for sustaining public virtue. It was appropriate to a society in which various forms of small-scale commerce thrived but where true market capitalism had not yet taken hold. Indeed, the ideology of republicanism associated capitalism with corruption, luxury, and excessive self-striving. Through the work of Bernard Bailyn, relying on what he explicitly called his "anthropological" approach to ideology, republicanism is now usually seen as the chief motor force of the Revolution, the set of beliefs that impelled Americans into their break with Britain. Gordon S. Wood in turn has demonstrated how it subsequently shaped the formation of the new federal and state governments. Recent writers on the Jacksonian period have also detected republican ideology at work controlling political behavior, but by that time it had, in Shalhope's words, "assumed a stagnant—indeed stultifying—character."<sup>47</sup>

The sequence continues with what Foner termed the "free-labor" ideology—but which might as easily be known as the market capitalist ideology—that gradually gained ascendancy over republicanism in the North beginning in the 1820s and 1830s. It demanded that each individual be free to compete in the marketplace and advance himself to the extent that his skills and initiative permitted. All obstacles blocking the individual's path were to be removed; values were to be set by the market rather than by an elite delegated to uphold public virtue. Others, especially Paul E. Johnson in his *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, have shown how this philosophy of economic individualism was closely bound up with the evangelical religious impulse and reform movements of the era. Southern slavery, of course, came to symbolize for Northerners the very antithesis of "free-labor" values. Thus, many historians today perceive the clash of this ideology with its counterpart in the South as the root cause of the Civil War.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Robert E. Shalhope, "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 29 (1972): 49–80, esp. 78, "Republicanism and Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 334–56; Dorothy Ross, "The Liberal Tradition Revisited and the Republican Tradition Addressed," in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore, 1979), 116–31; Bernard Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1973), 23–24, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, 1969); and Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif., 1957). For an excellent community study that ties the development of republican ideology to everyday social life, see Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976). Also see Robert L. Kelley, *The Cultural Pattern in American Politics: The First Century* (New York, 1978); Richard V. Buel, Jr., *Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972); Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978); and J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975).

<sup>48</sup> Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor*, 11–18; and Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York, 1978), 5, 8, 135, 138, 141. For a survey of recent historiography on the causation of the Civil War and its relation to free-labor ideology, see Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1980), 15–33. A corollary development has taken place in the field of labor history, where the main focus has been the resistance that nineteenth-century workers displayed toward free-market

The most comprehensive description of that Southern or plantation ideology has been provided by Eugene D. Genovese and those influenced by him. Slavery, they argue, gave the South a distinctive social and ideological system. Planters felt a moral obligation to exercise lordship over their chattels and their society generally. Their quasi-aristocratic ethos was sharply at odds with the capitalist ambitions of their Northern neighbors, as reflected in their paternalistic treatment of their slaves. "It was this side of things—the political hegemony and aristocratic ideology of the ruling class—rather than economic factors that prevented the South from relinquishing slavery voluntarily," Genovese claimed. Whether this ideology perished during the war or persisted into the late nineteenth century is at present a major topic of dispute among Southern historians.<sup>49</sup>

The final ideology in the sequence remains the most poorly defined. Those who have written about it—including Samuel P. Hays, Alfred D. Chandler, and particularly Robert H. Wiebe—have tended to imply its existence rather than to describe it directly. Still, the "emerging organizational synthesis," as Louis Galambos has termed it, presupposes the triumph of a new bureaucratic ideology based on the needs and values of large-scale management. In Wiebe's account, this mentality arose as an almost inevitable response to the modernization and centralization of American society in the late nineteenth century. It supplied a framework of belief appropriate to life in a mature industrial state, where business, government, and labor were all organized on a national scale. In place of the world of autonomous individuals ordained by the market capitalist ideology, the new bureaucratic mode of thought, Wiebe noted, "pictured a society of ceaselessly interacting members and concentrated upon adjustments within it." Marxist historians like Gabriel Kolko and James Weinstein have strongly deplored this new ideology, which Weinstein called "corporate liberalism," yet they generally concur with Hays and Wiebe on its origins and content. All sides, moreover, seem to agree that this bureaucratic ideology did not really overtake its predecessor in the minds of most Americans until the New Deal and that it should probably still be considered the nation's reigning ideology.<sup>50</sup>

Here, then, is the pattern of ideological change that the present generation of

---

ideology, often because of their own lingering commitment to republicanism. See, for example, Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York, 1976), esp. 16–17, 43, 60, 79–80, 87. Gutman explicitly acknowledged an indebtedness to Geertz.

<sup>49</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965), 7–8, 28–31, 34–35. Also see his *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1969), and *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974). For a bibliographic guide to the dispute over the persistence of plantation ideology, see Numan V. Bartley, "In Search of the New South: Southern Politics after Reconstruction," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (1982): 151–55.

<sup>50</sup> Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History," *Business History Review*, 44 (1970): 279–90; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967), esp. 145–63; James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918* (Boston, 1968); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago, 1957); Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Jerry Israel, ed., *Building the Organizational Society: Essays on Associational Activity in Modern America* (New York, 1972); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Rerinterpretation of American History, 1900–1916* (New York, 1963), esp. 280–87; Ellis W. Hawley, "The Discovery and Study of a 'Corporate Liberalism,'" *Business History Review*, 52 (1978): 309–20; and Frank Turiello, Jr., *The Reconstruction of American Political Ideology, 1865–1917* (Charlottesville, 1981). Some historians have also begun to investigate the numerous attacks made against the bureaucratic ideology during the twentieth century. For a particularly skillful analysis of an important "dissident ideology" of the 1930s, see Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York, 1982), esp. 143–68.



historians, working independently of one another, has collectively set forth. It expressly challenges the consensus school thesis of a past marked by continuous agreement on fundamental principles, yet it does retain elements of the consensus approach. Indeed, a dialectician might well view this new synthesis as a summation of both Progressive and consensus historiography, since it allows for both ideological conflict and consensus, although set in alternating historical periods. Implicit in its explanatory scheme is a rhythm whereby a relative consensus exists for a time, then clashes with a new ideology that is starting to replace it, only to give way finally to what becomes the new consensus. What is striking is the far greater degree of interpretive sophistication that such a framework provides by comparison with those of the two previous schools. One suspects that this is what Hofstadter had in mind when he observed in his epilogue to *The Progressive Historians* that the best "way of characterizing what has happened in our historical writing since the 1950's" was "the rediscovery of complexity in American history." Hofstadter spoke of "a pluralistic vision," but his description of its attributes—"an ability to recapture the meaning of ideas in history by seeing how they function in their pragmatic institutional settings and by following their course of development in periods of social change"—and his choice of Bailyn as an illustration of the new tendency suggests that he really had the "ideological change" writers in mind.<sup>51</sup>

Hofstadter in fact might well stand as the intellectual godfather of this new dispensation. After all, it was Hofstadter who, as early as the late 1940s, chose American political culture as his main subject of study and demonstrated in *The American Political Tradition* how fruitful such a focus could be. It was Hofstadter who, in attempting to make sense of that political culture, began exploring the symbolic uses of politics in the nation's history. By doing so, he called attention to a style of analysis that historians of the United States had not significantly used before. Only a short step separated his handling of symbol systems within political culture from that of Geertz.<sup>52</sup>

Yet Hofstadter himself did not, and possibly could not, take that step. At that critical juncture his firm embrace of Mannheim became paradoxically one of his greatest liabilities. Ideology for him remained tied to a particular social class or group and thus invariably was seen as parochial, erroneous, and divisive. To a historian like Foner, as we have noted, ideology was what cemented the alliances within a political party; to Hofstadter, real ideological conflict could only tear the two-party system (and, by implication, the society) apart. Moreover, in Hofstadter's formulation ideology became curiously detached from the mainstream evolution of American society and culture. It was in essence a by-product of the strain created

<sup>51</sup> Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians*, 442–43.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Kelley, in his account of how American historians have learned to view ideology with more sophistication over the years, made the same essential point. "With Richard Hofstadter, we learned to explore the imagery of political rhetoric so as to discover the patterns of public ideology. He also taught us to think not only of socioeconomic class, but of specific cultural milieux in which particular moods and political world views are generated. Out of this came a new sensitivity among scholars to the power of the irrational, to tendencies among political groups to be swayed by concerns over status and by paranoid beliefs about evil conspiracies." Kelley added, however, that this "older intellectual history of politics, in the Hofstadter style" was weakened by its focus "on the ideas of the leadership" and by its vagueness in discerning the ideological motives of voters. See Kelley, "Ideology and Political Culture from Jefferson to Nixon," *AHR*, 82 (1977): 531–32.

when social groups rose or fell in status, a cry of pain and anger from those who, like the fundamentalists, could not adjust to changed circumstances—and not an expression of the whole society's underlying cultural values, which were themselves constantly changing. For all his skill at interpreting the symbolic significance of the rhetoric of particular movements, he never looked beyond those movements to the larger patterns of ideological evolution. David M. Potter, for one, touched with great insight on this difficulty in his review of *The Progressive Historians* when he observed that Hofstadter had not really explained why Turner, Beard, and Parrington now seemed so dated. "Could Hofstadter have analyzed in a more direct way the specific changes in ideology which have made these three writers, once so perfectly attuned to the prevailing tendencies of social thought, so irrelevant?" Potter asked. "I think he could have, but he has not quite done so."<sup>53</sup>

Might Hofstadter have begun to study ideological change, had leukemia not tragically cut short his life in 1970? There are a few indications that he would have. His introduction to *The Paranoid Style* defended his decision to focus on "style" in politics by noting how "it has become increasingly clear that people not only seek their interests but also express and even in a measure define themselves in politics; that political life acts as a sounding board for identities, values, fears, and aspirations." Later in the book he confessed to having "mixed feelings" about his old concept of status politics, suggesting that a new term like "cultural politics" or "symbolic politics" might be preferable. But his main concern continued to be the mischief that such symbolic political activity created. "What interests me here," he stated, "is the possibility of using political rhetoric to get at political pathology." Above all, he insisted on preserving "the fundamental importance of the distinction between status and interest politics." In his belief, the analyst must carefully separate interests, which are always politically legitimate, from ideology, which most often is not. Having battled so long to acquire his pluralist theory, he was not about to discard it. Nor was the ghost of Mannheim likely to be exorcised quickly.<sup>54</sup>

WHERE, THEN, DOES HOFSTADTER BELONG in a chronicle of recent historiography? It should be apparent by now that the answer must be complicated. Although he was among the first to discover a consensus in 1948, the tone and viewpoint found in his early works could not be more opposed to the celebration of American virtue characteristic of the consensus school. As his career proceeded, however, he shared increasingly the consensus writers' assumption that American politics was unique and superior because it was nonideological. At the same time, he started to explore the great symbolic political conflicts of the post-Civil War era, breaking a path for the postconsensus historians whose concern was ideological change. But for a

<sup>53</sup> David M. Potter, "Conflict, Consensus, and Comity: A Review of Richard Hofstadter's *The Progressive Historians*," in Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., *History and American Society: Essays of David M. Potter* (New York, 1973), 190. It should be pointed out that Hofstadter's pejorative view of ideology, derived from Mannheim, was widely shared by his generation. For those who came of age intellectually in the 1930s, Job Dittberner observed, ideology was usually defined as "a lens through which a group perceives, distorts, organizes, and, falling captive to its own values, often absolutizes its world"; *End of Ideology*, 89, 157.

<sup>54</sup> Hofstadter, *Paranoid Style*, viii–ix, 86–87, 6.

variety of reasons, including his now-outmoded concept of ideology, he was unable to join in that emerging interpretation. His course, then, was a zigzag, with no clear trajectory.

What does stand out sharply in his work is his commitment, not to a particular school or synthesis but to historiographic innovation itself. One sees in him a modernist mind devoted to flux and change, constantly reexamining assumptions and techniques, probing for new perspectives. It is surely a telling fact that no two of his books closely resemble each other. Indeed, it is hard to think of any other historian of his stature who has left behind such a diverse body of work. Even at the very end of his life he was embarked on a new and highly ambitious venture: a multivolume account of American political culture informed by the findings of the new social history, an area he had never explored. Thus, although he is often thought of as a synthesizer, it may be that his chief role within the profession was precisely that of a pathbreaker, for not one but two major schools of interpretation. As Howe and Finn pointed out, his intellect was "critical and multifaceted, rather than constructive and systematic." He was an experimentalist whose talent lay in opening new possibilities for others rather than in pursuing tidy conclusions himself. It is for this reason that one suspects Hofstadter will always elude easy classification—and that is exactly the way he would have wanted it.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Howe and Finn, "Richard Hofstadter," 22. A fragment of Hofstadter's projected multivolume work appeared posthumously as *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York, 1971). Although easily able to stand on its own, the book still gives few clues as to where the completed trilogy might have stood historiographically.

---

## Research Note

J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson,  
and the Foundations of Black Historiography

---

AUGUST MEIER  
and  
ELLIOTT RUDWICK

NEARLY SEVEN DECADES AGO, in 1915 and 1916, when Carter Godwin Woodson established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and the *Journal of Negro History*, the black experience was a subject virtually ignored by professionally trained historians. The only real exception to this void was the early work of W. E. B. Du Bois, the first black historian to receive a Ph.D. degree.<sup>1</sup> Woodson almost single-handedly created Afro-American history as a recognized—although still peripheral—historical specialty. In this struggle the influential early leader of the American Historical Association, J. Franklin Jameson, played a key role as yet unknown to the historical profession.<sup>2</sup>

The prospects for the success of Woodson's venture, inaugurated as it was in a period of virulent racism and without any financial resources whatsoever, were poor. Yet he had an ambitious vision. Woodson conceived his enterprise as one that would popularize Negro history for a dual purpose: to build self-esteem among blacks and lessen prejudice among whites. At the same time he was determined to lay the foundations for a truly scholarly specialty, a task that entailed the collection

The following abbreviations are employed throughout the notes: *JNH*—*Journal of Negro History*; CC-NY—Archives of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York City; GEB—General Education Board, series 1, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, N.Y.; and LSRM—Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, series 3, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, N.Y. The bulk of Woodson's papers have been lost or destroyed. Our requests to the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History for access to them elicited the information that they do not exist. Only a small portion of his files were donated to the Library of Congress.

<sup>1</sup> See W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York, 1896), *The Negro* (New York, 1915), and "Reconstruction and Its Benefits," *AHR*, 15 (1909–10): 781–99. At this time U. B. Phillips was also publishing the results of his research, which culminated in his *American Negro Slavery* (1918), but, as Woodson aptly observed about this famous volume, "In just the same way as a writer of the history of New England in describing the fisheries of that section would have little to say about the species figuring conspicuously in that industry, so has the author treated the negro in his work." Woodson, review of Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 5 (1918–19): 481.

<sup>2</sup> Our research note, focusing on Jameson, has been written specifically for this issue. Elsewhere we are dealing with the larger story of Woodson's contributions to the ASNLH and the writing of black history. See our *Afro-American Historiography and the Historical Profession* (Urbana, Ill., 1985, forthcoming).

and preservation of records documenting the Negro past, the sponsorship of fundamental research, and the publication of a learned journal. For all of these activities funding from outside sources was essential. To pay for the *Journal's* early issues, Woodson borrowed against his life insurance policy.<sup>3</sup> Subscriptions, chiefly from libraries, and modest contributions from individuals—like the philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, already widely known for his assistance to black causes—sustained the publication.<sup>4</sup> Yet Woodson, whose salary as a teacher was \$2,000 a year, felt compelled to donate \$1,000 to keep the association afloat during its first biennium.<sup>5</sup> Under these circumstances Woodson's plans for developing a substantial corpus of monographic research were clearly impossible.

FROM THE START HIS STRATEGY WAS TO COAX significant sums from the philanthropies (especially those of Rosenwald, Andrew Carnegie, and the Rockefellers) that had exhibited an interest in ameliorating race relations by subsidizing Booker T. Washington and the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, supporting the National Urban League, and funding the Colored Department of the YMCA. At first Woodson pinned his hopes on Rosenwald and the Rockefeller foundations. He did indeed prevail on some individuals in this circle to endorse his work—for example, Cleveland H. Dodge, the philanthropist and YMCA president, and George Foster Peabody, a retired banker and prominent figure in the Rockefeller-funded General Education Board.<sup>6</sup> Yet the money they contributed was scarcely enough to permit the association to survive, let alone launch a significant research program. And, when Woodson applied directly to both Rosenwald and the General Education Board for assistance, his appeals garnered sympathy but nothing more.<sup>7</sup> As a result he continued to make up the association's deficits from his own salary.

The individual who finally unlocked doors for Woodson was Jameson, at the time both editor of the *American Historical Review* and director of the Department of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Jameson was not a man of passionate social or political convictions, and, when he died, Woodson described him as one who "had none of the abolition spirit in him. It is doubtful that he ever attended a meeting called in behalf of the Negro race."<sup>8</sup> Actually

<sup>3</sup> Patricia W. Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971), 94.

<sup>4</sup> On Rosenwald's initiation of his quarterly \$100 contribution to the *JNH*, see A. L. Jackson to Jesse E. Moorland, May 4, 1916, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, Jesse E. Moorland Papers [hereafter, Moorland Papers], folder 615. For Jackson's recollections, see *Negro History Bulletin*, 28 (1964–65): 182.

<sup>5</sup> [Woodson], "The First Biennial Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Washington," *JNH*, 2 (1917): 446.

<sup>6</sup> Cleveland H. Dodge to Woodson, December 3, 1919, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, Carter G. Woodson Papers [hereafter, Woodson Papers], reel 3; Woodson to George Foster Peabody, January 11, 1918; Peabody to Wallace Buttrick, February 15, 1918, GEB, box 205; and Peabody to Rosenwald, February 15, 1918, University of Chicago Library, Julius Rosenwald Papers [hereafter, Rosenwald Papers], reel 4.

<sup>7</sup> On the 1916 appeal to the General Education Board, see Woodson to Abraham Flexner, June 23, 1916; and E. C. Sage to Woodson, June 19, 1916, GEB, box 205. For information on Woodson's appeals in late 1917 and 1918 to Rosenwald and the GEB, see Rosenwald Papers, reel 4; and GEB, box 205. For Woodson's 1920 application, see Woodson to Buttrick, March 20, 1920, GEB, box 205.

<sup>8</sup> [Woodson], "John Franklin Jameson," *JNH*, 23 (1938): 133.



Jameson was proud of his abolitionist background<sup>9</sup> and, although temperamentally a judicious “middle-of-the-roader,”<sup>10</sup> his racial views were unusually liberal when compared with most historians of his generation. For many years he employed a black American, Ruth Anna Fisher, a graduate of Oberlin College who studied at the London School of Economics, to seek documents at the British Museum and Public Record Office on behalf of, first, the Carnegie Institution and, later, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. He thought highly of this “very clever . . . learned, accurate, businesslike” woman “who knows the American materials in the Public Record Office better than anyone else does, or ever has, except [the distinguished colonialist] Charles Andrews.” He deeply regretted that his wife’s unwillingness prevented him from having Fisher as a guest in his home. For her part Fisher had only the highest admiration for “the giant Dr. Jameson,” “my beloved Chief.”<sup>11</sup> As a pioneering social historian, moreover, Jameson grasped the need to study the history and role of blacks because they constituted a significant segment of the American people. As he once wrote to Rosenwald’s secretary, “I believe that it is . . . an imperative duty, that we should make a far more thorough study of negro history than has hitherto been made. The negro constitutes something like a tenth of our population, and is, like the rest of us, a product of historical development, yet how much less effort we have expended on learning the actual facts respecting his past than on the history of our other elements.”<sup>12</sup>

Jameson had long exhibited an interest in black history. As far back as the 1880s, the early Johns Hopkins University monographs on Negroes, although largely devoted to the application of Herbert Baxter Adams’s “institutional” approach to the study of slavery, undoubtedly owed much to Jameson. Jeffrey R. Brackett, who produced the most numerous and most valuable publications on the black past that appeared in the Hopkins series, was particularly close to Jameson.<sup>13</sup> When invited

<sup>9</sup> Jameson to Du Bois, June 22, 1910, printed in Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds., *An Historian’s World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 133.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Jameson’s son, Francis C. Jameson, July 11, 1983.

<sup>11</sup> See, especially, Jameson to Edward P. Cheyney, September 23, 1921, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian’s World*, 260; Jameson to Ruth Anna Fisher, May 14, 1931, *ibid.*, 348; Jameson to Allen French, March 5, 1936, *ibid.*, 360; interview with Francis C. Jameson; Fisher to Du Bois, n.d. [1939], University of Massachusetts, Amherst, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers [hereafter, Du Bois Papers], reel 51; Fisher to Du Bois, November 18, 1935, Du Bois Papers, reel 44. For her comments in a volume that she initiated, see Ruth Anna Fisher, “A Tribute,” in Fisher and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *J. Franklin Jameson: A Tribute* (Washington, 1965), 1–8. Biographical material about Fisher was generously furnished by the Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

<sup>12</sup> Jameson to William C. Graves, December 20, 1917, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, John Franklin Jameson Papers [hereafter, Jameson Papers], box 126. Also see Jameson to George A. Plimpton, September 24, 1919, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian’s World*, 243; and Jameson to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 1, 1930, *ibid.*, 343.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey R. Brackett, “Free Negroes in Maryland,” *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, 41 (1885). *The Negro in Maryland: A Study in the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), and *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland since the War* (Baltimore, 1890). As early as the second AHA meeting in 1885 Brackett had presented a paper on “The Institution of African Slavery in the United States”; *Papers of the American Historical Association*, 1 (1886): 16–18. Box 62 of the Jameson Papers contains correspondence between Brackett and Jameson from 1888 to 1890. Also see Jameson to Woodson, June 24, 1916, Jameson Papers, box 25. Herbert Baxter Adams was rather prejudiced; he once remarked that “he thought it difficult for black men and white men to live peaceably together with equal civil rights”; *Minutes of the Seminary of Historical and Political Science*, January 31, 1890, p. 494. Raymond J. Cunningham supplied the quotation above in a letter to the authors, July 9, 1982.



*Figure 1: Carter G. Woodson, 1875–1950.*  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Mrs. Mariam Hamblin, Institute, W. Va.

in 1913 to present a series of lectures at the University of Wisconsin, Jameson chose to speak on the slave trade and slavery during the colonial and early national periods. A dozen years later Jameson's *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* appeared, which—drawing on some of the data previously assembled by Brackett—contained a sensitive discussion of the Revolution's impact on the prohibition of the transatlantic slave trade and the emancipation of slaves in the North.<sup>14</sup> Throughout Jameson maintained a healthy skepticism about U. B. Phillips's roseate perspective on the “peculiar institution.” It is true that the *American Historical Review*'s cautious editor deliberately recruited a Southern white paternalist interested in the study of blacks to review Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*, unlike another descendent of New England abolitionists, Clarence Alvord, editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, who selected Woodson for the task, and W. B. Munro, who chose Du Bois for the *American Political Science Review*.<sup>15</sup> Privately, however, Jameson agreed with Du Bois's assessment “that Phillips whitewashes the whole institution of slavery.”<sup>16</sup>

In 1907, two years after Jameson joined the staff of the Carnegie Institution, he received a letter from Du Bois, in which the enterprising Atlanta University professor expressed the desire to do “work on a larger scale in the history of the Negro people” and inquired whether there was “any chance to do this under your department.” Jameson responded, “I am interested in your letter . . . having read with pleasure your book on the suppression of the African slave trade. I do not, however, see any opportunity for doing the sort of work you mention.” Although Jameson gave priority to other plans at that time, he published Du Bois's AHA convention paper on “Reconstruction and Its Benefits” in the *American Historical Review*—the first black to write for the journal.<sup>17</sup> Jameson was aware, moreover, of

<sup>14</sup> Jameson to Carl Russell Fish, October 18, 1913, Jameson Papers, box 83; Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926); and Brackett, “The Status of the Slave, 1775–1789,” in Jameson, ed., *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States in the Formative Period, 1775–1789* (Boston, 1889), 263–311.

<sup>15</sup> Woodson, review of Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*; and Du Bois, review of Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*, *American Political Science Review*, 12 (1918): 722–26. Jameson first approached Alfred Holt Stone, a Mississippi planter who had earlier been in charge of the Division of Negro Economics at the Carnegie Institution, but he finally turned to a Charleston lawyer, Theodore D. Jervey. See Jameson to Stone, June 28, 1918, Jameson Papers, box 130; and Jervey, review of Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*, *AHR*, 25 (1919–20): 117–18. On Jervey's interest in blacks and their history, see Jervey to Woodson, November 18, 1932, Woodson Papers, reel 3.

<sup>16</sup> Jameson to Catterall, November 21, 1918, Jameson Papers, box 69.

<sup>17</sup> Du Bois to Jameson, January 8, 1907; Jameson to Du Bois, January 14, 1907, Jameson Papers, box 80; and Du Bois, “Reconstruction and Its Benefits.” Some circumstances surrounding the publication of this essay are fairly well known, because Jameson, with the *Review* following what was standard orthography among white publishers at the time, turned down Du Bois's request to capitalize the “N” in “Negro.” This incident has obscured the more significant fact that Jameson invited Du Bois to submit the paper for publication. It remained the only article by a black to appear in the *AHR* until John Hope Franklin's 1979 AHA presidential address. The Du Bois and Jameson Papers, whether published or unpublished, contain no hint of Jameson's initiative, which is, however, shown in a letter from Du Bois to Jameson, January 5, 1910, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, Papers of the American Historical Association, box 275. In regard to the paper and the circumstances surrounding its publication, see *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1909* (Washington, 1911), 36; Jameson to Du Bois, June 22, 1910, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 133; and exchange of letters between Du Bois and Jameson, June and July 1910, from the Du Bois Papers, printed in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois*, 1 (Amherst, Mass., 1973): 171–72. Also see John Hope Franklin, “Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History,” *AHR*, 85 (1980): 1–14.

the importance of collecting and printing documentary material relating to slavery. "We shall continue to have merely one man's opinion against another's on what slavery was really like," he once wrote, "until we bring out a body of evidence that is unimpeachable as representative of the sum total." By the end of 1915 he had secured funding, and during the war years he conceived a number of research projects.<sup>18</sup> "My own strong feeling as to the importance of a fuller pursuit of negro history in the United States," he wrote in 1920, "may be seen from the large place which I have given to it in the programme of my own department."<sup>19</sup> Two major projects finally reached fruition: Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* and Helen T. Catterall's *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*.<sup>20</sup>

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION'S studies of slavery were inaugurated almost simultaneously with the establishment of the ASNLH and the *Journal of Negro History*. Although Jameson and Woodson both lived and worked in Washington and shared an interest in collecting and publishing documents on Afro-American history, they first met in the spring of 1916. Yet Jameson was quite aware of Woodson's activities and commissioned a former student, Marcus W. Jernegan, to review for the *American Historical Review* Woodson's first monograph, *The Education of the Negro prior to 1861*. In the *Review* he also extended a "cordial welcome" to the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Negro History*, describing it as "an excellent beginning."<sup>21</sup> This reception encouraged Woodson to seek a meeting with Jameson to discuss his own research plans and, no doubt, learn more about Jameson's slavery project. Jameson responded, "I am warmly interested in the work you are doing and, if at any time you happen to be in this neighborhood, [I] should be glad to have the opportunity to talk with you about it. I . . . am glad to enclose a small personal contribution toward the work of your Association."<sup>22</sup>

The two men did confer shortly afterwards. Woodson, who was projecting an ambitious program of research on slavery, antebellum free blacks, and Reconstruction, was anxious for both financial support and a mutually satisfactory delineation of their respective areas of research. Years later he recalled that they even discussed the possibilities of Woodson joining Jameson's staff. But that idea fell through, partly because the latter "did not have the courage" to arrange this in the nation's Jim Crow capital and partly because both men "believed . . . much more could be

<sup>18</sup> Jameson to Catterall, November 21, 1918, Jameson Papers, box 69; Jameson to James H. Dillard, November 22, 1912, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 152; and Jameson to Dillard, October 13, 1915, Jameson Papers, box 128. For Jameson's report to the Carnegie Institution, see Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Year Book, 1916* (Washington, [1917]), 167.

<sup>19</sup> Jameson to Angell, October 9, 1920, copy in LSRM, box 96.

<sup>20</sup> See Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1930–35); and Helen T. Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, 5 vols. (Washington, 1926–37). Actually the Donnan and Catterall projects were only a small part of what Jameson hoped to do in regard to documenting the history of American slavery. See Jameson to Woodson, May 17, 1916, Jameson Papers, box 55, and Jameson to Plimpton, September 24, 1919, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 244.

<sup>21</sup> For Jameson's remarks, see *AHR*, 21 (1915–16): 643. Also see Marcus W. Jernegan, review of Woodson's *Education of the Negro prior to 1861* (New York, 1915), *ibid.*, 634–35.

<sup>22</sup> Jameson to Woodson, April 8, 1916, Jameson Papers, box 55.

achieved by maintaining the work of the Association as an independent enterprise." Jameson felt that after "the white man has written all he can about the Negro, there will still remain certain neglected aspects which only the Negro himself can develop." The fragmentary evidence suggests that what Woodson really hoped for was a subsidy from the Carnegie Institution to enable him to employ his own researchers. But Jameson explained that, while he was "distinctly appreciative of the need of more work upon the history of the negro in America," the institution could not, as a matter of policy, subsidize outside research related to projects already undertaken by its own departments. Jameson thought the avoidance of overlapping research posed no problem, given the large and untapped fields requiring investigation. "You can do some things" he added, "which I cannot do." They agreed that Woodson's operation was ideally suited for transcribing manuscripts and documents in the hands of private individuals, black and white. In view of the research underway for Catterall's volumes on judicial cases in state and federal courts, Jameson also urged Woodson to seek "papers relating to slavery and the negro in county court houses and other local archives."<sup>23</sup> In the long run a natural division of labor developed between the two organizations. Once he obtained funding, Woodson focused the association's research mainly on antebellum free Negroes and the postemancipation experience. Acting on one of Jameson's suggestions, Woodson personally exploited unpublished census data for his own studies on free black heads of families and free Negro owners of slaves.<sup>24</sup>

Jameson thought highly of Woodson's research and knew of his efforts to obtain funding.<sup>25</sup> Then in 1920 James Rowland Angell—Jameson's good friend, former colleague at Chicago, and the future president of Yale—became president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and Jameson orchestrated with Woodson the ASNLH's application to this sister philanthropy. Jameson informed Angell of Woodson's application in advance. "I thoroughly believe in the worth and utility of what [Woodson] is trying to do, and am confident that it . . . will be well done." Woodson, he added, was "a well-educated colored man" with "excellent methods of work, and . . . excellent judgement." Woodson's own publications had been "work of real scientific research"; the *Journal* articles had "uniformly been of respectable quality, and in many cases of great value"; and Woodson's plans constituted "a very intelligent programme."<sup>26</sup> When it came, Woodson's application was followed by a flurry of supporting letters from leading scholars like the former AHA president Albert Bushnell Hart. Angell was impressed by these "reassuring letters from several influential persons" and by the fact that another old friend and colleague at Chicago, the sociologist Robert E. Park, was the ASNLH's president.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> [Woodson], "John Franklin Jameson," 132; and Woodson to Jameson, May 15, 1916; Jameson to Woodson, May 17, May 18, 1916, June 24, 1916, Jameson Papers, box 55.

<sup>24</sup> Woodson, "A Project for Statistical Study of Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1860," [early 1929], Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Julius Rosenwald Fund Papers, box 170, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1850* (Washington, 1924), and *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1925).

<sup>25</sup> Jameson to Graves, December 20, 1917, Jameson Papers, box 126.

<sup>26</sup> Jameson to Angell, October 9, 1920, copy in LSRM, box 96.

<sup>27</sup> Woodson to Angell, October 12, 1920; Angell to Woodson, October 15, 1920, CC-NY. For the names of Hart and other distinguished scholars who wrote endorsements, see W. S. R. [Richardson], memorandum, "Outline on the Request of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to the L S R M," January 28, 1922, in LSRM, box 96.



Woodson was highly optimistic, but difficulties arose almost at once. Learning of these negotiations, the Tuskegee Institute and the National Urban League also applied to the Carnegie Corporation for funds to support their own research on current social and economic conditions of the Negro. Very likely Park was the informant, and in the uncomfortable aftermath he declined to serve another term as ASNLH president. Park had much closer connections with Tuskegee and the Urban League than with Woodson and the ASNLH. He had for several years assisted Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee and had come to admire Monroe Nathan Work, director of the school's department of records and research. Moreover, Park was a central figure in the Chicago affiliate of the Urban League, and one of his favorite students, Charles S. Johnson, was about to become the director of research and investigation at the League's national headquarters.<sup>28</sup> Woodson was furious with "such unprincipled men as Work and [Robert Russa] Moton [principal of Tuskegee Institute], who seeing that I was about to succeed in getting a handsome sum for research, endeavored either to swing it to Tuskegee or prevent me from obtaining it." But he "refused absolutely to have anything to do" with "the scavengers of Tuskegee" who "came to me to let them in on it, implying that if I did not do so, they would offer arguments to block it."<sup>29</sup>

Actually the problem for Woodson lay not in the competing applications but in skepticism among key trustees who hesitated to entrust funds to a new and untried organization without outside supervision over its expenditures. Because the chairman, Elihu Root, the former secretary of war, raised particularly strong objections, Angell proposed that Tuskegee be given general oversight over the disbursements.<sup>30</sup> But Woodson, whose research interests were very different from those of Tuskegee and the Urban League and who throughout his life fiercely defended his autonomy and independence, adamantly opposed any such plan, placing the blame on Moton and Work, who "by putting their powerful machine at work . . . have made an impression on Dr. Angell and have probably made it impossible for me to secure the appropriation except on the condition that they shall administer the

<sup>28</sup> For applications from Tuskegee and the Urban League, see Robert Russa Moton to Angell, November 27, 1920, CC-NY. Also see Angell, "Interview with President Moton of Tuskegee and M. N. Work, November 22, 1920," *ibid.* The correspondence between Park and Moorland in 1921, in folder 619 of the Moorland Papers, contains information on Park's involvement and his stepping down as president of Woodson's organization. Also see Park to Angell, April 20, 1921, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Robert Russa Moton Papers (hereafter, Moton Papers), box 76. On Park's relationships with Tuskegee, the Urban League, and Charles S. Johnson, see Winifred Raushenbush, *Robert E. Park: Biography of a Sociologist* (Durham, N.C., 1979), 39–63, 73, 94–95, 101, 149–57; Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915* (New York, 1983), esp. 290–93; Jessie P. Guzman, "Monroe Nathan Work and His Contributions," *JNH*, 34 (1949): 441; Arvarh E. Strickland, *History of the Chicago Urban League* (Urbana, Ill., 1966), 27, 40–42; Patrick Joseph Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson: An Intellectual Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973), chapter 4; and Ralph L. Pearson, "Charles S. Johnson: The Urban League Years" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1970), esp. 35–51.

<sup>29</sup> Woodson to Moorland, December 6, 1920, Moorland Papers, folder 618. On the other hand, Jesse Moorland, Woodson's friend and the ASNLH secretary-treasurer, believed that Moton was acting in good faith. See, especially, Moorland to Woodson, December 4, 1920, Moorland Papers, folder 618; and Moorland to Moton, December 21, 1920, Moton Papers, box 65. Moorland was a prominent figure, senior secretary in the YMCA's Colored Department.

<sup>30</sup> Angell, "Interview with President Moton of Tuskegee and M. N. Work, November 22, 1920," CC-NY; and Moorland to Woodson, December 4, 1920, Moorland Papers, folder 618. On the action of the Carnegie Corporation and the role of Elihu Root, see, especially, Park to Moorland, June 1, 1920, Moorland Papers, folder 619.

fund to be granted." Angell confessed to Park that he was "a little disturbed" by Woodson's attitude. "I fear a greatly disadvantageous effect of presenting to my Board three . . . similar enterprises under quite different auspices." To Jameson he was even more emphatic. "I am not in the least sympathetic to Dr. Woodson's indisposition to cooperate with that department of the Tuskegee School which deals with the collation of current information about the negro. I do not at all appreciate the temper in which apparently he has dealt with perfectly proper overtures on this matter. I can quite understand that he desires to differentiate rather sharply the scholarly level on which he is trying to do his work from that which is necessarily characteristic of the work done in some of the Tuskegee offices. . . . Suffice it to say that it has left a slightly unpleasant impression on my mind."<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, something about Woodson's single-mindedness must have moved him. As he put it to Jameson, "We want to help him, and he has been cordially endorsed, not only by you but by other scholars in whose judgment I have confidence."<sup>32</sup> The solution that Angell proposed rested on Jameson. In effect, the ASNLH founder could have both the Carnegie money and his autonomy if Jameson would agree to "stand sponsor for the proper expenditures of funds to support Dr. Carter G. Woodson's work." Actually, Woodson had also broached such an arrangement to Jameson. Since the latter readily agreed, the Carnegie Corporation promptly authorized the funding of all three agencies.<sup>33</sup>

THUS, WOODSON'S PERSISTENCE AND JAMESON'S WARM SUPPORT ultimately brought results. The Carnegie Corporation pledged \$25,000 over five years to pay off the association's debt and provide operating expenses so that Woodson could give up teaching and spend full time on the work of the ASNLH.<sup>34</sup> Since the association's income at the time was only about \$6,000 annually,<sup>35</sup> the Carnegie money was a substantial infusion of funds. More important, as Jameson and Woodson intended,<sup>36</sup> it provided leverage with which to obtain financial support from other sources for the scholarly investigations that the latter so ardently wished to inaugurate. Woodson soon applied to the Rockefeller philanthropies for an amount equal to the Carnegie grant; Wallace Buttrick, head of the General Education Board, personally presented the matter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; and in February 1922 the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial made a \$25,000 grant.<sup>37</sup> It was this award

<sup>31</sup> Woodson to Moorland, December 6, 1920, Moorland Papers, folder 618; Angell to Park, April 26, 1920, copy in Moorland Papers, folder 619; and Angell to Jameson, April 14, 1920, CC-NY.

<sup>32</sup> Angell to Jameson, May 31, 1921, CC-NY.

<sup>33</sup> Angell to Jameson, April 14, April 15, 1921, CC-NY; and Carnegie Corporation Executive Committee Minutes, May 2, 1921, CC-NY.

<sup>34</sup> Beardsley Ruml to Woodson, June 20, 1921, CC-NY.

<sup>35</sup> Woodson to George Foster Peabody, June 27, 1921, Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscript Division, George Foster Peabody Papers, box 13.

<sup>36</sup> Woodson to Angell, June 7, 1921, CC-NY.

<sup>37</sup> Woodson to W. S. Richardson, September 9, 1921; Richardson to Woodson, February 16, 1922, LSRM, box 96. On Buttrick's personal intervention with Rockefeller, see W. S. R. [Richardson], "Outline on the Request of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to the L S R M"; and Woodson to Buttrick, October 14, 1921, GEB, box 205.

that provided the resources for the important and pioneering work on antebellum free Negroes and on blacks during Reconstruction that the association sponsored over the next several years.<sup>38</sup>

Jameson continued to support Woodson's appeals to the philanthropies for further assistance. In 1925 he and the American Council of Learned Societies's executive secretary, Waldo G. Leland (a good friend who had been secretary of the AHA and a colleague of Jameson's at the Carnegie Institution), lobbied the Carnegie Corporation of New York in behalf of Woodson's request for a renewal of the grant. But even though Jameson personally appealed to the new Carnegie Corporation president, Frederick P. Keppel, the trustees voted against further funding of what had been intended as a one-time award. Now lacking the leverage that the Carnegie money had provided, Leland and Jameson commissioned an "impartial" report on the ASNLH's activities, which Leland forwarded to the Rockefeller philanthropies the following year, endorsing Woodson's successful application for a renewal of the earlier grant.<sup>39</sup> In 1929, when this second Rockefeller grant was about to expire, Jameson—now chief of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division—urged with his usual enthusiasm its extension. "Thoroughly believing in the excellence and value" of Woodson's work, Jameson termed it a "judiciously planned and well executed" inquiry into an important and neglected area of American history.<sup>40</sup> Woodson deposited in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division much of the documentary material he had gathered, and in 1930 Jameson vigorously endorsed his campaign for funds to continue this effort. Both then, and as late as 1935 (in connection with Woodson's attempt to raise a twentieth-anniversary fund), Jameson personally appealed to John D. Rockefeller, Jr.<sup>41</sup> But these last applications were unproductive.

By the early 1930s Woodson was involved with both the Rosenwald Fund and the Rockefeller boards in a bitter row, the details of which need not be recounted here. But by then the study of the Afro-American past was a clearly viable scholarly enterprise, and the ASNLH had acquired a momentum that saw it through the depths of the depression, despite the lack of philanthropic largesse. Woodson's own vision and drive were central to this achievement. Yet Jameson's role was not insignificant. He had been instrumental in enabling Woodson not only to place the

<sup>38</sup> The most important works produced with funds from this first Rockefeller grant included Woodson's *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, and *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800–1860* (Washington, 1926), which Woodson edited, and Alrutheus A. Taylor's *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction* (Washington, 1924) and *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (Washington, 1926).

<sup>39</sup> Woodson to Keppel, March 31, 1925, CC-NY; Leland to Woodson, April 14, 1925, cited in Rayford W. Logan, "Carter G. Woodson: Mirror and Molder of His Time, 1875–1950," *JNH*, 58 (1973): 16; Keppel to Woodson, April 7, 1925, CC-NY; Leland to Ruml, March 8, 1925, LSRM, box 96; Charles F. Cochran, "The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History: A Report Made for the American Council of Learned Societies," December 1925, LSRM, box 96; and Ruml to Woodson, June 10, 1926, LSRM, box 96. The letter from Leland to Woodson that Logan cited was at the time in the files of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

<sup>40</sup> Jameson to E. E. Day, May 13, 1929, LSRM, box 96.

<sup>41</sup> Woodson to Jameson, March 20, March 24, 1930, and "Project for the Collection of Manuscript Materials among Negroes Submitted to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History," [1930], Jameson Papers, box 115; Jameson to Rockefeller, April 1, 1930, printed in Donnan and Stock, *An Historian's World*, 343–44; and Woodson to Rockefeller, April 29, 1935; Woodson to Jameson, April 29, 1935; Jameson to Rockefeller, April 30, 1935, Jameson Papers, box 115.

association on a solid financial footing but also to inaugurate a research program that, along with the *Journal*, made Afro-American history a recognized historical specialty. Although rarely given to encomiums in the obituary notices composed for the *Journal*, Woodson wrote that, although “cold, [and] reserved,” Jameson was “a great helper and a faithful friend” to those with projects of “sufficient merit to warrant his assistance.” The ASNLH director recollected how Jameson had been interested enough to travel “to other cities on behalf of the Association at his expense, trying to convince others of the necessity for the prosecution of the study of the Negro scientifically.” In Woodson’s assessment, Jameson, through the money he helped secure from the Carnegie Corporation, “thereby made possible” serious scholarly research into the black man’s past. “He takes rank as one of the greatest promoters of the study of the Negro.”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> [Woodson], “John Franklin Jameson,” 132, 133.

---

*Research Note*

Presidents of the American Historical Association:  
A Statistical Analysis

---

EMIL POCOCK

SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1884, ONE HUNDRED PRESIDENTS have been chosen to head the American Historical Association. An analysis of their careers, interests, and vital statistics reveals trends and anomalies that tell us something about the development of both the association and the historical profession itself.<sup>1</sup> Today most members probably assume that AHA presidents were always distinguished historians near the peak of their careers, were trained in leading graduate schools in this country, and were teaching in major universities that emphasized research. But this has not always been true, as an examination of the backgrounds and accomplishments of past presidents will confirm. Thirty-one presidents did not have a Ph.D. in any field, four never received college degrees, and two did not attend college at all.<sup>2</sup> Not all presidents were academic historians, although all but five wrote some scholarly history. Twenty-nine AHA presidents were not affiliated with a history department when they assumed office. Among those honored with the association's presidency were two former presidents of the United States (Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson), three former American ambassadors, and three others who held prominent public office.<sup>3</sup> Massachusetts Senator George Frisbie Hoar was awarded the presidency in 1895 in recognition of his successful sponsorship of the

<sup>1</sup> Two presidents served during 1938 and 1971 because of deaths in office. Nine presidents were elected during the association's first ten years, and one man, William Roscoe Thayer, continued for two years, 1918–19, when an influenza epidemic prevented the association from gathering in Cleveland for its 1919 meeting. Biographical information on the presidents was compiled primarily from the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vols. 1–62 (New York, 1898–1984); the *Directory of American Scholars*, edns. 1–8 (Lancaster, Pa., 1942–82); and death notices in the *New York Times* and the *American Historical Review*. Accompanying tables have been divided arbitrarily into three time periods so that each period contains a nearly equal number of presidents. Data reflect conditions on the date each president assumed office.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Charles Lea, medievalist and Philadelphia businessman, was tutored privately; Edward Eggleston, the Indiana-born writer and editor of religious magazines, apparently never attended college. A retired businessman and historian of the United States, James Ford Rhodes attended the University of the City of New York and the University of Chicago, but he did not receive a degree. Worthington C. Ford, editor with the Massachusetts Historical Society, attended Columbia University but apparently never graduated.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft served as minister to Great Britain (1846–49) and minister to Prussia (1867–74); John Jay was the American minister to Austria (1869–74); and James Burrill Angell served as minister to China (1880–82). William Wirt Henry was a Virginia legislator; Simeon E. Baldwin was a governor of Connecticut (1911–14); and George Frisbie Hoar was a senator from Massachusetts (1877–1907).



association's congressional charter of incorporation. Of the sixty-nine presidents with earned doctorates, twelve held degrees from foreign, primarily German, universities. Two were foreign nationals. European historian Jean Jules Jusserand had served as French ambassador to the United States for nearly twenty years when he was elected to head the AHA, and Goldwin Smith, a scholar of English history, was a Toronto publicist.

The average age of all presidents at the time they took office was just over sixty-two years. The oldest was George Bancroft, who became president in 1885 at age eighty-four. The youngest was J. Franklin Jameson, just forty-seven years old when elected in 1907. Three presidents died in office, and William Roscoe Thayer held the presidency for two years. A majority of AHA presidents were born in the Northeast,<sup>4</sup> and twenty came from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Fewer than one-fifth of all presidents were born south of the Mason-Dixon line or west of the Mississippi River. Nine presidents were foreign born. More than half of those with earned doctorates received their degrees from four notable universities: Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Pennsylvania. A majority of those with faculty positions in history departments taught at just five universities: Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Chicago, and California, Berkeley. Half of the presidents who were active scholars concentrated on the history of the United States and another quarter on modern Europe. Fewer than half a dozen AHA presidents have specialized in non-Western cultures. Four of the first five editors of the *American Historical Review* also served the association as presidents.<sup>5</sup>

An analysis of the AHA presidents by cohorts shows that their characteristics have changed with time. The nineteen presidents who served the association from 1884 through 1904 reflected the aspirations and struggles of the young organization. As the AHA sought a national reputation, the amateur historians (that is, historians without professional training) who constituted a majority of the early membership chose influential but nonprofessional men. The prestige that notable public figures conferred on the new organization was regarded as more important than their formal qualifications as historians. Of the nineteen presidents, only Bancroft had an earned doctorate (Göttingen, 1820), and only James Schouler taught in a history department (Johns Hopkins) when elected. Among the first nineteen AHA presidents were three college presidents, two presidents of regional historical societies, the three former U.S. ambassadors, a senator, a retired naval officer, a former president of the Union Pacific Railroad, two librarians, and a Congregational minister. Their ages averaged sixty-four years but were as varied as their backgrounds; the youngest was fifty-one, the oldest eighty-four. All but three of the first nineteen presidents were born in the Northeast, perhaps a reflection of the sectional bias of a majority of the members.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a new generation of scholars, trained in the "scientific historiography" of leading German universities and of American univer-

<sup>4</sup> Geographical regions conform to the definitions used by the U.S. Census Bureau.

<sup>5</sup> J. Franklin Jameson was editor of the *American Historical Review* from 1895 to 1901 and again from 1906 to 1928. Andrew C. McLaughlin served between 1901 and 1905, and Robert Livingston Schuyler was the editor from 1936 to 1941. Guy Stanton Ford was elected president of the AHA before he served as editor from 1941 to 1953.

sities that had adopted German teaching methods, came to the forefront of the association. The influence of these young academic historians was largely responsible for the creation of the first standing committees, the establishment of the first AHA prize for historical scholarship, and the founding of the *American Historical Review*. Their professionalizing presence was also reflected in the men they elected to the presidency. In contrast to the pre-1905 presidents, half of the fourteen men who held the office from 1905 to 1919 had earned doctorates in history. Each was a distinguished scholar, although just ten of them were teaching in history departments when they took office. With an average age of fifty-five years, they were younger than their predecessors; indeed, they made up the most youthful of all the cohorts analyzed.

After the First World War, the trend toward academic historians became the rule. Only six of the sixty-seven presidents after 1919 did not have earned doctorates, and William E. Dodd, who held the office in 1934, was the last president not affiliated with a history department.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the association more frequently honored historians who were near the end of their academic careers. Slightly over 70 percent of the post-1919 presidents have been in their sixties, and their average age was just under sixty-four years. Other characteristics of the presidents have changed more slowly. Historians of the United States and Europe have predominated, as they did in the earlier years, though presidents who specialized in ancient and medieval history were popular during the 1920s and 1930s. The first exception was John K. Fairbank (elected in 1968), whose specialty was China. Fairbank has been followed by three others—Lewis Hanke and Charles Gibson in Latin American and Philip Curtin in African history.

Geographical diversity also came gradually. No more than 20 percent of native-born American AHA presidents elected prior to 1920 were born outside the Northeast, and as late as 1951 fewer than 10 percent were born in the South and West. Sectional bias was also evident in academic affiliations prior to the early 1950s. Nearly 75 percent of the sixty-six presidents who had held office by 1951 taught at universities in the Northeast or resided in that region when they were president. That figure rises to 85 percent when Midwesterners are added. The geographical imbalance led Walter Prescott Webb to observe with some humor in his 1958 presidential address that apparently the association had finally decided to “integrate.” He was the first president elected while teaching at a Southern institution and one of the few born in the West.<sup>7</sup> Since 1951 the association has chosen eleven (nearly one-third) of its presidents among scholars born in the South or West, and ten presidents were teaching in Southern or Western universities when they took office.

While sectional representation, judged by birthplace and academic affiliation, has become wider in recent years, an increasing number of presidents have received

<sup>6</sup> William E. Dodd was appointed ambassador to Germany in June 1933, six months before he assumed the AHA presidency, but he had taught at the University of Chicago from 1908 to 1933.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Prescott Webb, “History as High Adventure,” *AHR*, 64 (1958–59): 267. Webb was one of three Western-born presidents as of 1958. He apparently overlooked James Schouler, who was teaching at Johns Hopkins when he became president in 1891, or perhaps Webb did not consider Maryland sufficiently Southern to be considered part of the South.

their graduate training from one institution—Harvard University. Prior to 1920, three American and three German universities had granted doctorates to eight AHA presidents. Harvard was not among them. Between 1920 and 1951, six (20 percent) of the thirty presidents who held the Ph.D. in history came from Harvard. Since 1952, fourteen (about 45 percent) of thirty-one presidents with doctorates were products of that institution. Although Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Pennsylvania have contributed more than half of all professionally trained AHA presidents, Harvard has graduated twice as many presidents as second-place Columbia. Eleven other universities contributed no more than three presidents each. Foreign universities have also made a noteworthy contribution to the education of AHA presidents. Roughly one president out of ten received his doctoral education abroad, a proportion that has remained constant since the late nineteenth century, when it became fashionable to study in Germany. At least six additional presidents had M.A. degrees from Oxford, and one received an M.A. from Cambridge.<sup>8</sup>

The profile of the ten most recent AHA presidents indicates that trends evident during the past three decades are still strong. Six of the last ten presidents earned their doctoral degrees in history at Harvard, and the remainder studied at four different universities. Nine of the presidents were born in the United States: four in the Northeast, two each in the South and Midwest, and one in the West, a distribution that resembles the general distribution of population sixty or seventy years ago. They taught at nine different universities in all four sections of the country, with Stanford notable for its contribution of two presidents. Historians of Europe and the United States continue to predominate, but scholars of Latin America and Africa have held one term each. Despite the slight trend toward increasing diversity in birthplace, training, affiliation, and fields of study, gender and ethnicity have remained almost uniform. Nellie Neilson of Mount Holyoke College, whose specialty was medieval England, was the only woman president—elected more than forty years ago—and John Hope Franklin, who led the association in 1979, the only black president of the AHA. The increasing numbers of women and minorities studying in graduate programs since the 1950s and the greater interest in Third World and non-Western history suggests that as the AHA enters its second century its presidents will also reflect the growing diversity within the profession.

<sup>8</sup> Five of the seven AHA presidents with M.A. degrees from Oxford and Cambridge had earned doctorates from American universities. Two other presidents with M.A. degrees from Oxford did not have higher degrees.

# **Presidents of the American Historical Association, 1884–1984**

1884–85	Andrew Dickson White	1937	Guy Stanton Ford
1885–86	George Bancroft	1938	Laurence M. Larson*
1886–87	Justin Winsor		Frederic L. Paxon
1887–88	William Frederick Poole	1939	William Scott Ferguson
1889	Charles Kendall Adams	1940	Max Farrand
1890	John Jay	1941	James Westfall Thompson
1891	William Wirt Henry	1942	Arthur M. Schlesinger
1892–93	James Burrill Angell	1943	Nellie Neilson
1893–94	Henry Adams	1944	William L. Westermann
1895	George Frisbie Hoar	1945	Carlton J. H. Hayes
1896	Richard Salter Storrs	1946	Sidney B. Fay
1897	James Schouler	1947	Thomas J. Wertenbaker
1898	George Park Fisher	1948	Kenneth Scott Latourette
1899	James Ford Rhodes	1949	Conyers Read
1900	Edward Eggleston	1950	Samuel E. Morison
1901	Charles Francis Adams	1951	Robert L. Schuyler
1902	Alfred Thayer Mahan	1952	James G. Randall
1903	Henry Charles Lea	1953	Louis Gottschalk
1904	Goldwin Smith	1954	Merle Curti
1905	John Bach McMaster	1955	Lynn Thorndike
1906	Simeon E. Baldwin	1956	Dexter Perkins
1907	J. Franklin Jameson	1957	William Langer
1908	George Burton Adams	1958	Walter Prescott Webb
1909	Albert Bushnell Hart	1959	Allan Nevins
1910	Frederick Jackson Turner	1960	Bernadotte E. Schmitt
1911	William Milligan Sloane	1961	Samuel Flagg Bemis
1912	Theodore Roosevelt	1962	Carl Bridenbaugh
1913	William Archibald Dunning	1963	Crane Brinton
1914	Andrew C. McLaughlin	1964	Julian P. Boyd
1915	H. Morse Stephens	1965	Frederic C. Lane
1916	George Lincoln Burr	1966	Roy F. Nichols
1917	Worthington C. Ford	1967	Hajo Holborn
1918–19	William Roscoe Thayer	1968	John K. Fairbank
1920	Edward Channing	1969	C. Vann Woodward
1921	Jean Jules Jusserand	1970	R. R. Palmer
1922	Charles H. Haskins	1971	David M. Potter*
1923	Edward P. Cheyney		Joseph R. Strayer
1924	Woodrow Wilson*	1972	Thomas C. Cochran
1924–25	Charles M. Andrews	1973	Lynn White, Jr.
1926	Dana C. Munro	1974	Lewis Hanke
1927	Henry Osborn Taylor	1975	Gordon Wright
1928	James H. Breasted	1976	Richard B. Morris
1929	James Harvey Robinson	1977	Charles Gibson
1930	Evarts Boutell Greene	1978	William J. Bouwsma
1931	Carl Lotus Becker	1979	John Hope Franklin
1932	Herbert Eugene Bolton	1980	David H. Pinkney
1933	Charles A. Beard	1981	Bernard Bailyn
1934	William E. Dodd	1982	Gordon A. Craig
1935	Michael I. Rostovtzeff	1983	Philip D. Curtin
1936	Charles McIlwain	1984	Arthur S. Link

\* Three presidents died in office: Woodrow Wilson, February 3, 1924; Laurence M. Larson, March 9, 1938; and David M. Potter, February 18, 1971.

TABLE 1  
Birthplaces of AHA Presidents

	<i>1884-1919</i>	<i>1920-51</i>	<i>1952-84</i>	<i>Total</i>
NORTHEAST	25	14	13	52
Massachusetts	11	2	4	17
New York	7	3	4	14
Pennsylvania	2	6	2	10
Connecticut	1	1	2	4
New Jersey	1	1	1	3
Vermont	2	—	—	2
Rhode Island	1	1	—	2
MIDWEST	5	9	8	22
Illinois	1	3	2	6
Ohio	2	1	1	4
Indiana	1	1	1	3
Wisconsin	1	2	—	3
Iowa	—	2	—	2
Michigan	—	—	2	2
Nebraska	—	—	1	1
South Dakota	—	—	1	1
SOUTH	1	4	8	13
Virginia	1	2	2	5
North Carolina	—	1	—	1
District of Columbia	—	1	—	1
Maryland	—	—	1	1
South Carolina	—	—	1	1
Georgia	—	—	1	1
Texas	—	—	1	1
Arkansas	—	—	1	1
Oklahoma	—	—	1	1
WEST	—	1	3	4
Oregon	—	1	1	2
Washington	—	—	1	1
California	—	—	1	1
FOREIGN	2	5	2	9
Great Britain	2	—	1	3
France	—	1	—	1
Canada	—	1	—	1
Russia	—	1	—	1
Norway	—	1	—	1
Japan*	—	1	—	1
Germany	—	—	1	1
TOTAL	33	33	34	100

\* Evarts Boutell Greene was born of American missionary parents in Kobe.



TABLE 2  
Ages of AHA Presidents

<i>Ages in years</i>	<i>1884-1919</i>	<i>1920-51</i>	<i>1952-84</i>	<i>Total</i>
40-49	2	—	—	2
50-59	17	6	6	29
60-69	8	23	24	55
70-79	4	4	4	12
80-89	2	—	—	2
TOTAL	33	33	34	100
Average age	58.8	63.8	63.6	62.1

TABLE 3  
Universities Awarding Doctoral Degrees of AHA Presidents

	<i>1884-1919</i>	<i>1920-51</i>	<i>1952-84</i>	<i>Total</i>
UNITED STATES	4	25	28	57
Harvard	—	6	14	20
Columbia	1	5	3	9
Johns Hopkins	2	3	—	5
Pennsylvania	1	3	—	4
Wisconsin	—	2	1	3
Cornell	—	1	2	3
Yale	—	1	2	3
Princeton	—	1	1	2
Chicago	—	1	1	2
Bryn Mawr	—	1	—	1
Virginia	—	1	—	1
Texas	—	—	1	1
New York	—	—	1	1
Stanford	—	—	1	1
North Carolina	—	—	1	1
FOREIGN	4	5	3	12
Leipzig	2	1	—	3
Berlin	—	2	1	3
Freiburg	1	1	—	2
Oxford	—	—	2	2
Göttingen	1	—	—	1
St. Petersburg	—	1	—	1
TOTAL	8	30	31	69

TABLE 4  
Fields of Historical Scholarship of AHA Presidents

	1884-1919	1920-51	1952-84	Total
UNITED STATES	17	12	16	45
EUROPE	4	9	11	24
ANCIENT and MEDIEVAL	3	10	3	16
THIRD WORLD <sup>a</sup>	—	—	4	4
GENERAL and SPECIAL TOPICS <sup>b</sup>	4	2	—	6
NONACADEMIC <sup>c</sup>	5	—	—	5
TOTAL	33	33	34	100

<sup>a</sup> Third World includes China, Latin America, and Africa.

<sup>b</sup> Special topics include Christianity, naval and maritime history, and political theory.

<sup>c</sup> Nonacademic indicates few or no scholarly publications.

TABLE 5  
Affiliations of AHA Presidents when They Assumed Office

	1884-1919	1920-51	1952-84	Total
History department	11	26	34	71
Active and former				
Public official	4	3	—	7
Retired*	3	1	—	4
College president	3	—	—	3
Historical society	3	—	—	3
Librarian	2	—	—	2
Publisher	2	—	—	2
Editor	1	1	—	2
Minister	1	—	—	1
Independent	1	—	—	1
Yale Divinity School	1	—	—	1
Yale Law School	1	—	—	1
Huntington Library Fellow	—	1	—	1
Lawyer	—	1	—	1
TOTAL	33	33	34	100

\* James Ford Rhodes retired from private business in 1895; Alfred Thayer Mahan retired from the U.S. Navy in 1896 but served on the naval strategy board during the Spanish-American War; and William Roscoe Thayer was editor of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 1892-1915. James Harvey Robinson was professor of history at Barnard College and Columbia University from 1895 to 1919, when he helped found the New School for Social Research. Robinson left the New School in 1921.

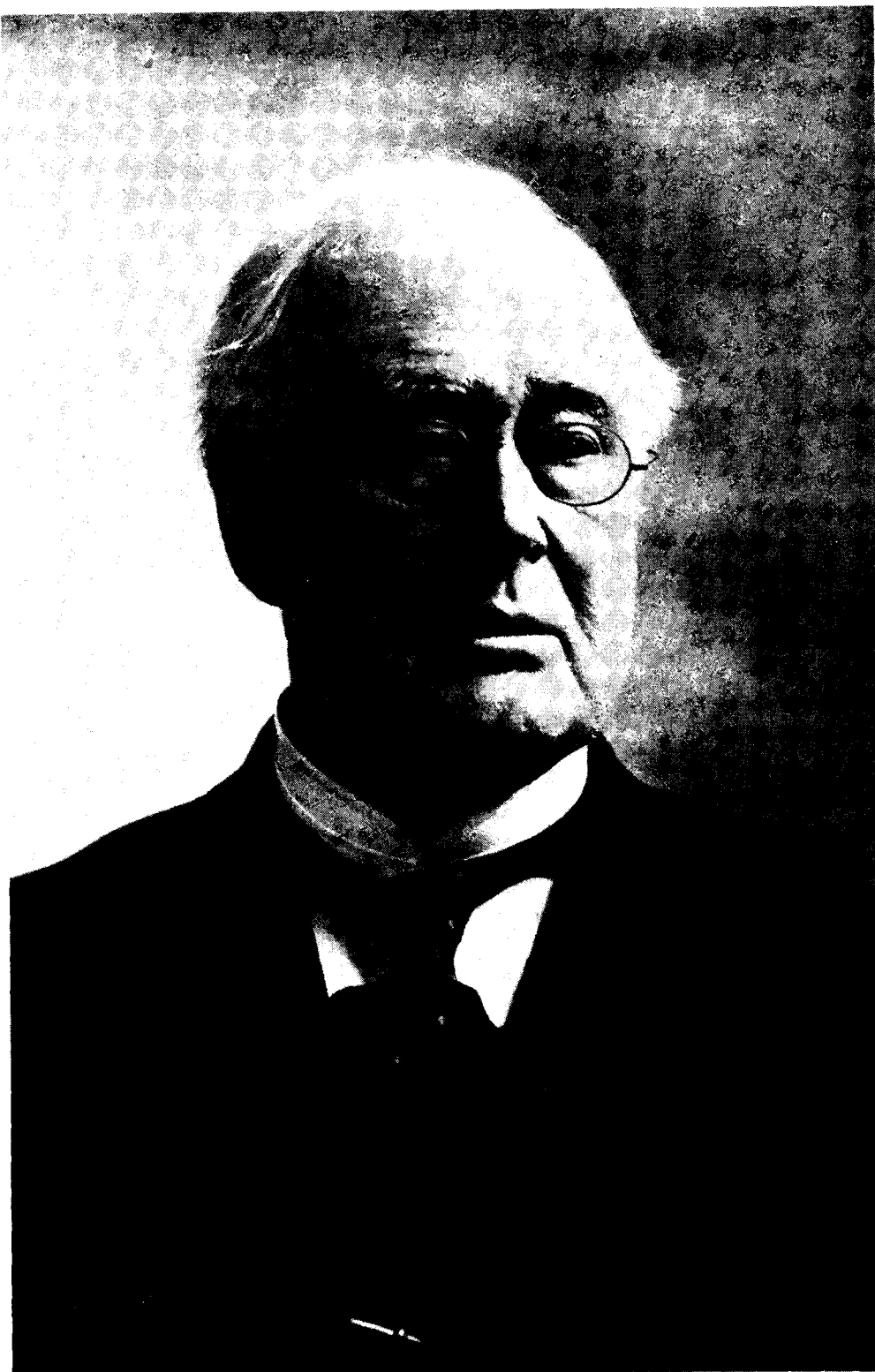
TABLE 6  
Highest Earned Degrees of AHA Presidents

	<i>1884-1919</i>	<i>1920-51</i>	<i>1952-84</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	4	—	—	4
B.A.*	16	2	—	18
M.A.	5	1	3	9
Ph.D.	8	30	31	69
TOTAL	33	33	34	100

\* B.A. includes bachelor of laws and bachelor of divinity degrees.

TABLE 7  
History Department Affiliations of AHA Presidents

	<i>1884-1919</i>	<i>1920-51</i>	<i>1952-84</i>	<i>Total</i>
Harvard	1	7	4	12
Columbia	2	4	3	9
Yale	1	2	4	7
California, Berkeley	1	3	2	6
Chicago	1	1	3	5
Princeton	—	2	3	5
Pennsylvania	1	2	1	4
Johns Hopkins	1	—	2	3
Stanford	—	—	3	3
Cornell	1	1	—	2
Wisconsin	1	—	1	2
Illinois	—	1	1	2
Brown	1	—	—	1
Bryn Mawr	—	1	—	1
Minnesota	—	1	—	1
Mount Holyoke	—	1	—	1
Rochester	—	—	1	1
Texas	—	—	1	1
New York	—	—	1	1
UCLA	—	—	1	1
Massachusetts	—	—	1	1
Michigan	—	—	1	1
University of Washington	—	—	1	1
TOTAL	11	26	34	71



Senator George Frisbie Hoar, President of the American Historical Association, 1895.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.

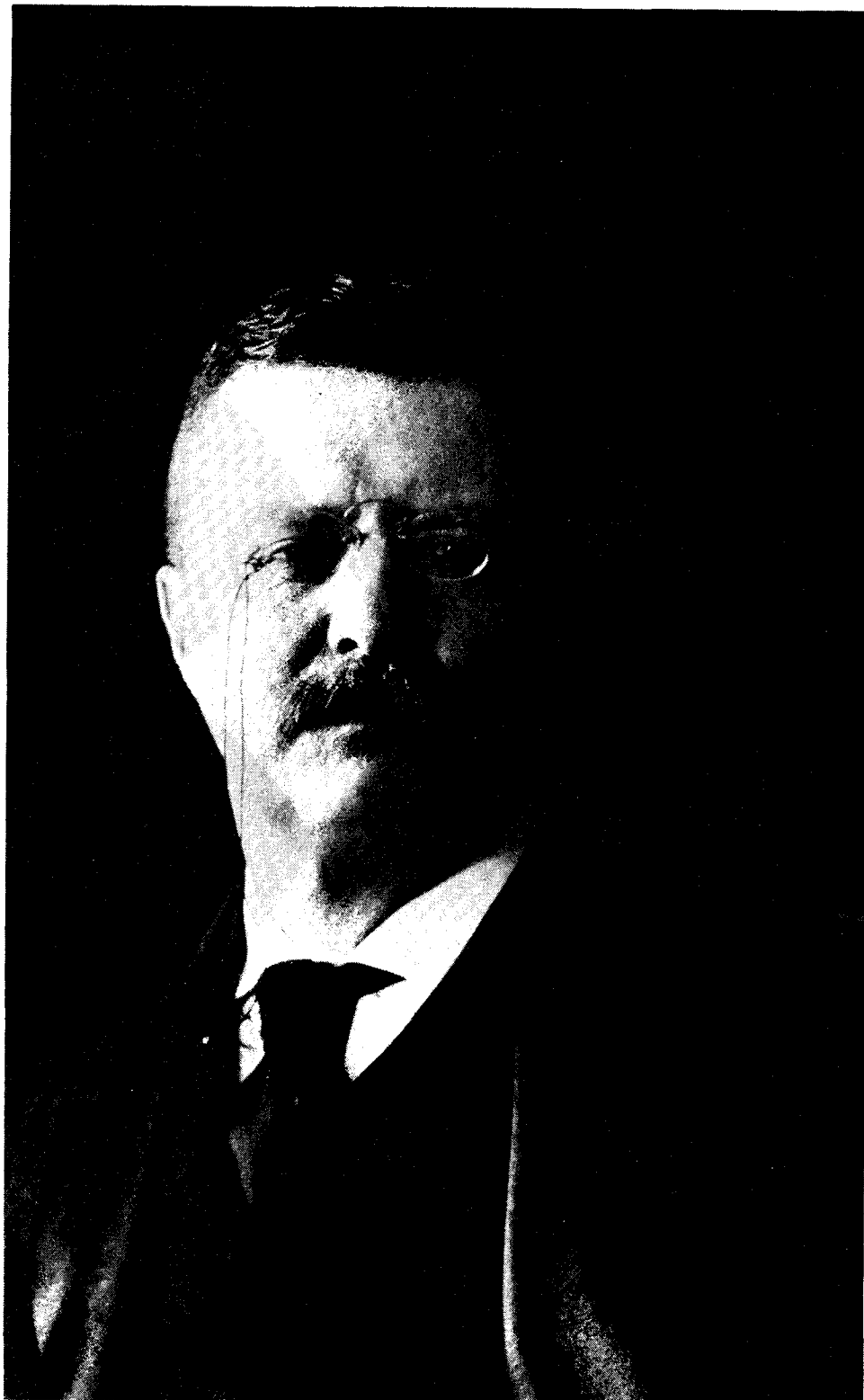


Alfred Thayer Mahan, President of the American Historical Association, 1902.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.





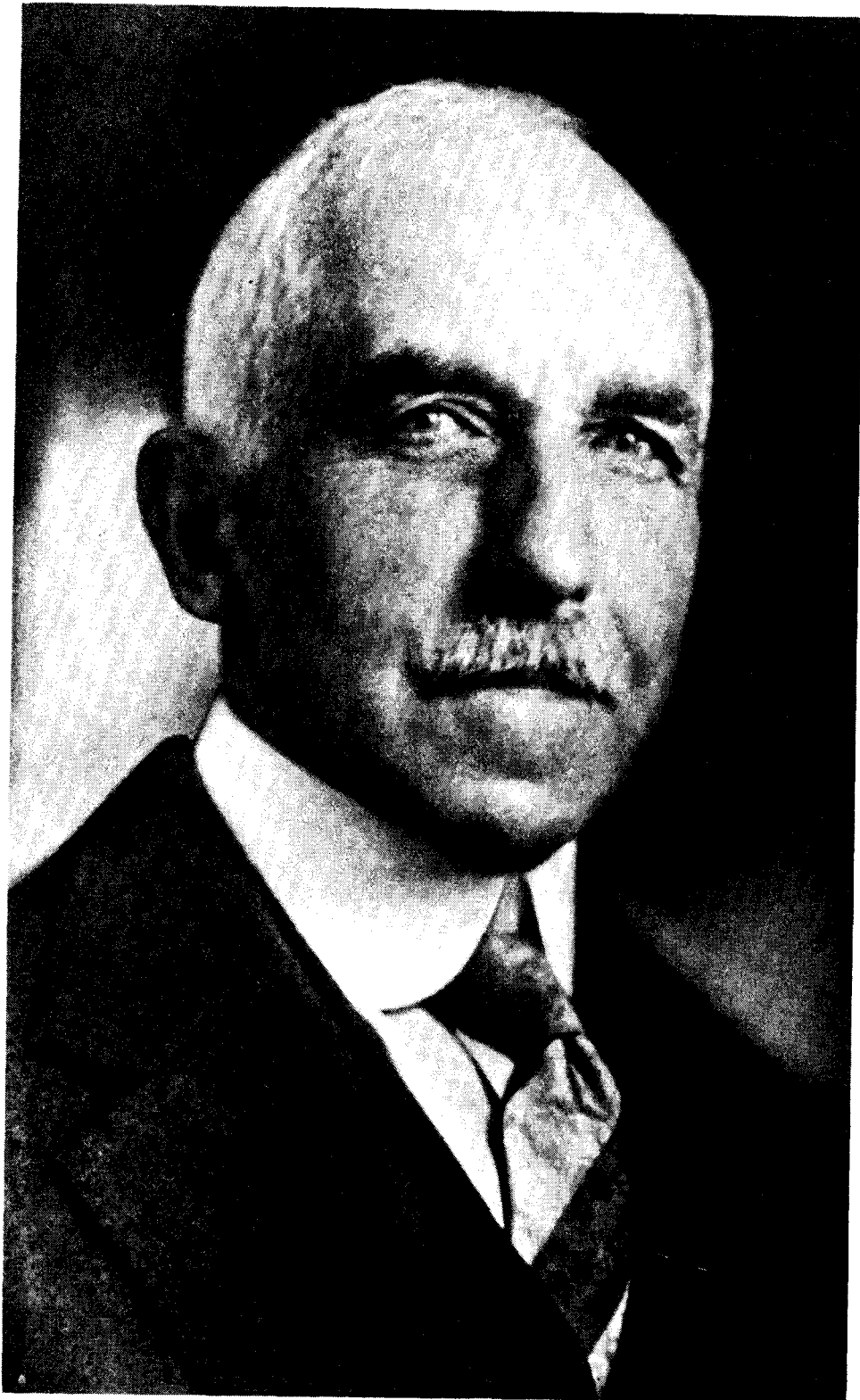
Frederick Jackson Turner, President of the American Historical Association, 1910.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the University of Wisconsin, Madison.



Theodore Roosevelt, President of the American Historical Association, 1912.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.



Woodrow Wilson, President of the American Historical Association, 1924, and Edith Galt Wilson.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

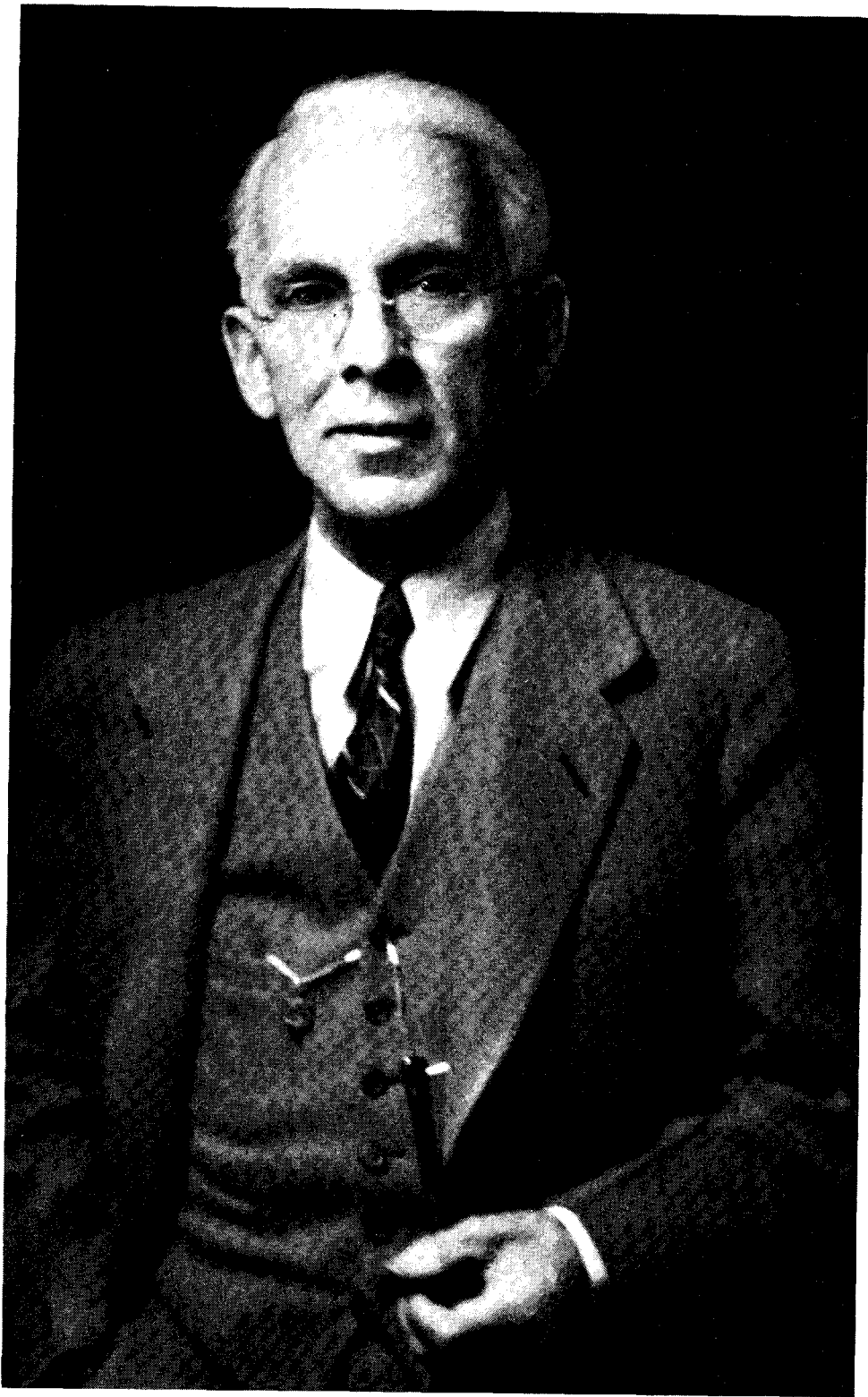


James Harvey Robinson, President of the American Historical Association, 1929.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Columbia University, New York, N.Y.



Michael I. Rostovtzeff, President of the American Historical Association, 1935.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.





Guy Stanton Ford, President of the American Historical Association, 1937.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.



Nellie Neilson, President of the American Historical Association, 1943.  
Photograph courtesy of Mount Holyoke College Library and Archives, South Hadley, Mass.



William L. Langer, President of the American Historical Association, 1957.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass.



Samuel Flagg Bemis, President of the American Historical Association, 1961.  
Photograph reproduced from the collection of the AHA, Washington, D.C.





Hajo Holborn, President of the American Historical Association. 1967.  
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Holborn family.



---

## Reviews of Books

---

### GENERAL

F. R. ANKERSMIT. *Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language*. (Martinus Nijhoff Philosophy Library, number 7.) Boston: Martinus Nijhoff. 1983. Pp. viii, 265. \$39.50.

This book is a substantial contribution, not only to the literature on philosophy of history, but also to that which deals with "narrativist philosophy." F. R. Ankersmit uses the historical narrative as an example of a more general "narrativist" way of representing the world that has implications for our understanding of current discussions regarding the nature of explanation in the natural and social sciences as well. Like Paul Ricoeur (*Time and Narrative*, [1983]), the author regards the recent rejection of narrativity in historical representation (by, for example, Fernand Braudel, François Furet, and other *Annalistes*) as mistaken and philosophically indefensible. It seems impossible, on his account, to write a *history* of anything without writing a narrative account of it, at least as a preliminary to any analysis that might be carried out from the standpoint of any of the relevant social sciences. In this view, he aligns himself with Benedetto Croce, Geoffroy Elton, Peter Gay, Jacques Barzun, and others.

But Ankersmit's view of what constitutes a narrative and the ways in which a narrative "explains" the matters with which it deals is different from that of many recent defenders of "narrative explanations," such as Dray, Danto, Gallic, and the late Louis O. Mink. Although aligning himself with W. H. Walsh and defending the "colligation" thesis regarding the nature of historical explanation, Ankersmit seeks to specify both the particular elements of a narrative and the peculiar explanatory effects of narrative accounts by relegating historical representations to the status of interpretations.

In Ankersmit's view, such large-scale events as "the Renaissance" or "the Enlightenment" should not be regarded as objects or entities about which "scientific" discussions can be profitably carried out. Accounts of such events are not properly regarded

as offering explanations of them at all. Nor should they be regarded as representations whose truth-value could be determined by comparing them to the entity in question. In this respect, historical events differ from the kinds of events available to direct perception, to which we can go and simply observe their properties. Instead, historical representations must be seen as invitations to view complex sets of events from a certain perspective, which is itself constitutive (rather than merely reflective) of the "narrative substances" that are the true referents of historical discourses. As thus envisaged, a historical narrative is not an "image" of the past nor an "explanation" of it; the narrative is always at best an "interpretation" of the kinds of complex entities that can be comprehended only in the extent to which they can be "narrativistically" represented.

The author's reexamination of narrative is extended into an argument in defense of "historism," defined as the nefarious "historicism" with the metaphysics expunged from its conceptualization. This defense, in turn, allows the author to revise the conventional distinction between explanation and understanding in the human sciences and to revise the conventional view regarding the place of theory in historical research. Ankersmit sidesteps the explanation-understanding dichotomy by arguing that "historical knowledge is not knowledge in the proper sense of the word," so that the debate over whether it produces knowledge-as-explanation or knowledge-as-understanding appears nugatory. Historical knowledge, he writes, "is better characterized as an *arrangement* of knowledge" (p. 250). As thus conceived, it neither produces theory nor profitably consumes it (in the sense of "testing" theory against "fact"). "What makes historical knowledge philosophically such an interesting phenomenon lies in the fact that it is always concerned with the question of *what* we should or should not say on [*sic*] reality and not with *how* we should speak about reality" (p. 250). In constantly rearranging our knowledge of reality, historiography helps to determine "how we wish to act on it" (p. 250).

This is a provocative book and should be read by

any historian interested in the problem of how to characterize his or her own discourse, whether one is committed to "narrative" history or any of the several alternatives to it that have been recommended since the crisis of historicism forced historians to define their relationship to science, on the one side, and art, on the other, in the late nineteenth century.

HAYDEN WHITE

University of California,  
Santa Cruz

ERNST BREISACH. *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 487. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.50.

As Ernst Breisach notes in the preface to this work, history "has no satisfactory account of its own career in English or any other language." The deficiencies of older accounts and the brevity of more recent surveys of the history of historical writing have left a large void in Western historiography. Fortunately, in his *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, Breisach has remedied the situation by providing us with a masterful treatise on the development of historical writing in the West. His comprehensive coverage of the subject and his clear presentation of the issues and the complexity of an evolving discipline easily make his work the best of its kind. Breisach demonstrates a superb grasp of the subject, and he deserves to be commended for articulating his theme so well.

The author leaves hardly a stone unturned as he moves through three chapters on ancient Greek historiography on to another three chapters on historical writing in the Roman period. In the next six chapters he discusses the rise and development of Christian, Renaissance, Reformation, and traditional historiography through the seventeenth century. Breisach then proceeds in the next four chapters to elucidate the "reassessment of historical order and truth" in the eighteenth century and subsequent "national responses" to the "new historiography," including an evaluation of historical interpretations of "progress and nation" in Germany, France, and England. In the remaining twelve chapters he presents a splendid account of "modern historiography," and, last, he provides a provocative epilogue that is itself worth the price of the book. An extensive bibliography adds to the strength of this useful work.

It can be argued, of course, that Breisach either slights or ignores some historiographical developments and that he may have circumscribed what can be called Western culture. He has very little to say, for example, about historical writing among the early Hebrews, and he offers few comments on the

history of historical writing in areas peripheral to the West. Obviously, he does not view those developments as part of the mainstream of Western historiography in which the persistence of "a concern for the past" and the production of "so great a variety of historical interpretations" play an important role. Some historians may contend that a bit more attention to the peripheral areas might give us some comparisons and even broaden our insights into the unique evolution of Western historiography. Likewise, some attention to the development of the history of science in the West and to the role of modern popular history in the public perception of the past could expand our understanding of the place of history in Western culture.

Within the broad context of what Breisach set out to do and what he actually did, however, these are minor considerations. Always careful to show the interplay of culture and principal events with contemporary Western historians' views on the past, the author has produced a valuable study of historiography in the West. His monumental work represents a major contribution to the field.

LESTER D. STEPHENS

University of Georgia

HERTA NAGL-DOCEKAL. *Die Objektivität der Geschichtswissenschaft: Systematische Untersuchungen zum wissenschaftlichen Status der Historie*. (Überlieferung und Aufgabe, number 22.) Vienna: R. Oldenbourg. 1982. Pp. 268. S 348.

This work takes a new look at the old problem of objectivity in history; it proceeds by way of an analysis of several of the most notable German and Anglo-American theorists of the past hundred years. Herta Nagl-Docekal insists that broader consideration of the question must be resurrected from both irreconcilable polemical ruts and "resigned understatement" through careful differentiation of levels and criteria of objective knowledge. The main premise is that there can be no *single* criterion of objectivity, for it is the result of a "multi-dimensional process of control": objectivity consists not in the representation of a putative past reality in itself but in "a coherence of propositions grounded in argumentative demonstration" (p. 10). The author believes that a credible account of the issue can be secured only by moving beyond restrictive theories of inquiry to a broader theory of human action. She wants to avoid the reduction of analytic approaches and the ambivalence of hermeneutic thinkers; in what position this leaves the matter is not so clear.

As befits a volume in the series "Tradition and Tasks Outstanding," the work proceeds both historically and systematically. Each major theorist of the

past is presented in a critical continuum: coming to grips with an exemplary predecessor, in turn being revised under the scrutiny of successors, and finally winding up in the exacting grasp of the author. The format is trim and lends itself to cumulative discussion, but also shows some loopholes and loose ends. There are four main sections. The first concerns the notion of objectivity as receptivity to meaning in Wilhelm Dilthey's critique of historical reason. Nagl-Docekal sees Dilthey as paradoxically subjectivizing history and desubjectivizing the individual persons living through it; this reversal put historical theory at chronic cross-purposes. The second part treats recent modifications of the *Verstehen* versus *Erklären* debate, including William Dray, Alan Donagan, Georg van Wright, Karl-Otto Apel, and Karl Acham; here the author finds logical dilemmas but also some complementary avenues. The third section explores the unsettling claim of Hans-Georg Gadamer that methodical objectivity is an illusory derivative of the more fundamental form of truth disclosed in tradition. The final section treats the subjective foundations of history by comparing Arthur Danto's doctrine of narrative organization and Hans-Michael Baumgartner's revised transcendental position.

When treating these thinkers, the author makes her way carefully and deliberately, alert to possible bridges over the old ruts and chasms. She is sensitive to crucial ambiguities as well as mutual misrepresentations among her subjects. In this vein she observes that the staple caricatures of the *Verstehen-Erklären* controversy have been good business but poor thinking on both sides. Several of her distinctions are valuable, especially her differentiation of several forms of interpretive understanding and of explanatory models and sketches. The reader is left with the view that there are foundations for objective historical knowledge that are judged to be warranted, without being final or exhaustive; they are exposed and justified by the same fundamental norms of practical reason in familiar daily life.

The author culls and combines deftly, but her own efforts at systematic presentation are in the end not fully satisfying. At the crux this work is elliptical. The writer tends to see the mote of ambivalence in the theory of others, but not the logjam of "understated" assumptions in herself. She repeatedly points to the failings of "ontological abstinence," yet is very elusive in spelling out what she means by the "immanent coherence of the past." She frequently alludes to the "specific situation of man" and the "specific character of action," but apart from such catchwords as "orientation," "decision," "conversation," and "legitimation," there is too little systematic coherence—which supposedly is what objectivity is all about. For a more persuasive theory of action and historical reason, the reader would be better

served by Frederick Olafson's *The Dialectic of Action* (1979).

MICHAEL ERMARTH  
Dartmouth College

JERRY H. BENTLEY. *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 245. \$23.50.

In this elegant scholarly essay, the author sets out to account for a crucial development in the study of the New Testament, when Renaissance humanists broke with medieval traditions of biblical investigation and interpretation. Rather than accept the Latin Vulgate Bible as virtually beyond question, humanists turned to Greek and earlier Latin texts. And, instead of explaining Scripture in the light of scholastic theology, humanists sought its original meaning in a carefully authenticated linguistic and historical context. In its main lines, this development is well known to historians. Jerry H. Bentley's contribution is to bring clarity and precision to the theme.

Erasmus of Rotterdam is the centerpiece of Bentley's study. Well over a third of the text argues for the great humanist's New Testament scholarship. Most students of Scripture have rightly concerned themselves with the theological context of Erasmus's work, for it significantly affected the course of the Reformation. They have tended, however, to neglect the intrinsic worth of that work, in which "modern New Testament scholarship and scholarly methods took their first great leap forward" (p. 193). Unlike modern students of the New Testament, Erasmus seriously intended his research to serve the cause of moral and religious renewal. Nonetheless, his New Testament studies clearly anticipate essential characteristics of modern scholarship. To prove this point, the author undertakes a close examination of Erasmus's *Annotations* and reconstructs his method of work. By stressing the *Annotations*, Bentley reaches a higher estimate of Erasmus's achievement than Bruce Metzger, Basil Hall, or many other modern experts. In Greek textual criticism, Erasmus went far beyond Lorenzo Valla, who applied his renowned skepticism to the Vulgate but accepted Greek versions without question. Erasmus also surpassed the learned editors of Cardinal Ximénez' Polyglot Bible, whose erudition was crippled by conservative reluctance to undertake any reforms that might undermine the authority of the Vulgate. Erasmus's translation of the New Testament into Latin, according to Bentley, attempted to preserve the spirit of the original Greek texts while remaining faithful to their literal sense. His Latin version provoked a vehement reaction, because it omitted many proof-texts in the Vulgate

that were dear to scholastic theologians, for example, the "Johannine comma" at 1 John 5:7-8, an important Trinitarian passage.

In exegesis, Erasmus insisted on explanations that the original texts could support. He criticized medieval exegetes, especially Thomas Aquinas, "for distorting the plain sense of scripture to support Church dogma" (p. 175). Erasmus denied, for instance, that Peter's confession of faith at Matthew 16:18 could prove papal authority in the church. Erasmus criticized also the exegetical work of humanist contemporaries, such as Lefèvre d'Étaples, whose conclusions he sometimes found to be shallow. "The foundation of Erasmus' own exegesis," Bentley asserts, "was a finely tuned sense for words . . . and their meanings and functions understood in their whole context" (p. 180).

Within its well-defined perimeters this essay argues convincingly for the modernity in Erasmus's approach to scriptural studies. The book's value is enhanced by helpful bibliographic notes. For no discernible reason, however, several titles cited in the footnotes are not listed in the bibliography (see, for example, p. 113). Beautifully printed, the book is a pleasure to read. Bentley treats complex textual issues with lucidity and graceful ease.

CHARLES H. O'BRIEN  
Western Illinois University

CARTER LINDBERG. *The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 345. \$24.95.

Carter Lindberg displays great competence both as a historian and as a theologian in this evaluation of the charismatic or "renewal" movement within Lutheran churches in the past quarter-century, chiefly in North America and in the German Democratic Republic. The volume begins with a succinct and insightful overview of the elements in Luther's theology that are critical for a comparison with contemporary charismatic thought. Lindberg examines why Luther rejected what the author labels spiritualists, grouping together radicals that George H. Williams differentiated as Anabaptists and Spiritualists (Karlstadt, Müntzer, Hoffmann, Franck, and Schwenckfeld). Lindberg supports adequately his comparison of these sixteenth-century spiritualists and contemporary charismatics, citing both similarities and differences, focusing above all on Luther's theology of the Word of promise.

The treatment of Lindberg's "second Reformation," Lutheran pietism, favors Martin Schmidt's interpretation of a greater gulf between Spener and his pietist followers and Luther than some interpreters would grant. Lindberg's analysis might have been strengthened by additional exploration of ways

in which participants in the nineteenth-century confessional revival, in North America and Europe, blended concerns of orthodoxy and pietism.

Relying largely on three charismatic Lutheran theologians, Larry Christenson, Theodore Jungkuntz, and Arnold Bittlinger, Lindberg permits the movement to speak for itself. These three have varying degrees of concern for whether their charismatic theology can be integrated into a Lutheran framework, though each does wish to remain a Lutheran. Although Lindberg insists on the necessity of dialogue and mutual learning between charismatic and noncharismatic Lutherans, he is somewhat dubious about the chances for honest accommodation of the chief elements of charismatic concern to the basic elements of Lutheran confessional theology. The charismatic emphasis on the centrality of human experience conflicts with Luther's insistence on the centrality of the forgiving Word of God. Charismatic theology has difficulty with the Lutheran understanding of the first article of the Creed because of the former's "super-supernaturalism." Anthropological doctrines conflict, particularly over differing views of what it means to be righteous before God. Lutheran and charismatic ecclesiologies have different emphases. Analyzed according to Peter Berger's typology of Christian theologizing in our pluralistic culture, Lindberg notes, the charismatic theologian approaches the task inductively while Lutherans have traditionally worked deductively (pp. 313-14).

This book offers a good model for this kind of historical evaluation of contemporary thought and will prove useful to theologians from all Christian denominations in addressing the contemporary charismatic call for a specific form of Christian renewal.

ROBERT KOLB  
Concordia College, St. Paul

HAROLD J. BERMAN. *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 657. \$32.50.

Any historian who still believes that legal and constitutional history are not at least as important and timely as social, economic, political, intellectual, and religious history will find this huge major work enlightening. In his impressive study (forty-five years in the making) of "the formation of the Western legal tradition," Harold J. Berman (a senior law professor at Harvard) not only integrates law with all these other topics but shows it to be equally causative in historical change and not the mere consequence of other factors. He refutes the beliefs of social theorists going back to Weber and Marx

that law is not crucial because it is not part of society's materialist base but rather part of its idealistic superstructure. The author would no doubt agree with Walter Ullmann that "law is that expression of civilization which most closely approaches perfection" (*Medieval Idea of Law*, p. vii). Berman advances legal and constitutional history to the forefront of the social sciences. The study of Western civilization, having passed from political to intellectual to social history in its predominant areas of scholarly interest, now seems ready for an emphasis on things legal, which can no longer take a back seat. Berman's book brings law into Western civilization studies with a bang and would even be a valuable textbook for certain courses in history and law.

The voluminous introduction and conclusion establish the monumental methodology of the work. Although the main body focuses on the High Middle Ages from the late eleventh through thirteenth centuries, the author frequently relates his medieval material to modern thought, practice, and methodology. Part 1 is on "the papal revolution and the canon law"; part 2 concerns "the formation of secular legal systems." A few words on representative chapters will further indicate the work's vast sweep. Chapter 2 deals with the initial "papal revolution" of the investiture controversy, showing how the church became the first state and gave rise to secular states. Chapter 3 covers the emergence of legal systems in medieval universities and includes such provocative section headings as "Law as a Prototype of Western Science" and "Sociological Criteria of Legal Science." Chapter 4 broadly surveys pertinent church doctrines of last judgment and purgatory, together with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist, and atonement. In distinction to the wider "papal revolution" of the entire High Middle Ages, the secular law discussed in part 2 had extremely broad connections with socioeconomic trends, which the author treats at length. Chapter 8 elaborates in particular on the theories of John of Salisbury and Azo, while subsequent chapters include Bracton and Glanville. Chapters 9–12 employ such innovative categories of analysis as objectivity (equal obligations); universality (uniformity); reciprocity of rights (fairness of exchange); and participatory adjudication, integration, and growth. There are comprehensive analyses of the medieval commercial revolution, the growth of cities, and the comparative constitutional histories of all major nations of the period.

From a scholarly point of view the book is not without its minor weaknesses, but they often reflect its counterbalancing strengths. The main body on the Middle Ages is based greatly on relatively broad secondary works in English, with some monographs and articles, and several sources in translation. The

author freely admits that "[t]he individual parts of the story told in this book are well known to specialists in various fields of history and law" (p. 538). Indeed, most chapters are ingenious syntheses of older scholarship, as in the chapter on the investiture controversy that draws heavily on works by Gerd Tellenbach, Norman Cantor, Walter Ullmann, R. W. Southern, Brian Tierney, and others. Despite often excessive quotations of secondary writers to support his views and occasional overuse of such marginal writers as Orville Prescott (*Lords of Italy*), the author's achievement in medieval studies is to integrate familiar material into new supranational patterns and periodizations that will inspire future scholarship. Although Berman usually avoids the overzealous attributions of some medievalists who have drastically predated modern theories of legislation, sovereignty, and the state to the Middle Ages, he makes in passing some radical claims for the lack of real differences between medieval and early modern thought and practice that are not supported by any examination of early modern thought; yet they are stimulating. It is exaggerated yet provocative to say that John of "Salisbury's derivation of the ruler's title directly from God foreshadowed the sixteenth-century theory of the divine right of kings, while his patriarchal theory of monarchy foreshadowed the seventeenth-century conception of personal absolutism" (p. 278). Nevertheless, Berman, a prolific, versatile writer with numerous books on Soviet Russian law, has produced an important work, marked by audacious logic and massive material as well as a bold title, that will teach historians (specialists and laymen) much not only about law and the great "world" revolutions that shaped it but also about their own discipline and the contemporary "crisis" and impending "end" of "Western" legal tradition and civilization.

A. LONDON FELL  
New York University

ERNST NOLTE. *Marxismus und Industrielle Revolution*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1983. Pp. 656. DM 58.

Ernst Nolte is described by Joachim Fest on the jacket of this volume as "one of the few significant [*bedeutend*] historians of our time." To other observers his writings appear quirky and murky; he evokes for them memories of an older and now suspect generation of German historians, shades of Heinrich von Treitschke. Few who are familiar with Nolte's work seem to remain without strong feelings about it.

The volume under review completes a trilogy, begun twenty years ago, which aspires to be a "history of the origin, practice, and decline" of the



central ideologies of modern times (p. 19). The first volume, in translation entitled *The Three Faces of Fascism*, encountered favorable and at times enthusiastic critical reception, though not without certain grumblings. The second, *Deutschland und der kalte Krieg* (1974), was less favorably received—indeed, it elicited a host of hostile, often withering reviews. This third book, like the others a tome of Germanic weight and erudition, resulting in a trilogy of nearly two thousand pages, takes up matters that chronologically come first.

Rather than joining in the general trend among modern historians toward increasing specialization, Nolte prides himself in thinking deeply about topics of large import and wide concern, even when they are already well researched. His special interest is not in mining recently opened archives or in novel manipulations of new kinds of sources but rather in arriving at a deeper understanding in an older or more traditional sense. Such laudable efforts have not, paradoxically, resulted in a corpus of writings that are likely to attract, or at least hold, the interest of a large reading audience. Even assuming that the last two volumes eventually appear in English translation (a large assumption), not many English-reading historians—forget about the general public—will be likely to wade their way through them, for a number of reasons beyond the obvious one of their intimidating length.

On the jacket, alongside Fest's praise, is a reference to Nolte's "fine style" (*vorzüglicher Stil*). Yet a stylist whose paragraphs go on for pages, whose sentences and line of reasoning wind and wind until one gasps for air, is not likely to be considered fine by most writers of English today. Stylistic pirouettes and syntactical acts of endurance may have their intriguing aspects in a Thomas Mann, but in a work of history they get in the way of clear expression and are simply fatiguing, even giving due allowance to varying tastes from language to language or century to century. The thicket of footnotes on each page of this volume, often themselves burdened by further text, scarcely add to ease in reading.

*Marxismus und Industrielle Revolution*'s 656 pages are divided into two main sections, themselves further divided into chapter-like sections (I, IIA, IIB) and yet further subsections (1, 2, 3, and so on), some fifty-odd in total. These imposing organizational forms at times mask less than perfectly clear organizational principles, a problem that was even more pronounced in the first two volumes. The first main section, some 260 pages, deals with the general topic of the reaction of contemporaries in Great Britain to industrialization. The second main section, actually the smaller part of the book, takes up the subject of the title. Wide-ranging introductory and concluding remarks take up yet another hundred pages, as do the footnotes.

Nolte's erudition and his intimate familiarity with the extensive primary literature relating to industrialization and Marxism are impressive. If from such Rankean virtues can come a fault, it is that he remains too anchored to those sources, too intent on keeping them ever before our eyes, resulting at times in a smothering procession of names, dates, and terms—as bad as the worst kind of textbook. Even in the more lively speculative or interpretive sections, Nolte refrains to a remarkable degree from explicitly discussing various or rival historical interpretations. It is almost always Nolte and the sources; only occasionally Nolte and modern historiography. Such inclinations served Nolte reasonably well in *The Three Faces of Fascism*, partly because scholarship in that area was still in its infancy in 1963, and partly because Nolte made interesting comparative use of familiar sources. But given the rich and stimulating interpretive literature dealing with industrialization and Marxism, dating back many years, such a failure to grapple with historiographical questions more explicitly and creatively cannot be similarly defended.

Thus, even putting aside considerations of language and style, I would not advise a student (even an advanced one) who wished to investigate the great ideologies of modern times to tackle Nolte's trilogy in its entirety. The diligence required to take on his two thousand pages could be more profitably devoted to six or eight less idiosyncratic and more digestible volumes, ones, furthermore, less dated than *The Three Faces of Fascism* has become. Yet, certain parts of the trilogy, particularly in this volume, are unquestionably of value, and I might well guide a student to them.

An appropriate example of such a part is Nolte's treatment of anti-Semitism in Marx. Nolte has by no means uttered the last word on this tangled issue, but whereas the literature on it tends either to apologetics and dogma or to polemics and *Schadenfreude*, he is both judicious and insightful. He is not satisfied with the facile observation that the fundamental humanism and cosmopolitanism in Marx's thought make anti-Semitism inconceivable or, perhaps, an inconsequential quirk in it. But neither is Nolte content to expose Marx as a hypocrite, a man of flagrant contradictions—obviously the more tempting tack for a man of Nolte's views. He does provide a richly textured description of Marx's undeniably racist (and typically Victorian) opinions and of his often cruel and mean-spirited remarks about Jews, usually in private utterances. But Nolte does a good job of putting these remarks into context and not making them bear more weight than they properly should. He observes that Marx supported civil equality for Jews, sharply disapproved of anti-Semitic violence, and had contempt for the anti-Semites and organized anti-Semitism of



his day. Marx was thus not an anti-Semite in the "normal" sense (p. 480)—a common-sense conclusion that nevertheless escapes some observers. The more interesting and significant issue, as Nolte sees it, is Marx's meaning in his famous youthful essay on the Jewish question and the relationship of that essay to Marx's more mature thought. Nolte's philosophical training helps him to provide a sophisticated interpretation of the extraordinarily ambiguous and pregnant language in that essay and to reject as simplistic and mistaken the notion that Marx's hostility to Jews can somehow be linked to that of Hitler (p. 482).

A short review of a work so vast and often elusive can easily give a misleading impression by concentrating on a single aspect or debatable point. Nolte's penchant, in his previous works, for piquant obiter dicta and ambiguous speculation, often self-indulgent or ostensibly reactionary and ultranationalistic, have on occasion drawn attention away from his more serious thought and scholarship or inclined reviewers to be more severe in their judgments than they might otherwise have been (misfortunes for which Nolte has himself largely to blame, it seems to me). The obiter dicta are less in evidence in this volume. But a thought kept running through my mind, as it did in reading the two earlier volumes: Nolte needs not only a good translator but a censor; a radical revision, resulting in a book half the length, might make it twice as valuable and open it to ten times as many readers.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

JOHN H. KAUTSKY. *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1982. Pp. xvi, 416. \$28.00.

What do the following have in common: Ancient Egypt; Ahmenid Persia; the Aryan kingdoms of India; China from Shang to Chou; pre-thirteenth-century Japan; the ninth-century Vietnamese kingdom; the Asiatic conquest empires of southeastern Europe; the Mongol empires of Asia and Russia; the early Ottoman, Mogul, and Safavid empires; the Ethiopian and Tutsi empires of Africa; the Incas of Peru; and the Burgundian, Visigoth, Ostrogoth, Lombard, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish kingdoms of Western Europe? According to John H. Kautsky, all of these (among others) were "aristocratic empires," a major kind of "traditional" polity that has been improperly ignored by political scientists.

All traditional aristocratic empires were similarly exploitative and structurally static, Kautsky argues. Noncommercialized agrarian economies and subsis-

tence-oriented peasant villages were subject to military domination and taxation by aristocratic ruling classes. Politics in these empires involved no society-wide values or shared legitimations, because lords and peasants lived in separate cultural worlds. And politics involved no true class struggles, because peasants were impotent to resist on extralocal scales. Instead, individuals and subgroups within the dominant aristocracies ceaselessly contended for honorific precedence and for territories and peasants to exploit. But from such struggles no economic development or true social change resulted. Ultimately, traditional aristocratic empires could be transformed into proto-"modern" agrarian states only if "commercialization"—itself a mysterious process unexplained by Kautsky—made it possible for merchants to share ruling authority with aristocrats. Both imperial China and medieval Europe allegedly exemplified this evolution.

While many sociologists and political scientists are turning to comparative-historical investigations to reintroduce process over time and a sense of institutional and cultural specificity into their explanations of social structures and social change, Kautsky's approach is reminiscent of structure-functionalist modernization theory and orthodox, economic-determinist Marxism (indeed, the author previously wrote about problems of political modernization and acknowledges major intellectual debts to his grandfather, Karl Kautsky, the noted German Marxist). *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* is concerned only with "functional" relationships among patterns supposedly common to all instances, and Kautsky readily admits that his secondary historical evidence is both "achronological" and strictly "illustrative." Whenever patterns pop up that do not fit the ideal type—as, for example, the civilian rather than martial status orientation of the Chinese gentry—they are elaborately explained away as due to confounding influences relevant for the particular historical case but not contradicting the general model. Much of the book thus takes on an air of spelling out definitions and ruling bits and pieces of historical illustration into and out of the jurisdiction of those definitions.

Historians are not likely to find this book appealing, although specialists on the cases included in Kautsky's ideal type might benefit from considering precisely how and why his generalizations do or do not apply. As a historical sociologist, I *tried* to like this book, but ended up feeling that time would be more fruitfully spent rereading Max Weber—or, better yet, reading historical works with an eye to explaining both shared and particular features across agrarian political orders. It seems a shame to have explored so much fascinating historiography as Kautsky has read in the course of preparing this book only to arrive, in the end, at an overgenera-

lized model that distills all variation and process out of the past!

THEDA SKOCPOL  
University of Chicago

ROBERT J. GOLDSTEIN. *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble or Croom Helm, London. 1983. Pp. xv, 400. \$27.95.

This book represents an effort to follow a single broad theme through a long period of modern history. Its author, Robert J. Goldstein, is a political scientist and the approach is designed to serve the interests of analytic theory building. Quite possibly, though, the end result will appeal to historians more than to political sociologists. Although no one who does not share the author's particular interests could evaluate all his factual presentation, it appears to be substantially accurate. Goldstein relies entirely on secondary sources in English. For many analytic topics, this linguistic limitation would be fatal; certain major French and German approaches might have enriched Goldstein's conceptual perspective. But the predilection of Anglo-American historians for political history makes their works adequate for Goldstein's purposes.

Wisely, I believe, he refrains from offering the synthetic quantitative indicators (such as overall indices of "democratization") favored by some political scientists but suspect to most historians. At several points, however, Goldstein puts future analysts in his debt by assembling tables of complex data, arranged by period and countries, for factors like the proportion of a population admitted to the suffrage. Some of these presentations could have been improved by a little more methodological sophistication: for example, the inflated percentage of enfranchised in a country like France, with its low birth rate, could have been avoided by making the proportions age-specific. Generally, however, historians will probably appreciate Goldstein's concern, frequently anecdotal and occasionally submerged in superfluous detail though it is, for the complexity of the historical context.

Political scientists will, perhaps, have more reservations about Goldstein's concepts. His definition (p. xii) of repression as that which "grossly discriminates against persons or organizations viewed as presenting a fundamental challenge to existing power relations or governmental policies, because of their perceived political beliefs," is an obvious effort to be impartial. The broad definition does enable Goldstein to see that British practice, even in the late nineteenth century, was often remote from liberal principles. Nevertheless, the approach resembles the "Whig" interpretation of freedom as a gradual broadening from precedent to precedent. Thus, he

regards a large measure of repression as "normal" for modernizing polities. At the same time, Goldstein (whose earlier work dealt with repression in the United States) often uses criteria drawn from present-day American constitutional practice, such as the ideal of "one man, one vote" and a broad First-Amendment definition of freedom of expression. A basic problem is whether such minimalization of government intervention, either in the diversity of nineteenth-century Europe or in the contemporary Third World, does not enhance *extra-legal* violations of human rights. Goldstein does not hesitate to point out such violations, like the murders and anti-Semitic excesses of the 1830 Hungarian jacquerie; but his approach requires a stress on governmental excesses. A more theoretically informed approach (drawing on S. M. Lipset) might have produced more emphasis on the dangers of working-class authoritarianism, hence the need for government intervention in social upheavals. A parallel appreciation of the perils for human rights entailed by certain types of nationalism (a major element of nineteenth-century antiregime activity) might have led Goldstein to an awareness of the need, demonstrated under the Weimar Republic, for a forceful defense of the fundamentals of democracy, even at the cost of short-run violation of currently fashionable procedural rights. The virtue of Goldstein's analysis is that it leaves the readers free to use the data to draw their own conclusions.

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

GLYNN BARRATT. *Russian Shadows on the British Northwest Coast of North America, 1810–1890: A Study of the Rejection of Defence Responsibilities*. (University of British Columbia Press Pacific Maritime Studies, number 3.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 196. \$26.00.

As the subtitle of this book indicates, its primary concern is with the neglect of the British northwest coast of North America by the British and Canadian governments in the face of possible Russian threats in the nineteenth century. Glynn Barratt is particularly critical of Ottawa, arguing that "the nature of the Russian threat was such that the Canadians alone *could* have controlled it had they wished" (p. 1). Canadian nationalism, he adds, "came of age . . . without militaristic fervour thanks essentially to a Canadian awareness of U.S. military superiority so deep and lasting that it numbed the national will to render Canada secure even against the slighter threat that tsarist Russia represented" (p. 146). This study also throws interesting light on the limited reactions of British governments despite the pres-

tures to which they were subjected by interested parties on the west coast of Canada. Even Palmerston responded coolly to an incident with the Russians in 1834.

This is a sound study, but a few criticisms are necessary. The local point of view is sometimes presented more comprehensively and sympathetically than that of London or even Ottawa. The author persistently describes George Canning as British prime minister from 1821. Sir Charles Wood was not an admiral, while Austria-Hungary did not exist in 1859. There is an obscure reference to officials in British Columbia in the late 1860s looking for guidance "to the confidently Tory land of Palmerston" (p. 75). At that time successive Liberal and Conservative ministries, down to the Near Eastern crisis of 1875–78, were almost equally intent on cutting the cost of imperial defense, especially at the periphery. It is also disappointing that the publishers, having included some interesting photographs, should not have added a few maps, especially of the Esquimalt-Victoria region.

One can most warmly applaud Barratt's use of primary Russian sources, notably on the activities of the Russian-American Company in the Pacific, official Russian interest in the North Pacific fur trade, and Russian naval activity in the northwest Pacific. These sources suggest that, although some Russian traders and naval officers were eager to pursue a more assertive policy at the expense of the British, in general the foreign ministry and senior admirals were content with the status quo, even at the start of the Crimean War. If this war, and the 1878 crisis, did generate interest in privateering (possibly with the help of some American citizens), in practice no direct threat to British Columbia developed. In the early 1880s, even as the Russian navy was being expanded and modernized, the Russian naval staff had no plans to send more than a few cruisers into the Pacific. Barratt has also dug deeply into British and Canadian sources. His examination of west-coast Russophobia is especially interesting. A comprehensive biography completes a useful study.

C. J. BARTLETT  
*University of Dundee*

ALAN PALMER. *The Chancelleries of Europe*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1983. Pp. xi, 275. \$19.95.

In this book Alan Palmer, a prolific author of books on Eastern Europe, including *The Gardeners of Salonica* and *The Lands Between*, and of biographies of nineteenth-century statesmen, including Tsar Alexander I, Bismarck, Frederick the Great, George IV, and William II, turns his attention to an examination of the functioning of the European international system in the years between 1814 and 1918.

During most of this period, he argues, the conduct and formulation of foreign policy lay in the hands of the foreign ministries, or "chancelleries," of the great powers. This book focuses on these offices and on the men, whether monarchs or ministers, who shaped European affairs in each epoch. Although the choice of topics shows a British perspective, the policies of the other great powers—Russia, France, the Habsburg empire, Prussia/Germany, and Piedmont/Italy—are also explored. With a strong emphasis on the importance of individuals, the chapters often revolve around the activities of one ruler or minister. Thus, for example, chapter 2 places Alexander I in the center of the stage; chapter 4 accredits George Canning with dominating "for eight years after the Congress of Verona the power struggle in Europe" (p. 39).

In the first chapters the peace settlement of 1814 and 1815 and the establishment of the congress system are discussed. Although no formal congresses of monarchs were held after 1823, the "concert of Europe" concept continued to function with the summoning of smaller gatherings or of meetings of ambassadors at the major capitals to deal with current urgent problems. Commenting on the importance of the congress idea, Palmer observes that "Without the original impetus from the summit there would have been no precedents and no code of procedure for diplomats who pursued peace at less rarified heights of negotiation" (p. 38). Regarding the Crimean War as a break in the previously established system, he judges the years from 1856 to 1871 as a time when statesmen were willing to resort to limited and localized wars. Like other historians, he sees the next period as dominated chiefly by Bismarck, although the policies of men such as Salisbury, Disraeli, Gladstone, Gorchakov, and Andrassy are also covered. The final decade of the century is marked by the importance given to imperial conquest by all of the powers but Austria-Hungary.

The turning point in the relations of the states is assigned to the years 1899 to 1906, with the Algeiras conference marking an end to the diplomatic revolution that was to "destroy the chancellery system" (p. 207) as it had previously existed. Thereafter the fluidity that had characterized the previous alliance relationships diminished; the lines of division among the powers became more clearly defined. Finally, in 1914, the European system simply broke down: "It was at this moment—the forenoon and afternoon of Tuesday 28 July—that the old safeguards of chancellery diplomacy failed to function" (p. 228). World War I itself brought an end to an era. By its conclusion ambassadors had become suspect members of a privileged élite" (p. 231). Lloyd George looked outside of his diplomatic service for advisers. Woodrow Wilson and Russian

revolutionaries alike denounced the old system and "secret diplomacy." In the author's opinion "it was . . . events in Russia which gave the deathblow to the chancellery system" (p. 241).

This excellent extended essay on European diplomacy will be of particular interest to specialists in the field or in international relations in general. It assumes a knowledge of European history, particularly of the domestic problems of the great powers that influenced foreign policy.

BARBARA JELAVICH  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

JACK S. LEVY. *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495–1975*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1983. Pp. xiv, 215. \$24.00.

Until recently, few have sought to examine war through quantitative analysis. Utilizing existing data collections, Jack S. Levy seeks to reconstruct a record of the number, severity, duration, and extent of wars involving great powers from 1495 to 1975. His list of great powers is fairly standard, although some will object that Portugal and Venice have been excluded. Since Levy uses Correlates of War project data for 1816–1975, his contribution lies in marshaling data for the earlier years. For these years he provides new measures that meet rigorous scientific standards, and he estimates missing data for selected wars. Levy is to be praised for such careful and often thankless work, and for the open manner in which he discusses methodological problems and his solutions to them.

Levy has collected these data as a first step in a quantitative analysis of the causes of war. To this end, he provides a statistical description of historical trends in war and a test of hypotheses on war contagion. He finds that the frequency of war has declined since the sixteenth century, but that great-power wars have become more severe and concentrated. One of the reasons for this is that there has been more of a tendency for great powers to intervene in wars. Interestingly, the duration of these wars has been more or less constant, and Levy's explanation of this finding provides a nice theoretical integration of the relevant literature.

His analysis of war contagion shows that the likelihood of war breaking out is greatest while another war is under way. Often this occurs through the expansion of the ongoing war. As for other contagion effects, he finds none. The distribution of wars appears to be random, and the severity, extent, or length of one war has no effect on subsequent wars in the system. For this reason Levy rejects the popular war-weariness hypothesis that destructive wars are followed by periods of peace because the

populace and elites are exhausted. This effect may not have been found because clusters of related wars like the wars of Louis XIV, the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and World Wars I and II are treated as separate wars, and because Levy examines war in the entire great-power system without controlling for the individual nation. Although Levy conducts important tests of this hypothesis, additional tests will be needed before the hypothesis can be rejected.

Levy's data will aid the cumulation of knowledge by permitting comparisons of the 1495–1815 period with that of 1816–1975 to see whether the findings of the Correlates of War project are general patterns or unique to the recent past. This book provides an important foundation for extending our knowledge of war and will be of especial interest to social scientists and the burgeoning movements of quantitative and comparative history.

JOHN A. VASQUEZ  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

JOHN A. VASQUEZ. *The Power of Power Politics: A Critique*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 303. \$27.50.

In his ingenious and well-crafted book, John A. Vasquez makes a judgment on the scholarly literature of the field of international relations and, in general, finds it wanting. Using Thomas Kuhn's ideas about the way paradigms function in scientific inquiry, he identifies what he calls the "realist paradigm," which, he claims, has dominated both "traditional" and quantitative behavioral research in the study of international relations since the end of World War II. Hans Morgenthau's *Politics among Nations* is brought forward to provide the three axioms of the realist paradigm, namely, that nation-states, and those within them who make decisions, are the crucial actors in international relations; that there is a "sharp distinction" between international and domestic politics; and that international relations are a "struggle for power and peace" (p. 18). Given this paradigm, Vasquez's task is to show how it has affected the study of international relations. He does so by showing that it has "guided" the making of theories, the gathering of data, and the development of research. (He discusses only behavioral research [p. 158]; traditional research is beneath inquiry.) The evidence for his claim that the realist paradigm has dominated the making of theory is provided by a case study of the literature of the field, showing that it has been "fairly systematic and somewhat cumulative in articulating the realist paradigm" (p. 41). He then turns to data collection, where he uses a coding technique to substantiate his



thesis. Thus, for example, if a work refers “primarily to nations and not to any other actor, then [it] was coded . . . as evidence that the scholar had employed the first two realist assumptions” (pp. 30–31). He uses a similar approach in evaluating research as a “paradigm-directed activity”; that is, research is “operationalized in terms of the use of measured variables to describe or predict phenomena” (p. 158). With this kind of information, his conclusions are firmly in hand: “international relations inquiry has had an underlying coherence since the early fifties; . . . the realist paradigm has been used by scholars to focus on certain phenomena” (p. 172). The author then turns to the crux of his book: how good is the research in the field of international relations?

The answer is, not good at all. His climactic chapter, “Evaluation: The Adequacy of the Realist Paradigm,” uses the quantitative method to show how really bad it is—and it is very bad indeed. He develops a statistical technique to measure the accuracy of a hypothesis through correlational analysis and measures of association (pp. 177–78), thereby showing that of 7,827 hypotheses produced by content analysis of correlational/explanatory articles, of which over 90 percent were dominated by the realist paradigm, “only 157 realist hypotheses failed to be falsified” and “of these over two-thirds were trivial.” As he grimly and somewhat bleakly puts it, “this means since 1956, only 48 realist hypotheses have produced findings of any major scientific importance” (p. 199) or, as he says in an understatement of staggering proportions, “international relations inquiry has produced little knowledge” (p. 203). In his last chapter, searching for hope, Vasquez indicates that research in the 1970s may be rejecting the realist paradigm by questioning the rational-actor model, analyzing perceptions and nonstate actors, and postulating an “issue politics” paradigm.

Vasquez takes the scientific enterprise seriously and expects the field of international relations to literally measure up by producing hypotheses that are scientifically verified. He does not, unfortunately, come to grips, except for one brief dismissive paragraph (p. 201), with the question, can research in international relations produce such hypotheses or, if it can, in what areas? He also assumes that international relations is a discrete field, a discipline that can mount an adequate paradigm. But that issue must be addressed too, as he himself briefly hints at the end of his book when he says that perhaps the field should be more interdisciplinary and “incorporate more general political science theory and research . . . take a more general definition of politics” (p. 223). One hopes that Vasquez will follow up this insight in his continuing contribution to the analysis of international relations.

Although there will be disputes over the author’s

evaluative procedures—we see the sausage machine at work but not the sausages—and the way he defines the realist approach, this is an important book, for it shows that much of the quantifying and behavioral work that has been done in the area of international relations over the past three decades has failed to pass its own standards or to meet its own goals. As the author indicates, it is time to rethink the whole enterprise.

WILLIAM J. NEWMAN  
Boston University

FRANK E. MANUEL. *The Changing of the Gods*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Brown University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 202. \$18.00.

This book consists of seven essays, revisions of previously published work, all concerned in one way or another with religious belief in the Enlightenment and, more particularly, with the way attitudes toward and conceptions of the gods of Judaism and Christianity changed in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first essay examines the attempts of three believing men of science—Kepler the Lutheran, Galileo the Catholic, and Newton the Anglican—to reconcile the Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture as two sources revelatory of a single divine truth, this despite a mounting conviction that the Book of Nature was really the more trustworthy. The second, interpreting deism as a peculiarly English heresy for which there was ample room in the accommodating Anglican Church of the Restoration, traces the way its exponents projected their religious problems and solutions on classical antiquity, in effect converting pagan philosophers *ex post facto* to rational Christianity. The third shows how some Enlightenment thinkers, by-passing such traditional concerns as the validity of the arguments of natural theology, turned to the study of religious practice and belief as natural phenomena, an approach that, besides virtually inventing psychology of religion, seriously undermined belief by almost universally finding its origins in fear.

In the fourth essay, some of the underlying principles of Gibbon’s *History* are laid out: for example, its author’s willingness to project Humean moral values on history at large; his emphasis on periodization as a tool of historical understanding despite his suspicion of overarching teleologies; his insistence on the revelatory significance of detail while denying that large events can have small causes. In the fifth essay is explored Christian society’s reappraisal of the ancient God of the Jews in response to the continued existence of Judaism in a culture that was beginning to lose its grip on traditional conceptions of the latter’s theological and historical role.

The sixth essay presents Herder's providential philosophy of history as a rather successful attempt to rescue Christianity, suitably reinterpreted as a religion of the heart, from some of the more extreme criticisms of the philosophes, although in the end weakening it in another way. The seventh, mainly with reference to some minor writers, illustrates the way the Christian triad of Paradise-Fall-Redemption persisted in the secularized utopian thought of the late Enlightenment and after.

The book will disappoint unless two limitations of scope imposed by its author are kept in mind. Its purpose, he makes it plain, is not argument, not even really analysis: it is illustration of diverse strands of Enlightenment thought and discursive reflection on them. Nor is any eventual synthesis intended: just piecemeal exposition and comparison of certain ideas of selected thinkers, often acknowledged to be in tension with each other. Within these parameters one can only admire the effortless mastery of the material, the grace and lucidity of the writing, the many insightful comments and the perceptive parallels drawn. The essay distinguishing three typical ways of coming to terms with Judaism in the eighteenth century—rejection as rationally irrelevant, castigation as all too relevant, and sentimental reinterpretation—is especially illuminating.

WILLIAM H. DRAY  
University of Ottawa

DOMINICK LACAPRA. *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. 350. Cloth \$29.50, paper \$14.95.

Intellectual history in the United States has been in ferment for over a decade. The powerful impact of ideas and examples from France and Germany; the critical and analytic work of Hayden White and others; the appeal of psychoanalysis, Marxism, and structural formalism to historians; and the challenge from a powerful social history establishment have created a sense of bewilderment in some intellectual historians. Dominick LaCapra has confronted this situation squarely and has posed the problem and his vision of a solution most powerfully in this collection of essays.

LaCapra's criticism of traditional intellectual historical practice is harsh. The synoptic content analysis that is the basis of most intellectual history offers reductive readings of the complex texts that are at the center of LaCapra's vision. In LaCapra's view, historians too often accept as solutions what should be problems, presenting unified, unnuanced discussions "fixated at a popularizing and introductory level of analysis" (p. 343). Worse, intellectual historians may avoid major thinkers and complex texts

altogether, considering them "unrepresentative," and thus of limited usefulness to an agenda set by social historians.

LaCapra suggests that "in a sense, historians are professionally trained not to read" (p. 339); certainly, they are distrustful of those powerful and radical forms of reading defined by modern philosophy and literary criticism and exemplified for LaCapra by Jacques Derrida and Martin Heidegger. This modern notion of reading stresses the loss of absolute control over language and the existence within texts of double-voiced, self-contesting conflicts that call into question the unity and identity of the "sense" of that text, of the author's *oeuvre* and life, and of the notion of context itself. LaCapra writes of the "carnivalization" within texts, using the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin to describe the ways in which internal "dialogization" creates activity within texts that undermines the authority of the contending voices, "insert[s] the public square into language use itself" (p. 313), and forms the essence of a practical dialectic.

LaCapra offers vigorous examples of such dialogical, carnivalized readings in his chapters on a variety of classical and contemporary thinkers, such as White, Jürgen Habermas, Paul Ricoeur, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Jean-Paul Sartre, Bakhtin, and Karl Marx. The four chapters on Marx, in particular, envision the possibility of a new, different Marxism, neither Hegelian nor positivist, in which Marx's language may serve as a model of what he means by "living labor" in all its "destructive-regenerative ambivalence" (p. 289), and in which works like *Capital* may be read for the richness of their double-voicing and self-contestation.

LaCapra's charges merit consideration from all intellectual historians; his radical and demanding methodological suggestions will surely stimulate the sort of polemical discussion that he wants. But LaCapra sees the issue as a broader one than the future of intellectual history; his fear is that the historical profession itself may be stripped of its intellectual authority by the domination of a sophisticated social history that LaCapra sees as elitist, unself-critical, and tending to scapegoat critical intellectuals "when it fosters assertions that reduce certain texts to representative, illustrative, or symptomatic functions" (p. 344). If this occurs, and if the critical discussion of the great and complex master-texts migrates to departments of philosophy and comparative literature, history will be an impoverished, dessicated field.

HANS KELLNER  
Michigan State University

MARIE MARMO MULLANEY. *Revolutionary Women: Gender and the Socialist Revolutionary Role*. (Praeger Scien-



tific; Praeger Special Studies.) New York: Praeger. 1983. Pp. x, 401.

Is there such a thing as a female "revolutionary personality," and, if there is, in what ways does it differ from the "male" model? In this book, Marie Marmo Mullaney sets out to demonstrate that the classic model of the revolutionary personality, whatever its other merits, is fundamentally flawed by "sexist bias" (p. 3). Using as case studies the lives of five women—Eleanor Marx, Alexandra Kollontai, Rosa Luxemburg, Angelica Balabanoff, and Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria)—the author seeks to develop an alternative prototype: the revolutionary woman. Motivated by a "craving for freedom and independence" (p. 249) and by moral fervor and humanism (in contrast to male egoism), women take up the revolutionary cause. As activists, women tend to be self-sacrificing and self-effacing. They share a "common hostility to power politics" (p. 252), preferring to defer to the will of the "masses"; when they do fill positions of authority, it is in egalitarian ways. Because women occupy a different place than men do in private life, they enter the public world with different attitudes and expectations and adopt different modes of action. In the revolutionary movement, women's personal experiences also differ from men's. The five women here suffered in ways specific to their gender: not one succeeded in integrating her personal life and her political commitment satisfactorily, and each (even, late in life, the adored Ibarruri) encountered hostility and antagonism from male colleagues. Not one was ever fully accepted as a comrade, as an equal, as a person.

Yet, for all the similarities, and despite the fact that all espoused some version of Marxist socialism, these five women remain distinct individuals, acting very differently in very diverse circumstances. The selection of such different women is the book's strength and at the same time its weakness. It is a strength because it enables Mullaney to address an enormous gap in the literature and to transcend cultural and national (although perhaps not Marxist) particularities to point to larger commonalities. But the approach is problematic. These five brief biographies try to cover too much ground and so fail either to do full justice to the social, cultural, and psychological aspects of the women's political development or to explain fully the trajectory of their revolutionary careers. The author's explanations of why her heroines achieved no real authority in the movements they joined are at times one-sided—too uncritical of the women and unfairly critical of the movements. And, although the biographies are well researched, readable, and might usefully serve undergraduates as an introduction to the subject, they are not equally well executed. The section treating Eleanor Marx, in particular, is rather heavy-handed.

The flaws of the book are at least partly the consequence of its ambition. In her introduction, the author asserts: "No study, before this one, has ever examined the key question of how gender itself affected women's revolutionary participation" (p. 2), and, although I am tempted to quibble with such an unequivocal assertion, essentially it is correct. Given the immensity of such an undertaking, it is no wonder that the author's reach occasionally exceeds her grasp. Nevertheless, this book, especially the attempt to define the "revolutionary woman," makes a valuable contribution to the growing field of women's history. Although subsequent research will undoubtedly modify and deepen the model Mullaney delineates, her book will surely provide a stimulus to that research. Moreover, true to the author's purpose, this book should make all believers in the model of the "revolutionary personality" rethink their assumptions.

BARBARA ALPERN ENGEL  
University of Colorado

DONALD R. HOPKINS. *Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History*. Foreword by GEORGE I. LYTHCOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 380.

In October 1977 the last naturally occurring case of smallpox anywhere in the world was discovered in Somalia. The eradication of this disease is one of the greatest achievements of modern public health. This book helps us to understand the magnitude of that victory.

After briefly discussing modern knowledge of the *Variola* viruses and speculating on their probable origin, the author presents evidence for the existence of smallpox in the pre-Christian era in Egypt, Greece, China, and India. He outlines the introduction, spread, and effects of smallpox; efforts to combat it; and its eventual decline and eradication in each major geographic region of the world. Although first established and most persistent in areas with large concentrated populations living in poverty, it has brought death and anguish to untold millions in every part of the globe.

The author pays especial attention to the effect of smallpox on ruling dynasties, because more is known about these cases, such patients usually received the best available treatment, and the effect on history, in his view, was often significant. Consider King William III of England: his father, mother, and wife (Mary II) all died of smallpox, as did the only child of his successor (Queen Anne) to survive infancy. Hence the Hanoverian succession. Crucial dynastic effects of smallpox are reported from every continent. Also set forth, with statistics when available, is the broader impact of smallpox on battles,

sieges, and whole populations, notably the American Indians.

The introduction of vaccination by Edward Jenner in 1798 brought the promise of eliminating this scourge. The author follows the progress first of inoculation, then of vaccination. Cultural and technological factors often hampered its use, even in highly developed countries, well into the present century. In 1925 the United States had more reported cases of smallpox (43,193) than any other country except India, although some others undoubtedly had many more that were unreported. Fortunately the great majority in this country were *Variola minor*, with a case fatality rate of less than 1 percent, far below the classic *Variola major* that prevailed in Asia. The major world center remained the Indian subcontinent. As late as 1975 an explosive outbreak in Bihar caused some 127,000 cases with thousands of deaths. Two years later it was over, there and everywhere, except in the laboratory. For the full account of the eradication campaign we must await the volume being prepared by Dr. Frank Fenner and his colleagues for the World Health Organization.

Covering the entire globe throughout human history, Hopkins necessarily relies heavily on secondary literature from medical and general history. His accounts are most complete for England and the United States, about which much has been written, but this portion adds little. The author's major contribution is to bring this together with much more widely scattered material from other continents to form a unified whole. The work is somewhat spotty: much historical analysis remains to be done. Specialists may quibble about some details and the sometimes uncritical use of sources, most of them in English. But the book remains a valuable synthesis setting forth the devastating impact of this fearful disease on mankind.

JOHN B. BLAKE  
National Library of Medicine

JACK GOODY. *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. (Past and Present.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 308. \$39.50.

In recent years, quite a few books and articles have been published on the European family and marriage. Jack Goody has taken advantage of these to write *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. His aim is to compare European with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern aspects of culture, primarily because his own field of research is West Africa. He tries to look at these ideologies not from the present but from the past, because he feels that around A.D. 300 a change took place in Roman

kinship and marriage and, as a result of this transformation, we can discern two differing civilizations.

The chief distinction between the two Mediterranean cultures (or, to take the definition from P. Guichard's work, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane* [1977]), is in the marriage system. In lands where Islam reigned, marriages were primarily endogamous. Frequently a marriage was concluded between the father's brother and a niece to keep patrimony intact, stress kinship cohesiveness, and retain the wife and children as property of the father. In Christendom, exogamous marriages predominated and an incestuous marriage required ecclesiastical dispensation. Uncle and niece, and first cousins, to mention the most obvious relations, could not obtain a license.

The first document clearly stating this point is Bede's *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People*, where Pope Gregory's letter prohibits the marriage of "a son and daughter of a brother or sister." Marriage to a stepmother and to a sister-in-law is forbidden for the same reason, namely, that children born of these marriages would not be healthy. Divorce remained outlawed until the Reformation and adoption was barred until modern times.

Certainly in the Old Testament there was no prohibition of marriage between cousins, and the Christian Roman emperors were wavering on the issue, but ecclesiastical authority was firm on its ban. Widows could marry in the West, but, if they were wealthy, we find they might more often establish monasteries. Concubines were outlawed by the church, which wanted to have the lay family's wealth concentrated on legitimate children and did not want its property dissipated by children of the clergy.

The church changed the manner of determining consanguinity by substituting German methods of computation for the Roman procedures. The situation was further aggravated by marriage prohibitions based on affinity and spiritual kinship. By insisting on the consent of the couple as opposed to the acquiescence of the parents, the church turned the basis of marriage toward personal affection and away from economic considerations. As a result of this trend, long-range plans for retaining the ownership of property in family hands became less effective and more land eventually was left to the church.

Opposition to ecclesiastical rules concerning marriage and kinship ties led to criticism of the church even before the Protestant Reformation. The heresies tended to be linked with rules about ecclesiastical property. But the Reformation in England abolished the holding of property by monasteries. In Germany, ecclesiastical lands were distributed among the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Marriage rules were revised to be in conformity with the Old

Testament; marriages between cousins were again permitted. The contrast between the secular and ecclesiastical form of marriage and primogeniture, cousin marriages in peasant France in the nineteenth century, and godparenthood and virginity occupy the last sections of the work.

The main points of Goody's thesis are without question good, but there are several important items that stand refutation. Perhaps this is because the work covers such a wide time span. A more thorough examination of early medieval history would have brought out the difference between *dos*, *morgengabe*, dowry, dower, and inheritance. In the Merovingian kingdom women were married under two different kinds of laws; those who came from Germanic marriages received a *dos*, a bridegift from the husband, and also a morning gift after the night of the wedding. The family gave the girl only the *malahareda*, the movables with which she could set up a household. It is also possible that she made a gift to her husband of weapons and a horse. If she was of Roman origin, she obtained from her family land that normally was her inheritance. Under the Germanic system she was to inherit only if she did not have a brother; hence it was important in case she became a widow that she was also given a dower, a part of the husband's estate that usually she could not alienate.

The *dos* tended to be absorbed by the dower by the time of the Carolingians. From the latter part of the ninth century until the second half of the twelfth century, the kings and the great nobles treated marriage and divorce as they wished. Only then did they try to make an adjustment to the ecclesiastical norms of marriage, as is apparent from Georges Duby's books, *Medieval Marriage* (1978) and *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest* (1983), and from an article by Diana Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," *Journal of Family History* 3 (1978), which the author cites but does not heed.

There are inaccuracies in the book as well. The *morgengabe*, for example, was the main gift a *Friedelfrau* received from her *Friedelmann* in the early Middle Ages. Moreover, polygyny was practiced at least among the Merovingian royalty in early medieval times. Witchcraft became a specifically female sin only in the Carolingian age, when the position of the married couple became protected from the former concubine, who was called a witch. Agnatic lineage on the Continent, especially after Merovingian times, was the claim of a seigneur.

In sum, the book is marred by too many careless mistakes. This is unfortunate for the work could have been one of the great synthesizers of the Middle Ages.

SUZANNE F. WEMPLE  
Barnard College

DAVID GRIGG. *The Dynamics of Agricultural Change: The Historical Experience*. New York: St. Martin's. 1982. Pp. 260. \$26.00.

A good deal of attention is given to new ideas in the technique of historic research. Students are frequently counseled to learn statistics, the use of a computer program, a new language, or perhaps the jargon of a sister discipline. All of these tools are useful when they are needed and hurdles to jump when there is no immediate application. Less often proposed are surveys on new historical ideas that may illuminate a particular branch of historical thinking. And yet, with the profession larger than ever before, changes in ideas have come so rapidly in recent years that only the most dedicated professional can even pretend to keep up. For that reason, anyone who works in the area of agriculture and land-use history will welcome David Grigg's new book and, in addition to reading it and using it, will surely recommend it to graduate students anxious for materials to help them become better practitioners.

What Grigg has done, to quote his words, is "to provide a systematic historic geography" of agriculture. With only a few exceptions this book surveys the ideas of agricultural history in this century and relates these ideas to others in history generally. Most of the omissions come from the United States and frequently are in areas that are less well known at present. For instance, there is no mention of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* and its profound impact on land-use theory. The "History of the Frontier" series begun by Ray Billington and recently appearing from the University of New Mexico press should have been discussed (especially the recent volumes), and there is not much attention to the recent widespread use of small farmer diaries to illuminate such ideas as the persistence of small farming, market gardening, and the concept of the year-round harvest in northern climates. Dutiful readers of the professional journals in agricultural history in the U.S. and Britain would be aware of these matters, however, with the possible exception of the *Domesday Book*, which needs attention again by scholars.

These are small matters compared to what Grigg does provide, however. Using thirty tables and thirty-three figures, Grigg surveys and analyzes the last fifty years of research and theoretical considerations in the areas of population impacts (especially good on Ester Boserup and her impact) and environmental change, with good sections on prices and different cropping systems, and a short but densely packed chapter on climatic change and variability. It is too bad that the book was finished before the major summary volume in this area was produced (T. Wigley, et al., *Climates and History* [1981]). Other

areas discussed in the book are industrialization (with its offshoot, peasant societies) and transport theory and analysis. The fourth section of the book deals with the pace of change, with provocative remarks on how such matters are measured, and, although Grigg does not discuss the idea that these results may be conditioned by the location of the observer, he does provide a good analysis of the impact of Slicher Von Baath and his followers. The last section of the work deals with class, region, the impact of revolution, and the impact of frontier theories on this sort of history. This is an exemplary book that will become a major source of information for beginners in this area and will serve older professionals well in summarizing and placing their own views in context. The book contains twenty-five pages of references to the works cited and reprints just about all the important figures and models used by the originators to explicate their work.

For that is what this book really is: a history and explication of the various models developed to understand agricultural change. And, as long as the reader understands that models, not people, are under discussion, the book succeeds. What the reader will have to do, perhaps, is add the people who do the planning, plowing, seeding, weeding, harvesting, and selling, and especially the reader must make this addition within the human activities of marriage, procreation, birth, sickness, personal triumph and trauma, and ultimately death. Farmers plant for the season but also for the decade, the lifetime, and ultimately for the species. Most historical analysis could benefit from remembering these simple facts. This is a good and useful book that should be read, as readers will profit.

DAVID C. SMITH  
University of Maine,  
Orono

CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE. *The Montgolfier Brothers and the Invention of Aviation, 1783–1784: With a Word on the Importance of Ballooning for the Science of Heat and the Art of Building Railroads*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 210. \$35.00.

Charles Coulston Gillispie has presented us with the best account to date of the role played by Joseph and Etienne Montgolfier in the invention of the balloon. Drawing on a rich and untapped collection of letters and other original materials surviving in the Montgolfier family archive, he succeeds in bringing the brothers, the members of their extended family, and their world to life.

The book is a very carefully focused and detailed chronicle of the Montgolfiers' rise to fame, if not fortune. Etienne was the well-educated younger son charged with the operation of the family business, a

paper manufacturing facility in the provincial market and industrial town of Annonay. Joseph, his elder brother, was self-educated, incredibly absent-minded, and a failure at business. Yet it was Joseph, not Etienne, who conceived and built the first small, unmanned balloons that would immortalize the family name.

The reader is introduced to the other characters in the drama of early aeronautics—rival balloon builder, J. A. C. Charles; the first aeronauts, Pilatre de Rozier and the Marquis D'Arlandes; and the aerial showman, J. P. F. Blanchard—but the Montgolfiers themselves remain so firmly in command of center stage that the volume is much more a joint biography than a history of early ballooning. The author does step away from his central characters to provide a useful and interesting discussion of the response of French academicians, particularly J. B. Meusnier de la Place, to the invention of the balloon. An attempt to link the work of nineteenth-century bridge and engine builder Marc Seguin to that of his famous Montgolfier uncles is less successful.

The great strength of the book is to be found in the enormous amount of detail provided in the text. We learn, for example, that Etienne Montgolfier was the first human being to fly, venturing aloft from the Reveillon Gardens in Paris several days before de Rozier began his series of much better publicized test ascents. The detailed statements of cost and the frequent reference to hitherto unknown correspondence flowing between the bulk of the Montgolfier family in Annonay and the brothers in Paris and Lyons are important additions to our knowledge of the events surrounding the birth of flight.

Occasionally Gillispie gets a detail wrong. For example, he has Benjamin Franklin offering his famous epigram comparing the balloon to a newborn babe at the Montgolfier launch of November 21, 1783, rather than at the Charles flight of August 27, as was actually the case. The author's use of the word aviation in the title is also a bit jarring. Aviation refers only to heavier-than-air flight, not ballooning.

But these are minor faults in a very good book. The volume is well designed and profusely illustrated, including eleven color plates. The annotations and bibliography are among the best guides available to the literature of the subject.

TOM D. CROUCH  
Smithsonian Institution

DAVID S. LANDES. *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 482. \$20.00.

*Revolution in Time* is a pioneering study that explores the history of attitudes toward the passage of time,



offers a fresh synthesis of the development of timekeeping technology, and analyzes the economic history of the clock and watch industry. Its several audiences—general readers and social, intellectual, and economic historians, in addition to historians of technology and horologists—may not savor all parts of this wide-ranging work equally, but all will be stimulated by David S. Landes's imaginative and witty investigation of subjects that, though seldom treated by historians, are of fundamental importance for understanding Western history in a global context. *Revolution in Time* is a brilliant achievement.

The first section, "Finding Time," is the shortest (67 pp.), most speculative part of the book. Here Landes compares timekeeping in China and Europe in an attempt to explain why Chinese technology, once in the vanguard, ultimately languished, in contrast to the later progressive development of Western clock technology. Calling on the writings of other scholars, Landes challenges the Sinophilic conclusions of Joseph Needham and offers his own cultural explanation of why accurate time measurement became a utility in Europe whereas the value of precise timekeeping was chiefly symbolic for imperial China, an ornament of power and prestige. Although his argument is persuasive, too little is currently known about time measurement and its social context in both ancient China and medieval Europe to make Landes's analysis conclusive. What seems certain, however, is that the progressive development of time-measurement technology in the West, though unique, was not inevitable.

If the ebb and flow of entire cultures is the theme of the first portion of the book, the second part, "Keeping Time" (104 pp.), charts the ebb and flow of mechanical inventions in late medieval and early modern Europe. Here the author treats the interaction of craftsmen-scientists and their clientele, first in one country, then another, as innovations cumulatively mounted to the point where accurate, reliable timepieces became integral to the social and economic landscape of western and central Europe. The story unfolds in a somewhat anecdotal, episodic way, partly because individual achievements played such major roles, but also owing to the available body of scholarship, which is uneven in coverage and quality. Landes has the further challenge of explaining the nature and significance of each technical advance in ways that will be comprehensible to general readers without so oversimplifying as to dismay horologists and historians of technology. His solution, which preserves the vitality of the narrative, is to avoid lingering over technical descriptions and to provide instead an appendix of annotated drawings of key mechanisms. In addition, a generous selection of carefully chosen color and black-and-white photographs illustrate the text, furnishing a vivid sense of the timepieces as the cultural

artifacts whose invention, fabrication, and sale the author discusses.

Innovation, Landes shows, resulted not only from individual genius but also from a continuing multinational competition in which Europe's scientific aristocracy and its master artisans, as well as government subventions and prizes, combined with the luxury market to shape the history of time-measurement technology. Advances came from Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, France, and England, from Catholics and Protestants, from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Perhaps because the English possessed the largest interest in marine chronometry and the most commercially oriented elite, the island "nation of shopkeepers" also became the preeminent nation of timekeepers by the eighteenth century.

This theme of a dynamic international competition is most fully developed in the third and final section of the book, "Making Time" (171 pp.). Here Landes the economic historian employs the watch and clock industry as a "laboratory for the study of the human (entrepreneurial and labor) factor in industrial achievement" (p. 13). English businessmen and artisans were complacent, tradition-bound, and enjoyed a large and growing domestic market in the first half of the nineteenth century. They rested on their reputation while an extraordinarily competitive, aggressive, and imaginative array of Swiss artisans and merchants, who were free of the guildsman's rules and mentality, developed a cottage and small-shop industry that undercut English overseas sales and eventually made inroads in the British home market. Later, in the final decades of the nineteenth century, American machine-made watches set a new standard of mass-production excellence, effectively challenging the Swiss. In contrast to the British, who finally saw their industry languish as journeymen watchmakers became impoverished in a losing competition with machines, the leaders of the Swiss cartel persisted, resolving to emulate and excel Yankee ingenuity. Within a generation they succeeded; Landes's biting account of the demise of the largest American producer, the Waltham Watch Company, is an indictment of banker management, where research and development and the modernization of machinery were sacrificed to milk the company's resources. Historical lessons pertinent to our own time are implicit in Landes's account.

Landes believes that today the remarkable hegemony that the Swiss enjoyed for over a century is finished. Microchip technology has rendered obsolete the mechanical watches on which Swiss success was founded. In the tiny luxury market Swiss products remain preeminent, but Japanese producers have seized a dominant place in the lucrative mass market. Landes concludes his discussion of the



contemporary industry by noting that Hong Kong, where capitalists from east and west exploit the new technology with cheap labor, "is now the leading exporter of watches in the world" (p. 359) and that a still more advanced technology may soon be inserted into a still cheaper labor site than Hong Kong. The conditions for Swiss achievement, wherein a highly skilled labor force was required to utilize the latest technology, no longer apply.

*Revolution in Time* is a labor of love. Never turgid or pretentious, within it the author of the now classic *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in the Western World from 1750 to the Present* (1969) reveals a humor and intellectual playfulness that is both pleasing and provocative. Historians of many fields will find much of interest in this remarkably penetrating essay in comparative history. Landes makes no claim to having said the last word; indeed, on many topics he may be saying the first word. For these reasons *Revolution in Time* is a landmark among studies of Western economic and cultural history.

RICHARD D. BROWN  
University of Connecticut

## ANCIENT

JOHN BOARDMAN *et al.*, editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 3, part 1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.* 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. xx, 1059. \$79.50.

By any standards common in the field, *The Cambridge Ancient History* is a major work of reference—in fact, as far as ancient Near Eastern history is concerned, it is certainly the major work available at present. Two volumes of the second edition have appeared for a total of almost 4000 pages, and the current volume adds some additional 1080 pages to that figure. These are fact-filled pages, generally quite readable in style and well structured in terms of chapter subdivisions and indexes, so as to provide easy access to the more minute levels of information. A new departure in this volume is the inclusion of the Balkans. As a natural neighbor and partner of both the Aegean and the northern sector of the Near East (Turkey, the Caucasus, northwestern Iran), the Balkan area is indeed pertinent in terms of overall developmental patterns. In this volume the Balkans are treated quite independently of the Near East, in line with the overall design of the work.

This design calls for a detailed presentation of

each area in and of itself, without any specific interest in the interconnections between areas. Rather than "Ancient History," this is indeed a collection of "Ancient Histories," more encyclopedic and atomistic than integrated. To some extent, this is simply a matter of the editorial orientation of John Boardman and his fellow editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History* is meant to provide information on matters of detail, while the presentation of historical trends and problems is left in the background. But in a way the series is also a good monitor of the historical mentality that prevails in the discipline, a mentality geared toward a diligent collection of data, sorted in as accurate a chronological sequence as possible. It is a bit as if a linguist simply asked an informant to talk, and dutifully recorded each utterance without, however, asking any leading questions. There is, in other words, an emphasis on fact-finding rather than on seeking meaningful associations, a clustering of obvious categories rather than a search for hidden patterns, an insistence on direct sequentiality rather than on structured interconnections.

But we can readily accept the limits set forth by *The Cambridge Ancient History*, since within those parameters the authors have done such an excellent job. Yet precisely within these limits, we must take issue with one major point of editorial preference. Even if the work is accepted as a kaleidoscope of ancient histories, we must question the overall balance of the particular histories chosen. This particular volume includes 232 pages on the prehistory of the Balkans, 200 pages on the early history of the Balkans and the Aegean, 342 pages on the Near East including Cyprus in the early first millennium, and 80 pages on the history of alphabetic writing. This means that there are some major omissions indeed: the Caucasus is not included, for instance, and nothing comparable to alphabetic writing is given (either in this or in earlier volumes) for the cuneiform or the hieroglyphic writing systems. Yet both of these topics are of essential importance for the overall economy of the work. What is more, writing is singled out as a specific topic of special importance, but nothing comparable is accorded to broader issues of technology.

So then the great Cambridge series is not just "Ancient Histories," but rather "Some Ancient Histories." Nor is this just a minor quibble with a title. Given the prestige of the work, and the unified editorial garb in which it is presented, significant omissions acquire significant weight. It is not that I advocate cutting off parts of the work in order to give equal time to areas and topics that well deserve it. Rather, if publishing policies dictate certain limitations on space, then a more committed editorial introduction should be given. As it is, the short introduction is primarily of an organizational rather than a conceptual nature.

As in volume 2, there is a clear double standard applied to archaeology: it is accepted in full for the periods for which material culture is the only source of information available, but it takes second place at best by the time written sources become available. If so much can be made of archaeology before the beginning of writing, why can only so little be made of it afterwards? One gets the impression at times that material culture all but vanished in certain periods: if ceramic typology is so important in one period to justify long lists of site names and typological attributes, why does it lose all interest to the historian in another period? I am of course aware of the simplistic answer that can be given: if so much can be obtained from the written sources, why bother with the rest? Such an answer really misses the point. The material given for the prehistoric periods is most often quite heterogeneous to the issues asked for the historical periods: often the chapters that are archaeologically oriented do not in fact pose, much less answer, historical questions, they only show that we have much information about a given area or period. There are few chapters that really integrate the archaeological information into a historical framework (one such chapter is the one on Albania)—otherwise they are but catalogues of information about areas and periods. Again, I would not want to bemoan the wealth of information that is made available. But I do bemoan the double standard used that creates a confusing conceptual picture.

One matter of detail. In a work that deals at the same time with the Near East and with the Balkans, one misses very sorely a thorough discussion of the Tartaria tablets, which are of such major importance for the possible connection between the two worlds. Brief mention on pages 84 and 126 is quite inadequate.

It is worth noting that the new format of the bibliography (especially the chapter headings) is much preferable to that adopted in the first two volumes of the second edition.

Finally, I wish to note that the criticisms advanced here are as much a commentary on the discipline as on the book itself. It is somewhat like the converse of the mirror on the wall in *Snow White's* story. *The Cambridge Ancient History* reflects only what is at hand, it does not of its own generate new domains of thought, it does not point, beyond the reflection of current standards, to a more promising line of research.

GIORGIO BUCCELLATI  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

EHSAN YARSHATER, editor. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Volume 3, *The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian*

*Periods*. In two parts. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. lxxv, 624; 627–1488. \$74.50 each.

The two-part, third volume of *The Cambridge History of Iran*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater, is now our most important reference dealing with Iranian history in the millennium of the Seleucids, the Parthians, and the Sasanids. These centuries involved constant conflicts with the Romans and the Byzantines in the west and recurring invasions by nomads from Central Asia in the east.

The thirty-seven chapters written by leading international Iranologists are divided into nine sections: political history, numismatics, Iranian historical tradition, Iran and its neighbors, institutions, religious history, art history, language and literature, and bibliography. The editor provides an introductory overview (pp. xvii–lxxv) and helpful cross references throughout. The work is richly supplied with plates, especially of coins. The interspersed appendixes listing kings should have been indicated in the table of contents.

It is inevitable that a work of this magnitude will have considerable time lags between the writing and publication of the various essays. The editor informs us: "Whereas some chapters were received as late as 1980 a few were written in the early seventies and the majority in the middle seventies" (p. xv). Carsten Colpe's chapter was completed in 1970; titles from 1970 to 1977 were added to the bibliography but were *not* used (p. 819). Alas, a number of authors did not live to see their contributions in print, including the late Otto Kurz, J. P. de Menasce, and Daniel Schlumberger. The latter's chapter on "Parthian Art" had been written in 1965–66.

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C. his generals seized different segments of his empire. Seleucus obtained the lion's share of the territories, including Iran and Mesopotamia. His successors constantly fought both external and internal enemies: "Of fourteen Seleucids who reigned between 312 and 129 B.C. only two died in bed" (E. Bickerman, p. 10). Mesopotamia was eventually lost to the Parthians in 141 (Yarshater, p. xviii) or 144 B.C. (W. Eilers, p. 483).

About 250 B.C. the Parni tribe from Transoxiana invaded Parthia, the area southeast of the Caspian Sea. Later known as the Parthians or Arsacids, after Arsaces I the founder of the dynasty in 247, they were to rule Iran for five centuries. The Parthians became the Romans' most formidable foe as the debacle at Carrhae in 53 B.C. demonstrated. From the Iranian background we may understand Crassus's invasion not just as a vain attempt to garner glory but as a move to support a candidate for the Parthian throne (A. D. H. Bivar, pp. 48–50).

The new Sasanian dynast was established by Ardashir I, who overthrew his Arsacid overlord in A.D.

224. The Sasanians, whose homeland was the province of Fars—the ancient Achaemenid homeland—aggressively fought the Romans and Byzantines. Shapur I proudly depicted his capture of the emperor Valerian in 259 on rock reliefs; Julian the “Apostate” lost his life in 363 campaigning against the Sasanids. Whereas the religious orientation of the Parthians was syncretistic, the Sasanids adopted an intolerant Zoroastrianism as their state religion. The last Sasanid king was defeated by the Muslims in 651, only a few years after the Sasanids themselves had ravaged Jerusalem in 614.

Although we have sources in a bewildering range of languages (Greek, Latin, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic, Arabic, and so forth), they are often quite unsatisfactory for the reconstruction of a coherent and reliable history. The classical sources were simply concerned with Rome’s military clashes with her eastern adversary. In contrast to their pagan Hellenistic predecessors, the Byzantines showed little interest in Zoroastrianism. David M. Lang notes, “The Sasanians destroyed most of the official records of the Parthians; the Arabs destroyed most of the archives of the Sasanian kings” (p. 529).

As stressed by many authors our lack of contemporary evidence is most acute for the Parthian era: “In fact, not a single book survives from pre-Islamic Iran” (Yarshater, p. xx); “No Parthian literature survives from the Parthian period in its original form” (M. Boyce, p. 1151). We have the inscription of but a single Parthian king, Gōtarz (ca. 90 B.C.).

For the Sasanid period we have the important inscriptions of Shāpūr I (A.D. 240–70) and those of the Zoroastrian high priest and opponent of Mani, whose name is variously spelled by different scholars as Kartēr, Kartīr, or Kirdīr. Other Sasanian Middle Persian (or Pahlavi) inscriptions are either unpublished or inadequately published (P. Gignoux, p. 1205).

Without primary documentation, on what do historians base their reconstructions of Parthian and Sasanid kings and rulers of peripheral areas such as Bactria, which became independent about 250 B.C.? To an extraordinary degree scholars are dependent on the evidence of coins. Complicating the use of Parthian coins is the fact that in a majority of cases the king is merely designated by the throne name, Arsaces, rather than by his personal name. Happily for the Sasanian period each of the thirty kings wore distinctive crowns.

Given the scarcity of the sources and the difficulty of their interpretation it is not surprising that scholars disagree as to whether Shapur I was crowned in 243 or 240 (R. N. Frye, p. 119). Still unsettled is the date of the first year of the important Kushan king, Kanishka. The choices range from A.D. 78 to 244, with Bivar favoring 128 (pp. 201, 954) and Colpe 231 (p. 848).

The obscurity of our periods has from time to

time been illuminated by the discovery of important sites and texts. We now have thirty-nine inscriptions from Asoka, the Buddhist “Constantine” of India (268 B.C.), including a bilingual Greek and Aramaic text found in 1958 and a Greek inscription recovered in 1963 at Qandahār in Afghanistan. These support the king’s claim that he sent Buddhist missionaries to the west (R. E. Emmerick, p. 950).

Prior to 1964 our only evidence for the Hellenistic kingdom of Bactria (250–100 B.C.) consisted of coins. Then in 1965–66 the site of Aī Khanum on the Oxus River was excavated, yielding spectacular Hellenistic remains, including a gymnasium, a theater, sculptures, and texts (Schlumberger, pp. 1032–37). This discovery confirmed the view of those art historians who believed that the Buddhist Gandharan sculptures were influenced by Hellenistic rather than Roman models.

Soviet scholars have been publishing some of the three thousand Parthian ostraca found at Nisā in southern Turkmenistan. Dated from 100 to 29 B.C., these prosaic records of the delivery of wine confirm the historicity of the first Arsaces (Bivar, pp. 30–31) and document the oldest use of the Zoroastrian calendar (Boyce, p. 1152).

The dearth of contemporary data forces scholars to rely on conjectures, often from very late sources (Yarshater, p. xxii; G. Widengren, p. 1267). Nowhere is such speculation more evident than in the history of various religious movements. Because of the late and fragmentary nature of the sources the extent of the heretical Zoroastrian movement called Zurvanism is not clear. Colpe (p. 901) believes that Zurvanism was already flourishing in the early Arsacid era, whereas Frye has been sceptical of the elaborate reconstruction of the movement proposed by R. C. Zaehner. Yarshater (p. lxviii) reaffirms the Iranian origins of Mithraism, but recent congresses on Mithraism (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1971; Teheran, 1975) have cast doubt on Franz Cumont’s thesis that Iranian traditions were transmitted west by the Magi and have raised the suspicion that Mithraism was largely a Western development (Kurz, p. 566). Yarshater (p. xlvi) thinks that Gnosticism owed much to Iran, in particular to Zurvanism. G. Widengren had argued that the Syriac Hymn of the Pearl preserved evidence of an Iranian pre-Christian Gnosticism (Boyce, p. 1162; Widengren, pp. 1264, 1382–83), but few scholars support such a thesis today (see “The Iranian Evidence” in my *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* [1973]). The sensational publication of the Cologne Codex on the life of Mani by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in 1970 has conclusively shown that Mani grew up among the Jewish-Christian Elchasaïtes, and not among the Mandaëans as Widengren had earlier argued (Widengren, p. 966).

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI  
Miami University,  
Oxford, Ohio

JON D. MIKALSON. *Athenian Popular Religion*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 172. \$16.00.

This is not a general book on Athenian popular religion. A more precise title would be: *Athenian Popular Religion, 405–323 B.C., As Revealed by Reliable Sources, That Is, Orators, Inscriptions, and Xenophon*. By religion Jon D. Mikalson means religious beliefs. His task here is descriptive. The orators present the bulk of the evidence; the religious beliefs mentioned or alluded to in their speeches must have been acceptable to their audiences. The evidence is grouped under categories that form separate chapters: the gods and human justice, the gods and oaths, divination, and so forth.

The methodology has serious weaknesses. The author not infrequently refers to his "reliable sources" as "the sources." He includes one category of archaeological evidence, inscriptions, but ignores vase paintings, religious sculptures, votive deposits, and the architectural remains of sanctuaries. This large body of evidence, surely reliable, though often wordless, ought to be drawn on for a full view of Athenian beliefs. It is inconsistent to use inscriptions as "illustrations" and at the same time to pass over the rest of the illustrations that we possess.

The author sometimes describes the difference between fifth-century and fourth-century sources as "a difference between poetry and prose." This is misleading, to say the least. By deciding not to use philosophical writings he excluded much fourth-century prose from consideration, which, with care, could have been exploited. What if chance had given us a fourth-century Thucydides instead of Xenophon? He would be excluded from this study as too "intellectual." The implicit criterion for a proper source then is that it must be unintellectual and (largely) nonarchaeological. The assumption (unexpressed) that the majority of Athenians did not allow their religious beliefs to be contaminated by serious thought needs to be addressed.

Another implicit criterion seems to be homogeneity. A speech attributed to Demosthenes that offers an idea found nowhere else "in our sources" (p. 29), is therefore suspect and is described as a "late forgery" or irrelevant.

Another flaw in the method is that the focus on one period is sometimes inappropriate to the relative scarcity and haphazard nature of our evidence. If a belief existed in the fifth century, does not appear in the fourth century, but can be found in Athens in the third, second, or first century, it would usually not be unreasonable to assume its existence for the fourth century as well. But since other centuries are not included in the work's official scope, such a belief will here be presumed not to exist in the fourth century. Thus the author's

conclusions about the nonexistence of particular beliefs in the fourth century are not fully persuasive.

Despite the flaws in method and the resulting necessity for the reader to be constantly on guard against accepting the author's view of the nonexistence of particular beliefs in the fourth century, the work is of value in that it gives us a thorough description of religious beliefs to be found in fourth-century orators and Xenophon. Its most important contribution lies in the first part of the final chapter, which demolishes a current view that popular religion declined appreciably from the fifth century to the fourth.

KEVIN CLINTON  
Cornell University

DAVID COHEN. *Theft in Athenian Law*. (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, number 74.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. x, 138. DM 38.

This Cambridge dissertation is not only an exemplary study of a much-neglected area of substantive Athenian law, but also demonstrates some striking conceptual differences between Athenian and modern systems of law. After preliminary caveats concerning method and evidence (pp. 1–9), such as the dearth of evidence before the fourth century that makes it impossible to trace the development of laws on theft, our very limited knowledge of legal systems outside Athens, and the pitfalls of applying modern terminology and preconceptions of Roman and modern legal systems to the Athenian situation, the first chapter (pp. 10–33) opens by demonstrating that the modern categories of "larceny" (taking goods of another), "embezzlement" (keeping goods entrusted to the agent), and "fraud" (fraudulently inducing another to part with his property) have nothing corresponding to them in Athenian law: Athenian law calls only unlawful taking and embezzlement of public funds *kleptein*; for the misappropriation of loans, deposits, trust funds kept by guardians, bequests, and the like, *aposterein* is used. In short, *aposterein* describes "misappropriation where possession is acquired by consent of the owner and there is a subsequent failure or refusal to return or repay when one is legally obliged to do so" (p. 17); *kleptein* is reserved for involuntary transactions, characterized by wrongful acquisition by force or against the will of the owner. Consequently, only the embezzlement of public funds, not of private trusts, was regarded as theft (*klopē*) in Athens.

The second chapter (pp. 34–92) works out a definition of *klopē* that differentiates it from other kinds of misappropriation. David Cohen handles a



task, made formidable by the lack of even a single oration delivered in a case of *klopē*, by the absence of a clear definition of the offense, and by the frequent indiscriminate use of the term for rhetorical effect, with the care and judiciousness of a seasoned scholar. His results are more persuasive than any offered by earlier scholars. Starting from the perception that Athenian statutes did not define offenses but took a knowledge of a working definition in the minds of the jurors for granted, he arrives, through a close study of Demosthenes 24.96–115, at the conclusion that Athenian law recognized four kinds of “aggravated theft,” characterized by the apprehension of the thief in the act (*ep’ autophōrōi*) and by the imposition of the death penalty on conviction: (a) theft of fifty drachmas or more by day, (b) theft of any value by night, (c) theft of public or private property from public places (for example, *gymnasia*), and (d) theft of ten drachmas or more of public property from harbors; and “simple theft,” which included any possession of stolen or lost property without proof of legitimate acquisition, and was punishable by a twofold penalty if the property was restored but a tenfold penalty when it was not. In short, criminal intent figured only in aggravated cases; in simple cases no distinctions were drawn between deliberate theft, inadvertent appropriation, and appropriation of lost property. Forcible entry into a private home (*toichōrychia*) and forcible stripping of garments in a public place (*lōpodysia*), although conceptually differentiated from *klopē*, were treated like aggravated theft. Cohen argues—rightly, I believe—against the existence of a *graphē klopēs* for the embezzlement of public funds, but believes that procedures of this sort against public officials were treated as part of their *euthynai*. A chapter on the difficulties of defining *hierosylia* (theft of sacred property) (pp. 93–115), and a very perceptive analysis of theft in Plato’s *Laws* to demonstrate the limitations of this work in ascertaining actual Athenian practice (pp. 116–30), conclude the book.

The excellence of this book is seriously marred by (1) poor proofreading, especially of the Greek; (2) the omission of words or phrases from Greek quotations (especially pp. 36, 38), which makes these unintelligible; particularly since (3) no translations are given; (4) consistently wrong cross references to other parts of the book; and (5) sloppiness, which identifies Antiphon as the author of *On the Mysteries* (p. 51) and misspells (pp. 22, 23) works of Aristotle or does not cite them (p. 42 n. 18). Moreover, an attempt to define *kakourgoi* remains a desideratum. Still, anyone who takes the trouble to have the relevant texts by his side in perusing this book will greatly profit from it.

MARTIN OSTWALD  
Swarthmore College and  
University of Pennsylvania

NAPHTALI LEWIS. *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 240. \$24.95.

J. F. DRINKWATER. *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC–AD 260*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 256. \$25.00.

These two recent books discuss life in opposite corners of the Roman empire during roughly the same period of time. The time limits of Naphtali Lewis’s book are 30 B.C. to A.D. 285, but chapter 1, a brief historical survey, begins with the start of Roman-Egyptian relations in 273 B.C. Chapters 2 through 10 treat various aspects of social history—the different legal statuses of the population (chapter 2; hardly any were Roman citizens), the country towns, the peasant villages, religion, agriculture (the mainstay of the economy), trades, liturgies (compulsory services) and taxes, government, and, lastly, the natives’ resentment, which the Roman administration caused with excessive demands for work, grain, and money.

The author’s source material is mainly the papyri, which are almost unique to Egypt and of which about twenty-five thousand of Roman date have been published (see the introduction). Because of them, we have an insight into the details of people’s lives that is unequalled elsewhere in the Roman empire. With this book, Lewis has improved our understanding of life in Roman Egypt considerably over what could have been obtained from the works of J. G. Milne (for example, *Journal of Roman Studies* 17 [1927]: pp. 1–13) and J. G. Winter. Lewis’s writing is masterful in the amount of knowledge displayed and brilliant in the clarity with which complicated subjects are discussed.

The reviewer can suggest improvements in Lewis’s book only in terms of omissions. The lack of a bibliography is disappointing. If there had been a chapter on life in Alexandria, our picture of Roman Egypt would not have been so grim overall. More on the effects of the Edict of Caracalla (with something on Giessen Papyrus, number 40) would have been in order. Besides papyri, a widely spread source material is coins, but Lewis does not tell us much about them. What he says in the glossary (that Roman emperors devalued the drachma in Egypt for fiscal advantage, p. 210) is vague and does not mention that the Alexandrian silver coinage was debased in comparison with that in other provinces.

Although the dust cover calls J. F. Drinkwater’s book “Roman Gaul,” we find out from its proper title that the region meant is its three northern provinces from 58 B.C. to A.D. 260. The author saw this book as the first of a three-volume series, extending at least as far as the fourth century. The most economically disastrous part of the fourth



century was excluded from the present volume, and the most Romanized and wealthy region of ancient France, *Gallia Narbonensis*, was almost completely left out of the series. In fact, Drinkwater was quite right to emphasize the differences between northern and southern Gaul. In chapter 1, however, there is a short survey of Roman relations with and settlement in the south from 154 to 43 B.C.

The first four chapters cover the history of *Gallia Comata* down to 260, the next four treat administration, army and roads, urbanization, and the countryside, while the last two are surveys of the standard of living during the "High Empire" and the third century. When we compare life in *Gallia Comata* and in Roman Egypt, we see that it was much more pleasant in the former, even though *Comata* was less Romanized than *Narbonensis*. We have little written evidence of the level of taxation in northern Gaul, but the archaeological finds indicate prosperity. This leads Drinkwater to believe that the tax-burden there was bearable (chapter 9). In contrast to the Egyptian so-called metropoleis or country towns, the *civitas*-capitals bloomed in *Gallia Comata* (p. 143). We know that the effects of a debased coinage, enlarged landholdings, and increased taxes spread through the empire during the third century, but Drinkwater places these unhappy events after A.D. 260 in northern Gaul (chapter 10). In any case, they did not take place much earlier.

The present reviewer believes that Drinkwater's book is a generally reliable guide to the economic history of *Gallia Comata*. He is excellent on the rise and fall of the new Celtic aristocracy (58 B.C. to A.D. 70, pp. 19–20, 192) and on the legal relationship between *civitas*-capitals and their tribal areas (they covered the same land, pp. 104–05). There are a few lapses: Agrippina was not Claudius's second wife (p. 39), and it is wrong to refer to N. D. Fustel de Coulanges as "F. de Coulange" (pp. 31, 242).

Both Lewis and Drinkwater ask new questions with these books and answer them in a satisfactory way, while making the most recent scholarship known to the reader. Both of these useful and reasonably comprehensive works belong on the shelves of historians who are interested in the provinces of the principate. Because his style of writing is so limpid, Lewis's book will appeal to history buffs among the general public as well.

G. MICHAEL WOLOCH  
McGill University

ROBERT L. WILKEN. *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*. (Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 190. \$25.00.

Probably no other writer of the fourth century spoke out more violently against the Jews than John Chrysostom. For example, he stated in his sermons that the Jews sacrificed their sons and daughters to devils in order to worship the avenging devils who are the foes of Christians; God hates the Jews and indeed has always hated them; and since their murder of Jesus, He allows them no time for repentance. And since God hates the Jews, it is the duty of Christians to hate them too.

Chrysostom's anti-Jewish homilies had been discussed before in works such as A. L. Williams's *Adversus Judaeos* and James Parkes's *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*; but in Robert L. Wilken's important new study the reasons for the virulence of Chrysostom's attacks on the Jews are brought out with greater clarity than ever before.

Wilken first provides a chapter on Antioch in antiquity and the life of John Chrysostom. He shows that late fourth-century Antioch was a city whose population was divided in religious affiliation among Hellenes, Jews, and Christians. It was not yet the age of Christianity, and Chrysostom believed that even among the Christians, "the Church had but a fragile hold on the allegiance of its followers" (p. 32). Wilken accepts Elias Bickerman's view that "one could not yet . . . force [people] to accept the Christian truth; one had to convince them of it" (p. 33).

Wilken's next chapters describe the situation of the large population of Jews in Antioch in Chrysostom's time and the attractions of Judaism for Christians and pagans because of the mystery of Jewish rites, their arcane language, their fame as magicians, and the supposed efficacy of Jewish religious blessings of fields. These attractions of the Jews for Christians are attested regularly in the church canons of the period.

The author continues with a chapter on the practice of rhetoric and sophistic invective. Chrysostom was certainly a master of both. Then Wilken concludes with a chapter on Chrysostom as a Christian apologist, with special reference to the church's concern in the late fourth century over the proposed rebuilding of the temple of the Jews at Jerusalem. He points out that the restoration of the temple "would puncture the historic appeals Christians had been making for centuries and deflate the confident claim that ancient prophecies were now being fulfilled in the life of the Christian Church" (p. 160).

Although it is correct, as the author emphasizes, that Chrysostom's sermons against the Jews were directed at Judaizers, most of the preacher's hyperbole and invective was actually about the evils of the followers of Judaism and how Christians must hate, despise, and shun Jews. Therefore, as Wilken correctly points out in his epilogue, Chrysostom's vio-

lent rhetoric "has shaped all Christian thought about Judaism since his time; but that is no reason why it should be our own view" (p. 164).

One might add that Chrysostom's Antiochene homilies against the Jews were often copied and widely circulated, and were influential in such diverse times and places as medieval Europe, the Byzantine empire, and Russia. It is hoped that the author will next give us a study of the *Fortleben* of this material.

JAMES E. SEAVER  
University of Kansas

G. W. BOWERSOCK. *Roman Arabia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 224. \$17.50.

*Roman Arabia* is a study of that Roman province, but its termini are the arrival of the Nabataean Arabs and the Diocletianic reorganization. It is a mature piece of scholarship, which rests on a thorough and sound understanding of earlier as well as the very latest published research. Many of the sources are nonliterary, especially epigraphic and archaeological, in Semitic as well as the Greek and Latin languages. The bibliography is rigorous. The subject is a difficult but important one not only for the history of Roman provincial administration, but also for the broader understanding of the interpenetration of Arab and Graeco-Roman cultures, which is a major problem, with many dimensions, that is only beginning to attract appropriate scholarly attention. There is no comparable work on Roman Arabia; there are many specialized studies, which helped to make this book possible, but no comprehensive history.

G. W. Bowersock has successfully combined geographical, historical, and archaeological methodologies and understanding. *Roman Arabia* is the result of fourteen years of investigation. Bowersock's judgments on controversial issues tend to be acute, balanced, and sensible: (1) his explanation of the Nabataean possessions that incline "toward the outer sea" (p. 41), (2) his interpretation of the Roman annexation and the probable use of force in accomplishing it (pp. 80–82), (3) Emperor Trajan's motivation in annexing Arabia, (4) Bowersock's assumption (p. 86) of a continuing occupation of Petra in the middle of the fourth century (and probably well beyond, although possibly on a modest scale), (5) his rejection of the hypothesized inner and outer frontier for Roman Arabia (p. 104), (6) his conclusion concerning the third-century Roman Emperor Philip the Arab, "it seems hard to deny that Philip had shown some interest in Christianity. . . . But his conduct as emperor and the universal silence of pagan sources in the matter of any Christian leanings make it highly unlikely that Philip had actually

become a Christian" (p. 126), and (7) valuable remarks on the Tanūkh tribe (pp. 132–33).

These remarks indicate that *Roman Arabia* is more than an excellent history of a Roman province. It includes discussion of major problems of Roman, Arab, and broader Middle Eastern history. The publication of this book does not eliminate the need for additional study of this crucial subject. Archaeologists and epigraphers continue to add to the sources. *Roman Arabia* contains many references to economic topics, but there is still room for more study of economic and social history of the area within the given chronological termini. Bowersock has provided many valuable chronological corrections, which are too numerous to list. This book becomes the indispensable manual for any further study of Roman Arabia, such as that being undertaken by Irfan Shahid into problems of relationships between the late Roman empire and the Arabs in the fourth and subsequent centuries. In a broader perspective, *Roman Arabia* contains important materials for any scholar interested in the background to the rise of Islam. *Roman Arabia* clarifies many aspects of Roman contacts with the Arabian peninsula, which lay outside the borders of the province (that included much of contemporary Jordan, and parts of southern Syria, at times part of the Negev, and the extreme northwestern edges of Saudi Arabia). Much work remains to be done concerning relations between the Roman and Byzantine empires and the Arabian peninsula; this book should facilitate progress on that subject. It also contains useful information over a long period of time concerning sedentarization of Bedouin and problems of creating viable defenses against them (pp. 118–21).

Four appendixes, "The New Inscription from Barāqish," "Nabataeans and Romans in the Wādī Sirhān," "The Governors of Arabia," and "Ancient Maps of Roman Arabia," follow the ten chapters of the book. A magisterial study, A. Kindler, *The Coinage of Bostra*, appeared too late to consult.

WALTER EMIL KAEGI, JR.  
University of Chicago

## MEDIEVAL

ROLF SPRANDEL. *Altersschicksal und Altersmoral: Die Geschichte der Einstellungen zum Altern nach der Pariser Bibelexegese des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1981. Pp. vii, 203.

We ought always to treat an old man as our father and an old woman as our mother (2 Tim. 5:1–2); honor and care for the widow (Titus 2:2–3). Often

discussed by Jewish and Christian teachers, these sayings from the Hebrew psalms, restated by the apostle Paul, have been taken by Rolf Sprandel as *exempla* in order to discover changing attitudes toward the aged in European culture during the period from 1140 to 1512. He especially analyzes the work of Jean Hesdin, who was a priest of the order of St. John (Hospitaler) and professor in the University of Paris from 1340 to 1367. Thus he limits the context of his analysis to works written or known to have been used in the region of Paris—a rather special place in Europe of the Hundred Years War. Studies so restricted can be very rich but may not often reveal a mentality of all Europe. Nevertheless, Sprandel does not overgeneralize, and his results are valuable.

Biblical exegesis was a very active and diverse enterprise during this period, and Sprandel has provided a full table of sources that includes: fifty-five authors (many of whom wrote on both the psalms and the Pauline letters), dates, editions, and current literature. The author provides an excellent account of the libraries where such books were available, an outline of exegesis for these books of the Bible, a good account of scholastic methods for studying them, and a discussion of Cicero's *De senectute* and Jean Hesdin's use of it and response to it.

He finds that the fatalism of stoic and epicurean thought conveyed by Cicero and other Latin writers was set aside by Christian teachers who emphasized instead the duties of society toward the aged. Scholastic commentators drew on Rabbinic scholarship until the pattern of Peter Lombard's work became common. Jean Hesdin and Peter Cantor broadened the language so that the piety of old persons was less to be seen in a monastic demeanor and more in actions such as handing the property over to children and doing one's duty around the house. Then as now, widows survived their husbands in great numbers, by about two decades: they should work! Thus these professors were moving toward a new view of old people in society, a view that reached a significant development in the exegesis of Jacques Lefevre.

The book is well illustrated, with twenty black and white prints from manuscripts and church doors; its indexes are excellent; and the text of Jean Hesdin's lectures on Titus is edited from three manuscripts. This is a model of scholarship and a positive, reliable step toward understanding how our culture learned to place a compelling value on old-age pensions.

WESLEY M. STEVENS  
University of Winnipeg

RICHARD HODGES and DAVID WHITEHOUSE. *Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 181. Cloth \$27.95, paper \$9.95.

For the last fifty years, scholars have praised Henri Pirenne's erudition, vision, imagination, and eloquence at the same time that they have criticized various aspects of his famous "thesis." In this book, Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse review the Pirenne thesis and test hypotheses advanced by some of Pirenne's critics in the light of archaeological information from the Mediterranean, northern Europe, and western Asia. Like Pirenne, they do not suggest that their results are permanent and they indicate that they are particularly interested in "persuading readers to look across traditional boundaries between east and west, history and archaeology" (p. viii). Combining their own field experience with knowledge of other excavations, they have produced a clearly written, amply illustrated book that, on the one hand, provides convincing evidence for some of the criticisms leveled at Pirenne and, on the other hand, suggests new ways of interpreting that evidence. Although they conclude that Charlemagne without Muhammad would have been inconceivable, they demonstrate that this was for reasons very different from those propounded by Pirenne.

In a modification of Pirenne's thesis, the authors propose that the Germanic invasions damaged but did not destroy the commerce of the Mediterranean, which continued until the sixth century in the central and western portions and until about a century later in the eastern part. By about 600 A.D. in the West and after the reign of Heraclius (d. 641) in the East, however, the situation had changed completely; therefore, the expansion of Islam was a symptom and not a cause of the deep-rooted social and economic decline of the Roman world. Their evidence, particularly for the Western Empire, is three relatively recent excavations at Rome (the Schola Praeconum), Carthage, and the northern Italian port of Luni, tested further by a study of rural settlement in South Etruria, north of Rome, and at Molise in east-central Italy. These excavations point to the pursuit of commercial life in the Mediterranean until the sixth century but show a decline in the material standard of life by 600. The dig at Carthage, for example, indicates that even the Vandals had not interrupted trade and that the proportion of imported to local pottery dropped dramatically only after the Byzantine reconquest in the 530s. Although Roman social, political, and economic systems did not collapse completely in the fifth century, the authors cannot endorse Pirenne's view that Mediterranean commerce in 600 was little different from what it had been in 400. Indeed, they conclude that, although mercantile prosperity lasted about a century longer in the eastern Mediterranean, after the seventh century internal relations

For the last fifty years, scholars have praised Henri Pirenne's erudition, vision, imagination, and eloquence at the same time that they have criticized various aspects of his famous "thesis." In this book, Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse review the Pirenne thesis and test hypotheses advanced by some of Pirenne's critics in the light of archaeological information from the Mediterranean, northern Europe, and western Asia. Like Pirenne, they do not suggest that their results are permanent and they indicate that they are particularly interested in "persuading readers to look across traditional boundaries between east and west, history and archaeology" (p. viii). Combining their own field experience with knowledge of other excavations, they have produced a clearly written, amply illustrated book that, on the one hand, provides convincing evidence for some of the criticisms leveled at Pirenne and, on the other hand, suggests new ways of interpreting that evidence. Although they conclude that Charlemagne without Muhammad would have been inconceivable, they demonstrate that this was for reasons very different from those propounded by Pirenne.

within the Mediterranean "were reduced to an almost 'prehistoric' scale" (p. 75).

The authors go on to hypothesize that, although Pirenne was correct to emphasize the discontinuity of urban life in the Carolingian period and Carolingian isolation from the South, this was not because the Mediterranean had been closed by the Muslims but because urban market systems were inappropriate for the primitive political systems of the Germanic kingdoms, and because the resources of the Rhine valley and easy access to the North Sea in one direction and southern Germany in the other provided the Carolingian kings with the necessary means to expand their polity. By 800 many people were directly or indirectly involved in a highly structured set of exchange networks primarily directed by elites, as seen in the growth of trading sites like Quentovic, Dorestad, Ipswich, and Hamwih. Hodges and Whitehouse challenge Pirenne's idea of a gradual accumulation of wealth based on North Sea commerce, however, and argue for a sudden and massive economic expansion that coincided with an explosive increase in activity, for example, at Dorestad between the 780s and the 820s and with Charlemagne's coinage reforms of 793 and 794 when he upgraded the silver content of his *deniers*. Why did Charlemagne want this silver, how did he use it, and from where did it come? It is consideration of the latter question that gives this book its greatest interest and that adds significantly to our knowledge.

Hodges and Whitehouse confirm Sture Bolin's hypothesis of almost fifty years ago that Charlemagne, without Muhammad, would have been impossible—not for the reasons Pirenne stated, but because silver from the Abbasid Caliphate poured into northwestern Europe, Russia, and Scandinavia between 762 (when the capital of Baghdad was built) and about 820, underpinning Charlemagne's empire and funding the "Carolingian Renaissance." As Dorestad was a center of the Carolingian economy in the Rhineland, so Haithabu was Charlemagne's access point to the Baltic, and excavations there, at Birka in central Sweden and at other emporia demonstrate that Scandinavian traders exchanged Rhenish wine, jugs, glasses, and possibly weapons with the Muslims and returned with silver dirhams. Excavations at Siraf on the Persian Gulf and at other ports described by Muslim geographers indicate a boom in Abbasid maritime trade, to Africa and China as well as to northern and northwestern Europe, whose high point coincided with the reigns of Harun al-Rashid in the East and Charlemagne in the West.

The archaeological evidence points to a sharp decline in the export of silver to Scandinavia around 820, however, which the authors speculate was caused by a gradual exhaustion of the Abbasid

economy, partly because of its failure to achieve political stability after the death of Harun al-Rashid, and partly because of the massive expenditures of all the caliphs and their extravagance. The monumental city of Samarra was built in the mid-ninth century, draining most of the empire's resources, at almost precisely the time when, after the death of Louis the Pious in 840, Carolingian supplies of silver faltered and the realm was wracked by political chaos and civil war. Archaeological results suggest that Dorestad and other trading sites were in decline even before the Viking invasions of the mid-ninth century and that the Vikings may have been reacting in part to diminishing trade opportunities.

*Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe* succeeds extraordinarily well not only in integrating archaeology with traditionally researched history but also in interweaving European and Islamic history in the early medieval period. Hodges and Whitehouse have produced a stimulating book that will be of great interest to scholars in many different fields.

CARLA L. KLAUSNER  
University of Missouri,  
Kansas City

JEAN LECLERCQ. *Le mariage vu par les moines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Cerf. 1983. Pp. 162. 61.50 fr.

Jean Leclercq's study, *Le mariage vu par les moines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, grew out of lectures presented at Oxford University in 1979, which were published in English in 1982 as *Monks on Marriage: A Twelfth-Century View*. A year later this French edition appeared, identical save the helpful positioning of the notes at the bottom of the page.

Leclercq has two items on his scholarly agenda: one is to examine twelfth-century monastic attitudes toward marriage and the other is to present a strong argument that monks were not hostile to either women or marriage. In chapter 1 he assembles some evidence from charters and letters in which husbands use loving phrases about their wives; this, he asserts, establishes that love within marriage was a common social reality. In the next chapter he briefly summarizes twelfth-century theological, canonical, and spiritual writing about marriage that affirms its essential goodness and reliance on mutual love. To this he compares the similarity of content but contrasts the beauty of expression of the Victorines and of Cardinal Lotharius of Segni in their optimistic and poetic views of marriage. Next, hagiographic literature is used as a fruitful source to examine the strong twelfth-century commitment to marital freedom of choice, the possibility of a loving but unconsummated union, and the mutual sanctification possible through married genital love.



In chapter 5 the author returns to proof texts to argue his thesis that love in marriage was a social reality, this time surveying *exempla* and court registers for evidence to support his position. He moves in chapter 6 to a useful summary of current scholarship on Andrew the Chaplain's *De amore*, which he concludes was an *anti-modèle* or ironic treatment of marriage. The next chapter brings the reader to a strongly argued exposition in which Leclercq asserts that St. Bernard built his metaphors of spiritual love in his sermons on the Song of Songs on a positive understanding of the loving married couple. The final chapter somewhat anticlimactically considers prostitutes, particularly Mary Magdalen, as models that reflect the social and monastic realities of respect for the married state and rejection of its rupture. A brief epilogue reaffirms the author's contention that twelfth-century monastic writers were positive about conjugal love.

This study adds a valuable counterweight to the uneven view that the twelfth century was a time of unbridled extramarital activity and of universally unfriendly marriages. Yet, in arguing that to monastic writers the norm of twelfth-century secular life was marital love, Leclercq makes some hyperbolic assertions. For example, he states that monks, if well trained, "n'élaborent jamais une doctrine antiféministe" (p. 104) and that "rien, chez eux, ne trahit l'obsession et la répression" (p. 122). Despite a tendency to overdraw medieval monastic empathy for and sensitivity to the married state, the study is rich with insights that enhance understanding of the interplay between social and intellectual spheres in medieval history and of the involvement of monks in the world beyond the cloister.

PENELOPE D. JOHNSON  
New York University

ANTON SCHARER. *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, number 26.) Vienna: Böhlau. 1982. Pp. 309. S 576.

In his preface Anton Scharer notes that recent monographs on Anglo-Saxon charters are both quite general and on the thin side. His new book departs from this pattern by providing a detailed examination of more than 290 royal charters from the seventh and eighth centuries. Although the field has been well tilled in recent years by scholars such as Dorothy Whitelock, Alistair Campbell, Peter Sawyer, Pierre Chaplais, Herbert Finberg, and Cyril Hart, among others, Scharer's book is an original and audacious achievement. He has eschewed the study of this or that series of charters or of this or that king to provide a panoramic view of charter activity through most of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

over an extended period of time. Scharer was well aware of the pitfalls that lay before him as he worked. The question of authenticity casts a deep shadow of doubt over many of the documents Scharer examined. The hypotheses and methodologies that recent students of Anglo-Saxon diplomacy have proposed in order to come to grips with these difficult sources had also to be weighed.

After an opening historiographical chapter and a following general chapter on the characteristics of the charters, the remainder of the book examines the charters of the kings of Kent and Mercia. One chapter focuses on a series of East Saxon charters which, Scharer argues, emanated from Abbot Earkonwald of Chertsey who later served as bishop of London. Scharer's usual procedure is to argue from internal and external characteristics, from the known to the unknown, while basing his conclusions on detailed knowledge of the charters and a firm grasp of the modern literature on them. The whole is an impressive achievement. Specialists may want to argue about Scharer's views on particular charters, but no historian of the early Middle Ages can approach these rich sources any longer without taking his findings into account.

JOHN J. CONTRENI  
Purdue University

JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT. *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by MARTIN THOM. (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press or Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1983. Pp. x, 215. \$34.50.

In about 1250 the Dominican inquisitor and preacher Stephen of Bourbon, in his book of *exempla*, recorded a curious popular superstition (which he sought to suppress) that flourished in the Dombes region of the diocese of Lyon. A certain dog named Guinefort had been mistakenly killed by his noble master, who had believed that the beast had killed his infant son. After realizing his error, that in fact the animal had successfully defended the babe against the depredations of a poisonous snake, he accorded the loyal dog a suitable burial. The grave site had become the object of a popular cult in which the local peasantry customarily brought their ailing or congenitally deformed children to the sainted dog for assistance, performing a rite that possessed clearly pagan overtones. This legend, which has its parallels in Indian and courtly literature, is the subject of Jean-Claude Schmitt's masterly study. In *The Holy Greyhound* Schmitt combines the findings of archaeology, ethnology, onomastics, literary criticism, and etymology in an attempt to trace the



origin and development of a folk tradition that has persisted into the twentieth century.

By classifying and analyzing a series of related legends extending over a long period of time, Schmitt attempts to discover the meaning and function of such a legend and its associated rites for traditional rural folk culture freed of its clerical and noble accretions. Despite the continuing efforts of the local Cluniac and Dominican orders to control or repress worship of the benevolent creature, cults devoted to saints bearing a close affinity to St. Guinefort have flourished as far away as Pavia, expressing the popular anxiety surrounding sickly children. The dangerously infanticidal rite performed in order to restore the child's health could likewise conclude with his or her death. Through an ingenious effort at historical sleuthing, Schmitt has managed to track down the site of the original cult to a wooded area where a small *castrum*, apparently abandoned in the late eleventh or twelfth century, once stood along with the remnants of a flourishing cult; he has also learned of the old woman who remained the guardian of Guinefort's cult well into the present century. Schmitt's study is a model of the kind of interdisciplinary approach identified with the *Annales* school and indicates the wealth of untapped material concerning popular traditions and practices that medievalists have only begun to tackle. This is the kind of work that restores one's faith in the possibilities of academic history. Praise is also due to Martin Thom for his lucid translation.

MICHAEL GOODICH  
University of Haifa

ANWAR G. CHEJNE, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos; A Cultural and Social History*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 248.

The policy of forced conversion and expulsion carried out by Spain against Jews and Muslims from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries produced a class of covert adherents to their former religions—the Jewish element becoming known as Marranos and the Muslim as Moriscos. The mechanism employed by church and state to ensure the religious unity that it felt was necessary to achieve genuine political unity was the national Inquisition, the watchdog of Catholicism and *limpieza de sangre*, blood purity. Because the archives of the Inquisition are a principal, if not the principal, source of information about the new *conversos*, a number of historians have questioned the reality of this clandestine loyalty to the ancestral faith, considering it to be the fabrication of a fanatical and rapacious organization. In the case of *conversos* of Jewish origin, supplementary evidence concerning the possible degree of their “judaizing” or Jewish self-consciousness comes primarily from the writings of

contemporaries who were professing Jews, and such materials have been notoriously open to varying and contradictory interpretations. There remains precious little in the way of literary documentation that was produced by the *conversos* themselves. With the Moriscos, however, the case is far different. A fairly extensive literature, stemming mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and written in Aljamiado, regional Spanish dialects in Arabic script, survives. The late Anwar G. Chejne's volume, based on his own and others' research into Aljamiado manuscripts, is a venture in describing the Moriscos' self-identity and culture on the basis of that literature.

*Islam and the West* surveys the various genres of the literature, including polemics, histories of early Islam, biographies or hagiographical accounts of major Islamic figures, travelogues (to the extent that they exist), scientific and pseudoscientific (sorcery, astrology, talismans) writings, secular literature, epic, and poetry. On the basis of these documents the author attempts to reconstruct Morisco religion and education as well as the Moriscos' self-image. The portrait that emerges is that of a people self-consciously Muslim, despite an overt profession of Christianity, yet not overly learned in Islamic tradition and possessing only a most rudimentary knowledge of Arabic. Yet their degree of acculturation into the Hispano-Latin tradition was limited as well, and they maintained only the patterns that existed while Islam was a religion. An example is the Aljamiado language itself, a dialect of Spanish influenced by Arabic lexical (calques and direct absorption) and syntactical elements and written in the Arabic script. The use of the latter, according to Chejne—probably quite correctly—was not due to any religious demand or to any intent to maintain secrecy but because Hispano-Christian education was not available to the Moriscos. Spanish literary forms were used, but for the purpose of exalting the heroes and teachings of Islam over and against those of Christianity.

Chejne broaches the question of the extent to which Morisco self-consciousness was due to exclusion by the dominant society, a question relevant to the study of minorities in general and of the Spanish Marranos in particular. Thus, this volume may be seen as an invitation to studies of the two subsocieties conjointly—for the parallels between the two are striking indeed—as well as to studies of the Moriscos that employ the full range of evidence, both internal and external.

FRANK TALMAGE  
University of Toronto

WOLFGANG HARTUNG, *Süddeutschland in der frühen Merowingerzeit: Studien zu Gesellschaft, Herrschaft,*

*Stammesbildung bei Alamannen und Bajuwaren.* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 73.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. x, 227. DM 48.

Wolfgang Hartung's monograph is concerned with the development of a specific type of sociocultural organization that, according to him, appeared first along the lower Rhine under the influence of experience in northeast Gaul and subsequently diffused eastward to the Elbe valley and then southward into the middle Rhine valley. This development became apparent in the third century in association with two supratribal formations, the Franks and the Alemanni, into one or the other of which all of the west Germanic peoples had been organized by 300 A.D. This form of organization, based on military retinues under aristocratic and, eventually, regal leadership later spread from the Rhine-Elbe region to the south and east where it also became the dominant sociopolitical and cultural type.

One may dispute Hartung's views concerning the degree of Roman influence involved in this evolutionary process, but, generally speaking, his perceptions of the process of retinue formation and social reorganization around the retinues is consistent with the consensus of modern historical opinion. There are only two substantial criticisms to be made. The first is that in emphasizing the significance of federate experience of the northwest Germanic groups in Roman service, which was certainly significant, Hartung undervalues the extent to which the social developments under discussion were a reaction to Roman intrusion into Germanic space in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. The second is that in discussing this obviously elite, war-oriented sociocultural system and the leadership principles on which it was based, Hartung nowhere deals with the religious aspect of these developments. We submit that the ideological significance of the revitalization cult of Wodan was critical to the processes Hartung otherwise so ably delineates.

DAVID HARRY MILLER  
University of Oklahoma

#### MODERN EUROPE

C. M. DENT. *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford.* (Oxford Theological Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 262. \$37.50.

Inspired by Patrick Collinson's contention that "the puritanism of Elizabethan Oxford has been persistently underestimated," C. M. Dent chronicles the

fortunes of the godly at England's oldest university from their beginnings in Edward VI's reign to the aftermath of the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. Students have long possessed, in H. C. Porter's *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, an account of Protestantism at that university, to which Peter Lake's recent, penetrating study of the Puritanism of Chaderton and his friends, in *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*, is a brilliant successor. Oxford, however, has not been so well served, and Dent's study must be welcomed as a long-overdue remedy for this neglect.

In an attempt to avoid controversy, Dent at the outset eschews the use of the label "puritan": "the term 'protestant' has been preferred, as allowing greater latitude and gradation." This is not, however, a history of Protestantism at Cambridge but of the "radical protestants" and "advanced protestants," as he variously terms them. The story begins with Lawrence Humphrey's return from exile in 1560 and his election to the presidency of Magdalen College in 1561, where, according to Anthony A. Wood, he raised a "generation of nonconformists." Long before Humphrey's death in 1589, leadership in training godly divines had passed to Queens College under the sway of Henry Robinson, Henry Airey, and John Reynolds; the latter was to be a principal but not very effective spokesman of moderate Puritanism at the Hampton Court Conference. The story is largely structured around controversies: over John Field's and Thomas Wilcox's *Admonition* in the early 1570s, which Humphrey, for all his radicalism, refused to support; over the heterodoxies of Francesco Pucci and Antonio del Corro later in the decade; over Presbyterianism championed locally by Edward Gellibrand and Reynolds in the 1580s; and over Vice-Chancellor Howson's ecclesiological views in 1602. Although from the 1590s on, the godly worried about the "errors of Pelagianism" (which like "cockatrice eggs be now a hatching"), Dent shows that, in fact, strict Calvinism, as modified by Theodore Beza and Hierome Zanchius, held sway at Oxford right through to the end of Elizabeth's reign. When William Laud came into conflict with Airey in 1606, it was not over predestination, but over Laud's notion of *jure divino* episcopacy.

If Dent's account, for all its richness of detail, seems lacking in general coherence, it is because, as Dent himself confesses, he sees none. Rather than a Puritan movement, he finds, as he concludes about Reynolds, nothing but "a series of responses to particular crises and incidents." He does not deny that Oxford produced its share of nonconformists from John Oxenbrige at one end of the reign to John Sprint at the other, but he argues, surely rightly, that Oxford produced far more godly preachers like William Hinde, whose prime concern

was not church reform but the "godliness of their own lives and those of their flocks." To comprehend all these under the title of Puritan, says Dent, is "simply a confusion." But Hinde, a disciple of Reynolds, was suspended from his ministry at Bunbury in 1606 and was again in trouble for his nonconformity in 1618. The professional lives of Hinde and Reynolds were very different: the one a country preacher, the other a university don; but to suppose that they would not have recognized their common membership in the community of godly "professors" is surely an unwarranted conclusion.

PAUL S. SEAVER  
Stanford University

CHARLES CARLTON. *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1983. Pp. xiii, 426. \$24.95.

As cause, focus, and ultimately victim of one of the pivotal events of English history, Charles I is a splendid subject for biography. He even managed by "dying well" to "win by losing," adding to his life a veneer of romance and martyrdom that has endeared him to generations of history buffs. His is a significant, fascinating, and tragic tale, and Charles Carlton in his book, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, tells it with verve and style. Carlton has no new documentary evidence to offer, but proposes to provide critical new insight into the personality and behavior of his subject through the technique of psychobiography. Of course this intriguing approach has its hazards, especially when, as here, the subject's attitudes and behavior patterns are separated from those of his biographer by more than three centuries, and where, in addition, evidence of personal matters is scanty at best. Nonetheless, it is an experiment with exciting potential. Unfortunately, Carlton fails to apply his method with sufficient rigor or consistency, and so fails to convince.

Carlton has amassed an impressive assortment of facts for this study. As one would expect, he lavishes special attention on Charles's formative years—years filled with just the sort of difficulties that make a psychohistorian rub his hands with glee. Charles was the product of an unhappy marriage; grew up a shy, sickly child, much overshadowed by his popular older brother and sister; and later, as heir apparent, was overshadowed by his homosexual father's favorites. It is in recounting these early years that Carlton makes his most concerted effort to develop a theory of Charles's character and philosophy. In the process, however, the evidence is treated most unevenly and there are curious oversights in details of his personal life such as the failure to indicate the precise age gap between Charles and his older brother and sister, a fact of importance since much

is made of Charles's relationships with them. More serious is the absence of adequate information about the prince's formal education, the books he read, and the views of his tutors. The author strains to find significance in such slender evidence as the awkward manner in which the young prince held his right hand for his first portrait. Carlton finds this uneasy posture, which might of course have been posed, indicative of the fact that the prince was "far from at ease with himself and worried about his position within both his family and the realm" (p. 5). In sum, no very persuasive or carefully argued behavioral theory emerges from these early chapters. We are simply informed that Charles grew into an insecure and very private man with a strong sense of authority and decorum—a view that has long been accepted.

Once Charles ascends the throne, and political events begin to dominate his life, the book slips into the familiar narrative. Carlton's nascent theory of the king's personality is neither tested nor receives sustained application. Instead it is conjured up sporadically whenever some particularly puzzling royal behavior demands explanation. We are told, for example, that it was Charles's aforementioned sense of authority and decorum that "accounted for his failure to get on with his first three parliaments" (p. 207). Again, the inability of the king to compromise with his opponents was not, we are assured, due to a desire to be absolute—he was too "indolent" for that—but because he found it "psychologically distasteful" (pp. 109, 159). Charles's habit of bargaining "in bad faith" with his opponents, all the while insisting that "as a king he was honour bound to keep his word," is attributed here to his belief that they were bent on demolishing kingship. Yet we never learn the sources of his feeling that they wanted a republic (pp. 201, 206, 208).

Unfortunately, the author never bothers to go beyond these pat answers to serious issues, and hence fails to demonstrate his theory's potential. As a result, we are no nearer to penetrating the complex personality of Charles I. Carlton has produced a very readable and pleasant book but one that fails to fulfill its analytic promise.

JOYCE L. MALCOLM  
Bentley College

MICHAEL G. FINLAYSON. *Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics before and after the Interregnum*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1983. Pp. x, 209. \$27.50.

Michael G. Finlayson's analysis of the religious factor in English politics before and after the Interregnum originates in an openly avowed and acute sense of dissatisfaction with the existing state of scholar-

ship on the subject; if the points he seeks to establish have any validity at all, that sense of dissatisfaction is indeed an appropriate response to the condition of seventeenth-century studies. The very phrase "seventeenth-century studies" indicates one of his sources of discontent, for, as he observes, most scholars working on the century see it as a period irrevocably broken apart by the events of the middle decades. He notes that historians with extremely diverse perspectives and interests agree that the world was different after 1660 from what it had been before 1640. For most, the working model is clearly one of discontinuity; one either ends or begins with 1660. Seeing the century in this fashion is, to Finlayson's view, an essential by-product of considering the middle decades as having constituted a full-scale revolution in the modern meaning of the term. He argues that contemporaries did not see it that way, and it might well make better sense of the history of the period to adopt their point of view with its greater sense of continuity.

In particular, he is concerned that, in at least one area "where things religious impinged upon the broad political narrative at the national level" (p. 160), there were far fewer differences between the pre-1640 and post-1660 periods than the revolutionary model allows. Much of the confusion, he suggests, stems from the use historians, particularly of the last one hundred years, have made of the term "Puritanism." Two conclusions emerge from his analysis: first, that if one develops a reasonably rigorous concept of Puritanism (one that distinguishes a Puritan from either a Protestant or an Anglican), then it is neither helpful nor possible to view many members of the English political establishment between 1621 and 1641 as Puritans; and, second, that there is a remarkable similarity between what politically active gentry were saying about the "religious" problem between 1621 and 1641 and what the next generation said about it. A central and common concern was anti-Catholicism and the fear of popish subversion, something that was not the exclusive property of or a useful identifying mark of Puritans.

This is a challenging book, and much of what it argues is to the point. The model of continuity offers some perspectives on the history of the seventeenth century that the model of revolution, by its very nature, obscures or obliterates. Certainly both "revolution" and "Puritanism" have been used in ways that are misleading. The centrality of Puritanism to causal explanations before 1640, and its peripheral role (even in the guise of Dissent) in such explanations after 1660, is indeed odd, and suggests that the prevalent opinion about the role of religion in one period or the other needs reexamination. These are questions worth addressing. Finlayson will not carry everyone with him in terms of his

answers; and, despite the care and precision with which he has framed his conclusions, he is likely to find himself accused of arguing something far more sweeping than he does—such as denying there was any revolution. Other questions will also arise. Would things look different if the analysis of the revolution extended further than 1641? Is it possibly the case that the intellectual and psychological difficulty of coming to terms with what had happened between 1640 and 1660 impelled people to look for continuity in the immediate aftermath when, in fact, a reality they could not absorb stared them in the face? The debate should go on; this is a provocative and aggressive way to engage it.

ROGER HOWELL, JR.  
Bowdoin College

ELIZABETH READ FOSTER. *The House of Lords, 1603–1649: Structure, Procedure, and the Nature of Its Business*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. x, 347. \$32.00.

With the battle lines drawn between Whigs and revisionists, between those who see in the parliaments of the 1620s an arena for constitutional conflict and those who are more impressed with the persistence of political consensus, one is justifiably uncertain about where to place Elizabeth Read Foster. Foster is, of course, no stranger to the debate, but rather than taking sides or exposing herself to crossfire by occupying a middle ground, she has chosen to act the part of neutral. Moreover, and especially remarkable, is that the neutrality she affects is one of noninterest rather than disinterest: Foster writes as if she were unaware that there is a battle raging. It is obviously a studied innocence, one that has been carefully constructed and at all times scrupulously protected. She has set out to erect "a framework for studies of the political position of the House [of Lords] of this period and its political significance, matters I have not directly addressed" (p. ix), and she has in no way allowed herself to be deflected from that purpose. Politics simply do not enter her story.

The book is divided into two principal parts, first the structure and then the business of the Lords. In both parts Foster reminds us that in its composition and especially in its activities, the House of Lords was still in the process of change. At the beginning of the century it was not yet certain who ought to be summoned when the king decided on a parliament; whether, for example, the eldest sons of certain peers ought to be called or, more important, whether the king might withhold his summons from a peer who was out of favor. Even more significant were the changes occurring in the kinds of business the Lords undertook and the ways in which that



business was carried forward. And in all of this there is no way to avoid noticing the critical shifts that took place in the 1620s. As Foster points out, it was in 1621 that standing committees came into use and that the Committee of the Whole House came into its own. With an even-handedness that is characteristic of her treatment throughout, she observes that "the procedure could be a powerful weapon for ministers of the government with a program to expound or for a small group of articulate lords determined to swing a majority to their ways of thinking" (p. 116).

It is, however, in the area of judicature that the most institutionally radical changes in the Lords' business occurred, and these, too, were a product of the 1620s. Most dramatic, of course, were impeachments and, particularly for Foster's interests, the establishing of procedures for trying those who stood accused of crimes by the House of Commons. Yet this was only a quantitatively small portion of the Lords' burgeoning judicial business. Beginning slowly in the 1620s, the first clear case arising in 1621, causes in error reached near landslide proportions between 1646 and 1648. Nor was that all, as the Lords in this period exercised jurisdiction in original causes as well. The result, Foster writes, is that "the high court of parliament became a working reality" (p. 149).

Foster's conclusion is that the House of Lords realized two enduring achievements in the first half of the seventeenth century: it established the archive of parliament, thereby assuring the preservation of its records, and it came to institutional maturity. Whatever the political implications of all this may be, Foster won't say; nor will she draw any inferences from her explicit observation that Henry Elsyng, clerk of the House from 1621, like his predecessor Robert Bowyer, deliberately prepared a record of the Lords's activities that was designed to demonstrate unity and not diversity, even when unity was at variance with the truth. Those inferences Foster leaves to others. Her concern is to chart the battleground but never to stray across it.

HOWARD NENNER  
Smith College

C. T. MCINTIRE. *England against the Papacy, 1858–1861: Tories, Liberals, and the Overthrow of Papal Temporal Power during the Italian Risorgimento*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 249. \$39.50.

MATTHIAS BUSCHKÜHL. *Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746–1870*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1982. Pp. 260. \$35.00.

*Great Britain and the Holy See* is a general survey of Anglo-papal relations from the defeat of the Jaco-

bites at Culloden in 1746 to the definition of papal infallibility in 1870. After two brief chapters on the late eighteenth century, the work describes the major determinants of British and papal policy by examining the controversies surrounding the Irish Veto question and Catholic emancipation (chapters 3 and 4). Having noted the more intransigent attitudes of Gregory XVI toward British attempts to influence the appointment of bishops, Matthias Buschkühl then traces, in chapter 5, the gradual estrangement of the two powers through the ministry of Lord John Russell and the early years of Pius IX. The work follows with an examination of the rise and fall in relationships during the time of the British agent Odo Russell's activity in Rome (1858–1870). The last two chapters, the most detailed and substantial, narrate the British reaction to papal ultramontanism and Vatican I's definition of infallibility. A brief postscript surveys Anglo-papal relations from 1870 to 1982. There is a substantial appendix of sixty-four letters, mostly of British agents and ministers. A lengthy bibliography of primary and secondary sources, followed by an index, concludes the volume.

Buschkühl's study is valuable for its presentation of the Irish background and for its information on the conflict between the Catholic church in Ireland and the papacy over the British veto of episcopal nominations and government payment of the clergy. The book also contains insightful comments on the general structure of a British diplomatic policy designed to support the political and economic interests of the empire. Nevertheless, Buschkühl never seriously grapples with the broader determinants of British policy to control the Catholic church in Ireland through the papacy nor the papacy's acceptance of this. It is true, as the author contends, that anti-Catholicism played a major role in the English support of the Italian nationalist movement. Still, an Anglophobic attitude is evident throughout the book and excessively controls the author's presentation of the facts. This perspective surfaces very clearly in the excursus on British attempts to foment anti-Catholicism (hence opposition to Irish nationalism) in the United States during the Civil War. The author argues that because Fr. Bernard Smith, a confidant of Odo Russell, may have been partially responsible for the final version of the Syllabus of Errors, the British government hoped thereby to promote a more sympathetic American attitude toward England in its struggle against the "despotic" forces of Catholicism in Ireland. The argument is confusing and poorly supported. Buschkühl also argues that, in accordance with its prevailing animus to control Ireland through Rome, the British government supported the definition of papal infallibility. This was done in hopes of dividing the Roman Catholic Church on a dogmatic issue and to



strengthen papal attempts to cool the Irish church's involvement in politics. Although there appears to be some truth to this view, the author seems to have sacrificed historical complexity at the altar of a consistent and uniform interpretation. In fact, British policy was constantly evolving. Lastly, it should be noted that Catholics in England were not granted complete religious toleration in 1791 (p. 25) but in 1829, and the author's reliance on John Milner's *Supplementary Memoirs* for background to the Veto question blinds him to the more nuanced position of the Catholic Committee in England, especially to the activities of the lawyer Charles Butler.

In contrast to Buschkühl's general survey, *England against the Papacy* is a detailed examination of the interrelationship between the papal question of temporal power and British foreign policy between 1858 and 1861. After chapter 1 surveys the background for the respective attitudes of Britain and the papacy, the book concentrates on the development of Odo Russell's attitudes (chap. 2); the issue of Austrian and French troops in Italy (chap. 3); the proposed congress between the major powers to adjudicate the conflicting territorial claims in Italy (chap. 4); British involvement in and reaction to the revolution in the Romagna (chaps. 5, 6, and 7); and the final annexation of the Marches and Umbria by Piedmont (chap. 8). In dealing so competently with specific issues, C. T. McIntire covers a wider area than the title of his book indicates. There are insightful sections on the ideological attitudes of both Tory and Liberal leaders and Pius IX; the twists and turns in relations between Britain, France, Austria, and Piedmont-Sardinia over the issue of Italian unification; English society in Rome; and the diplomatic policies of the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli. The book concludes with a select bibliography and a thorough index. There are also valuable maps detailing developments in Italy during the period under study.

Although the titles might indicate otherwise, this reader found *England against the Papacy* to be the better general guide, clearly written and cogently argued, to the issues surrounding the temporal power of the papacy in the mid-nineteenth-century English world. McIntire's judicious conclusions are given weight by his skillful use of archival sources in France, the Vatican, Piedmont-Sardinia, Austria, and Great Britain. *England against the Papacy* agrees with Buschkühl's general conclusion that both Tory and Liberal leadership, encouraged by a commonly shared anti-Catholicism, worked actively for the overthrow of the papal temporal power. This underlying policy was articulated only when it suited British interests, and to some extent the diplomatic activities of the Earl of Derby, Lord Palmerston, and the two Russells were riddled with self-serving manipulation. McIntire also successfully proves the

importance of the papal question in the shaping of English foreign policy in general and the impact of the Catholic faithful, to whom Pius IX and Antonelli consciously appealed, on the formation of the diplomatic policies of the major powers. In summary, it is curious that both authors refer to Pope John Paul II's 1982 trip to England as bringing Anglo-papal relations to the fore. In this context, McIntire's work represents a timely and thought-provoking study of the ideological and practical relationships that exist between politics and religion not only in the mid-nineteenth but also in the twentieth century.

JOSEPH P. CHINNICI  
Franciscan School of Theology

JOHN W. SHIRLEY. *Thomas Harriot: A Biography*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 508. \$55.00.

Thomas Harriot gained more than a modicum of notoriety during his life, and, consequently, his name has survived in connection with the Scientific Revolution. Beyond his name, however, precious little of his achievement is known. He published an account of the Raleigh settlement in Virginia—*A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*—which, although an important document in the British colonization of North America, is hardly the work to establish a man's reputation in science. Shortly after his death, friends brought out one of Harriot's mathematical works—*Artis analyticae praxis*—a contribution to algebra though not one that has attained significant stature in comparison to, for example, those of Viète. Nevertheless, he was rumored to have achieved great things; and late in the eighteenth century, when the existence of extensive manuscript remains became known, the rumors threatened to take on substance. With Harriot, however, as with so many other scientists of the seventeenth century, the serious examination of the manuscripts has waited until the late twentieth century. There may not be a "Harriot industry" to match such enterprises as the Newtonian one, but it has passed well beyond the stage of a cottage industry. Annual Harriot seminars take place on one side of the Atlantic or the other, and a respectable body of serious scholarship has begun to appear. John W. Shirley has been one of the leaders in the movement, and now with this book he provides the first full biography of Harriot to appear since the detailed examination of his manuscripts began.

The biography is the product of enormous and devoted scholarship sustained over a long period of time, and it is safe to predict that all future study of Harriot will draw on it. There is apparently no detail in Harriot's life and associations that Shirley has left unexamined, with the result that his book is a

treasure trove of information, much of which is not published elsewhere and is certainly not collected together elsewhere. As an example of his contribution to Harriot scholarship, I take what is probably the central story of the Harriot legend: the Wizard Earl (of Northumberland) and his three Magi. The story took shape while Harriot was still alive and the earl, his patron, was still imprisoned in the Tower—a victim of the hysteria that followed the Gunpowder Plot. Scholarship, as well as popular mythology, has perpetuated the story down to our generation, but it is not likely to survive the scrutiny it receives in Shirley's biography. Clarification of this sort, the product of painstaking empirical inquiry, constitutes an important achievement. In this case, it opens the way to a just assessment of the social circumstances that sustained the work of a major scientist. Similar questions concerning Harriot's relations with his patrons, Northumberland, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Richard Lower, dominate the book and ensure that it will become required reading for anyone pursuing the social dimension of the Scientific Revolution.

Despite all that I find admirable and valuable in the book, I cannot refrain from adding how seriously it disappointed me in its stated purpose of offering a biography of Harriot. When I closed the book, I had learned innumerable details I had not known about Harriot's connections with Raleigh, Northumberland, and Lower, but I realized that I had received no image whatever of Harriot himself. Indeed, I had become far better acquainted with his three patrons than with him. Shirley refers to thousands of pages of manuscripts, and his catalogue of them in the bibliography appears to confirm the number. I am not myself a student of those manuscripts, and it may well be that Harriot was not the sort of man who revealed himself even in his own private papers. I did remark, however, that the book prints, in full, Raleigh's speech from the scaffold; and, although I did not actually count, I am confident that the one speech exceeds the total quotation from the Harriot papers. The dust jacket informs us that Harriot was primarily a mathematician and astronomer; the text identifies him more as a mathematician. Aside from a lengthy account of the publication (but not the content) of the one treatise after his death, and the failure to publish more, the biography offers us no analysis of his achievement in mathematics. A letter from Lower asserted that Harriot arrived at noncircular orbits before Kepler, but Shirley never illuminates what Lower meant by that statement or anything else about Harriot the astronomer beyond a brief description of telescopic observations. The dust jacket also refers to Harriot's "astonishing range" of other activities, including navigation, phonetics, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, alchemy, and ballistics. Shirley devotes differing amounts of attention to these

topics—most to alchemy (though it is not an insightful discussion), a bit less to phonetics and ballistics, and not much at all to any of the others. If Harriot was, as the author asserts and as most agree, an important scientist whose role in history depends primarily on his work, it is the biographer's function, not just to assert his achievement, but to present it in sufficient detail that the discerning reader is compelled to acknowledge it. Unfortunately, the biography of Harriot that performs this task remains to be written.

RICHARD S. WESTFALL  
Indiana University

CICELY HOWELL. *Land, Family, and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280–1700*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 332. \$59.50.

The last two decades have seen the appearance of a number of detailed studies of English local communities that have added substantially to our appreciation of the subtleties of the rural economy, social structure, and family life in the late medieval and early modern periods. This volume, on the Leicestershire village of Kibworth Harcourt, is an interesting addition to the genre. Kibworth Harcourt was owned by Merton College, Oxford for most of the period covered and the collected manorial records, preserved in the college archives, form the core of the data base that has been employed. To the manorial records has been added information drawn from a variety of other sources including wills and probate inventories, parish registers, enclosure awards, lay subsidies, and Hundred Rolls. In following the development of this community for over four hundred years, the author has focused on themes relating both to the social and economic structure of the inhabitants and to the fabric and morphology of their community. The most interesting chapters are concerned with the economics of the small landholders and their families, their inheritance strategies, and the protracted struggle for survival of the class of small peasant farmers holding a virgate or half-virgate of land. In reconstructing living standards the author makes calculations of local prices, wages, and crop yields, emphasizing the need to tackle such topics at a local as opposed to a national level.

One drawback that spoils the flow of the text is the incorporation into it of substantial and indigestible chunks of data, such as the list of tenements in the village, with their buildings and landholders at various periods, which takes up the greater part of the chapter on village morphology. Such material emphasizes the author's meticulous scholarship but would have been more usefully contained in appen-

dixes. The book starts abruptly with only a token attempt to place the study within a wider context. There is, for instance, no good topographical map to show the village in its local and regional setting. Nor does the author provide any statement of intent regarding the aims and scope of the study or the approaches to be adopted. One suspects that the choice of Kibworth Harcourt was governed by the ready availability of reasonably good documentation, a perfectly good reason, but naturally one wonders to what extent Kibworth Harcourt was distinctive and in what ways it compared with other communities in eastern England. If local studies of this kind are to have a value, they need to be comparative and should not be set in a near vacuum. While the book provides a painstaking and scholarly reconstruction from sources that are not always abundant or informative, it often tends to focus so sharply on the specific details of Kibworth Harcourt that one loses sight of the broader picture of the evolution of the community. It would have been beneficial if the author had drawn her material together more frequently to outline trends and emphasize contrasts and parallels with other communities.

IAN D. WHYTE  
*University of Lancaster*

**BARRY COWARD.** *The Stanleys: Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385–1672; The Origins, Wealth, and Power of a Landowning Family.* (Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, third series, number 30.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, for the Chetham Society. 1983. Pp. xvi, 252. \$35.00.

This book contains much valuable material on the Stanleys, particularly for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and adds to the already considerable literature that attempts to modify Lawrence Stone's contention that the higher nobility in the later sixteenth century underwent not only an economic crisis but also a crisis of status and political power. On balance, however, the evidence presented in this volume seems rather to reinforce Stone's general theses.

The first part of the book outlines the economic fortunes of the family, and is supplemented by a useful appendix that abstracts material from the estate records. Although their fortunes were laid by the enterprising and politically flexible fifteenth-century Stanleys, emphasis is placed on the later period. The vicissitudes of the years 1555–1610 appear to Barry Coward to underline the resilience of the family's resources; but it is difficult to describe the pressures leading to the sale of the extensive Suffolk inheritance and of yet more land (including

parts of the patrimony to service debt repayments and a highly costly disputed inheritance) in terms other than of crisis. The first half of the seventeenth century displays elements of recovery: the Stanley administration was overhauled, especially in the Isle of Man where the family possessed quasi-regal powers. But despite this upturn, the Stanleys had lost their preeminent position in northwestern society by the middle of the century, and the reasons behind this decline in authority were not exclusively economic.

The second part of the study is concerned with the exercise of power, and the author suggests that the loss of regional supremacy was in fact more apparent than real—something of an “optical illusion” resulting from an exaggerated view of Stanley power in an earlier period. Unfortunately, the critical years of the fifteenth century—when it was possible (in 1477) to describe Thomas, Lord Stanley as “now reynninge” in the northwest—are neglected in this study, and the extent of any “optical illusion” is consequently difficult to determine. Furthermore, it is not easy for the reader to assess the scale of Stanley contacts within regional society. An elaborate process of selection throws up forty-eight families that are seen as comprising the gentry elite in Lancashire and Cheshire (pp. 112–13, n. 7), but little systematic attempt is made to measure the proportion of this group that was connected with the earls of Derby, although there is much interesting material on the household and the workings of patronage. Using the composition of the third earl's army in 1536 (as given in table 5, p. 98), it seems that only one-third was drawn from the leading gentry as listed on pages 112–13, and of this group there appear to have been hardly any Cheshire men at all. This accords well enough with a more modest view of Stanley influence, but it is difficult to square with the scale of the reception of the sixth earl on his return from London in 1597 when he was met at the county borders by hundreds of mounted gentlemen.

Although questions of religion could have been probed more deeply, there is (in chap. 11) an important reappraisal of the political roles of the earls, especially in the 1530s and the 1640s.

MARTIN CHERRY  
*University of Leicester*

**EDWARD M. SPIERS.** *Radical General: Sir George de Lacy Evans, 1787–1870.* Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 262.

The name of Sir George de Lacy Evans may be a familiar one to most students of nineteenth-century British history, but until the appearance of this book I doubt whether many, if asked, could say very

much about him beyond the fact that he was a distinguished soldier and a Radical member of Parliament. Edward M. Spiers's biography fills a gap, for Evans had a long and varied career—as a soldier in eight separate campaigns on three continents between 1808 and 1854 and as an M.P. for almost thirty years between 1830 and 1865, unsuccessfully championing many worthy causes before their time. This is an informative and competently researched account of Evans's dual career, which is sympathetically yet judiciously assessed. It suffers, however, from the lack of any Evans family private papers, with the result that the radical general remains something of a cardboard figure. The book tells us what he did and is quite honest in indicating his limitations both as a military commander and as a politician, but one finishes it with the feeling that one does not really know the man or what made him tick. There is nothing about his private life beyond the bald statement that in 1834 he married a wealthy widow. One of the few contemporary descriptions quoted is an uncomplimentary one by Sir Denis Le Marchant who observed that Evans was "Tall and thin, with very sallow complexion, and jet black hair and whiskers," which led the diarist to add that "one might almost have mistaken him for an Italian assassin" (pp. 51–52). A Crimean photograph, taken when the general was sixty-seven years old, is the best clue to the sort of person he must have been. In it we see a man of rugged appearance—his hair still jet black; bushy, dark mustache and eyebrows; and deep set, piercing eyes looking right into the camera.

Evans had a brilliant career as a junior officer between 1807 and 1815, serving in India, Spain, North America, and at Waterloo; but unfortunately these years get only fourteen pages, presumably for lack of adequate sources. The chapters on his command of the British Legion in Spain from 1835 to 1837, and of the Second Division in the Crimea in 1854, are of particular interest. The former, however, ends very abruptly, leaving the fate of the legion up in the air with Evans's sudden departure to defend his seat in Parliament, while the latter tends to treat the operations of the Second Division in rather a vacuum, perhaps in both cases due to lack of space in these days of high publishing costs. In the Carlist war, Evans showed enterprise when conducting operations in the field; but evidently lacked the qualities needed for dealing with the difficult political, administrative, and personnel problems facing an independent force commander in such a situation. In the Crimea, he compared very favorably with the other divisional commanders until ill health forced his retirement and apparently warped his judgment, as demonstrated when he uncharacteristically advised a British evacuation after the battle of Inkerman. Evans's greatest weak-

ness was clearly his almost pathological craving for recognition and sense of grievance at the lack of it, until at long last on his return from the Crimea he was greeted as a hero and awarded with a G.C.B.

Sir George de Lacy Evans supported most of the radical causes of his day, but his major interest was army reform, especially the abolition of flogging and of purchase. Unfortunately, as Spiers makes clear, he was a poor speaker and often inept in the way he promoted a particular reform. He seems to have had no close friends or colleagues, always to have been something of a loner, and a champion of lost causes. In the long run, however, his political efforts seemed to be justified with the passage of the Cardwell army reforms within a decade of his retirement in 1865.

J. B. CONACHER  
University of Toronto

PHILIP F. REHBOCK. *The Philosophical Naturalists: Themes in Early Nineteenth-Century British Biology*. (Wisconsin Publications in the History of Science and Medicine, number 3.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 281. \$30.00.

Nineteenth-century British naturalists often seem to fade away into the shadows of Darwinism, but in this book Philip F. Rehbock attempts to illuminate the "topography of the pre-*Origin* period" and the roots and development of British philosophical natural history. The term "philosophical naturalist" was subject to a variety of meanings during the pre-*Origin* nineteenth century. Darwin used "philosophical" to imply a preference for certain topics in natural history, especially the history and distribution of species. Robert Knox used "philosophical" with respect to a distinct methodology for scientific practice—the a priori belief in the existence of "ideal" or "transcendental" patterns in nature. Despite such apparently different usage, Darwin and Knox had a common concept of the "philosophical" worker as one interested in discovering the laws of the living world. Primarily, the term implied a rejection of the tedious description of individual beings that had characterized eighteenth-century British natural history.

The two meanings of "philosophical naturalist" form the two halves of this book. Part 1 explores the idealist approach, the pattern-seeking tendencies of British naturalists. Part 2 deals with studies of the distribution of organized beings in space and time, early aspects of ecology, and controversies in historical biogeography. Although these two themes existed concurrently and are presented as dual aspects of philosophical natural history, it is apparent that they were generally independent fields. The few attempts to create a "marriage" were generally quite



unsuccessful in the nineteenth century. The same is true in this book, where part 1 and part 2 remain stubbornly unwed.

Although idealism has always been a minority point of view in British philosophy and science, Rehbock argues that it gained a significant following by the 1820s through enthusiastic followers of German idealism, such as John Barclay, Richard Owen, and the unfortunate Knox. Idealism can be found even among the Bridgewater Treatises and in the "transcendental chemistry" of Samuel Brown, who claimed to have transmuted carbon into silicon and iron into rhodium. Although this episode is presented as a means of understanding the true scope of the idealist tradition, there is no indication of the extent to which idealism penetrated chemistry or the interplay between chemistry and biology during this period. Indeed, it only seems to offer more support for Huxley's assessment of the idealist approach as "pseudo-philosophical word play" (p. 86). By 1850 idealism was in full flower, but the foundations of this "tradition" were apparently so weak that it was instantly "swept away" by Darwin's *Origin*. If idealism was a substantial alternative to Darwinism, its sudden and complete collapse must be explained. Moreover, although parts 1 and 2 of this book presumably examine dual aspects of British natural philosophy, idealism vanished while biogeographical studies flourished in the wake of *Origin*.

As a study of metaphysical influences on pre-Darwinian British biology, this book succeeds, but the claim that it serves as a documentation of a sizable conversion of British scientists to the idealist approach is not substantiated. The concept of a movement so foreign, short-lived, and easily vanquished raises the question of how many enthusiasts constitute a "tradition"? An analysis of the key advocates of the idealist approach may reflect the diversity of philosophical naturalists, but leaves the question of their prevalence still problematic.

LOIS N. MAGNER  
Purdue University

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1983. Pp. x, 596. \$25.00.

In her *Victorian Minds*, readers may recall that Gertrude Himmelfarb began with two essays on Edmund Burke that had been written at different times and offered sharply opposed views on that proto-Victorian. Both pieces were included, she stated, because both correctly interpreted different facets of Burke's complex thought. On the wide range of persons and institutions she discusses in *The Idea of Poverty*, Himmelfarb uses the same

overwhelmingly abundant scholarship to rise above black-and-white judgments, transcending the routine but also the rather fatuous dichotomy between "optimistic" and "pessimistic" schools of modern English historiography.

*The Idea of Poverty* concerns "the mischievous ambiguity of the word *poor*," as the Poor Law Report of 1834 put it. During the decades that ushered in the machine age, attitudes changed on what constituted poverty, who was responsible for mitigating the condition of the poor, and whether the state should help succor all the poor or only a deserving subsector. After a long introduction on Adam Smith and "an odd lot of disciples," Himmelfarb's argument gets under way with a detailed analysis of Robert Malthus and the introduction of the New Poor Law. The debate over this fundamental change in English law and its effects is sampled with chapters on Thomas Carlyle, William Cobbett, the "New Radicals," the Chartists, Frederick Engels, and Henry Mayhew—all composed with scrupulous attention to what each stood for and how the diverse polemics fitted into a gradually developing mosaic. Then there follows a transitional section on the "street-folk," the "ragged classes," and the "dangerous classes," grouped together under the rubric "the culture of poverty." The work ends with what could be a short book on the poor as seen in early Victorian fiction, again with each theme epitomized by a judicious choice out of a vast body of writings.

The main thread guiding the reader through this jungle is a recurrent reference to Malthus—or, rather, "Malthusianism." As earlier with Burke, Himmelfarb has presented diametrically opposed perspectives, each with its own kind of truth. In her notable introduction to the Modern Library edition of Malthus's *On Population*, she tried to correct the widespread and continuing misunderstanding of his doctrine; in this work, what Malthus actually said is almost ignored, for the great influence of "Malthus" was through a persistent distortion of the *Principle of Population*. For Malthus, embourgeoisement was the long-term solution of excessive procreation: as more and more sectors of the population acquired middle-class tastes, they would increasingly try to satisfy these newly acquired demands by reducing their families to middle-class size. On the issue most pertinent to the book's broader theme, his relation to the enactment of a revised poor law, Anne Digby's admirable paper at the 1980 Paris symposium on Malthus documented the complexity of his attitude (in *Malthus Past and Present* [1983]); but most of Malthus's contemporaries ignored any deviations from the simplistic view they attacked, and Himmelfarb concentrates her attention on that one-sided perspective.

There can be few books of history that so insistently remind the reader of his own day. The



temptation to draw contemporary parallels must have been strong, but Himmelfarb usually resisted it. In the especially rich body of footnotes, she comments on other scholars' work, sometimes with a gentleness that they little deserve. For example, William Cobbett's anti-Semitism was more vitriolic than the obnoxiously high norm in nineteenth-century progressive thought, but this element of his writing hardly appears, or, does not appear at all in biographies by such twentieth-century progressives as G. D. H. Cole (pp. 556–57). In the epilogue, which takes a fleeting look at present-day reverberations, there is an irresistible quotation from Peter Townsend, who noted among the "indicators of poverty" the lack of hot breakfasts, of birthday parties, of holidays, and of the habit of dining out (p. 532). Measuring rods of poverty still continue to ramify.

WILLIAM PETERSEN  
Carmel, California

DEREK GREGORY. *Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution: A Geography of the Yorkshire Woollen Industry*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1982. Pp. xvi, 293. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$15.95.

One of the most important aspects of the Industrial Revolution was a transformation in the scope and scale of social relations. Markets spread, towns grew, and state apparatus extended its reach. New divisions of labor, and increased coordination of work within and among workplaces, were at least as new as machines or sources of power. Both the political struggles and the shifting forms of business enterprise of the period must be understood in the context of this interplay between direct, usually local, relationships and the indirect organizations of the state, distant markets, and, eventually, corporate firms. Derek Gregory's study of the Yorkshire woollen industry informs us on many of these issues.

Gregory's main thesis is that the dynamics of the Yorkshire woollen industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries must be understood through close attention to the shifting geographical loci of production. Not only did Yorkshire rise at the expense of the West country, but localities within Yorkshire experienced prosperity and distress in varying rhythms. Much of the story concerns the gradual extension and integration of the labor market, the changing role of domestic production (and especially outwork within it), and the relationship of the local economy to national and international struggles. Gregory is at his best on the "economic" side of the picture—showing the interplay of labor process, marketing, and ownership systems. The relationships between domestic and factory produc-

tion are particularly well treated in the very specific industrial context of woollens. The "social" issues of community and family structure, relationships between local politics and economic change, and the like, get more cursory discussion.

Industrial transformation took place in fits and starts, but was cumulatively dramatic. It involved not only a new scale of production and capital accumulation, often overdramatized in accounts depicting factories as structures and places, but a new organization of relationships. Well before factories, workers had begun to lose much of their autonomy through increasing division and control of labor. The transformation, of which factories were a part, was driven not only by productivity-enhancing technology, but also by "gradual but definite widening . . . enmeshing of sub-regional and regional cycles of economy and politics within a complex national rotation of economy and politics" (p. 239). Gregory does not talk extensively about the importance of changing transportation technology but one gathers it must have rivaled steam engines and spinning mules in importance.

Luddism, the archetypal popular reaction to such industrial change, rested, in contrast, on local relationships and was focused on regional issues. However much radicals began to articulate a national ideology (I would question the extent to which it should be called, as Gregory suggests, "working class"), the local and regional basis of their politics left them vulnerable to the increasing separation of national issues and state apparatus from that local and regional scene.

Gregory's clear and competent account of regional economic history is preceded by a jargon-ridden and generally irrelevant introductory essay. In it he pays ritual homage to sociological theory, notably Anthony Giddens, but neither adds anything original nor says enough to make the mysteries clear to nonadepts. Other than giving the reader advance notice that he wants to talk about "structuration" (rather than mere structure or mere process), these twenty-five pages have no significance for the book. No more than two or three minor passages in the body of the text even make reference to the vocabulary it introduces. But the introduction will have an effect; it will put off many readers who might learn something from the book that follows it.

CRAIG CALHOUN  
University of North Carolina

D. T. JENKINS and K. G. PONTING. *The British Wool Textile Industry, 1770–1914*. (Pasold Studies in Textile History, number 3.) Exeter, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Books. 1982. Pp. xii, 388. \$40.00.

For contemporaries, as for later historians, the manufacture of woollen fabrics was seen as Britain's

major industry until the end of the eighteenth century. The dramatic arrival of cotton quickly pushed the wool industry into a more modest place. Hence, the fortunes of those districts that continued in the wool industry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries receive comparatively little attention in the textbooks. Not that the woolen industry has lacked historians: John Clapham, Herbert Heaton, Ephraim Lipson, and W. B. Crump served it well in an earlier generation; and more recently there have been valuable regional studies of the industry in Scotland, Wales, and the West of England. But what has been needed for some time is a history of the industry's nineteenth-century development that draws together detailed local research, views woolen textiles in the context of the national economy, and gives particular attention to their increasing concentration in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

It would have been difficult to find authors better qualified than D. T. Jenkins and the late K. G. Ponting to fill this gap. The former has established himself in the past decade as the leading authority on the industry in Yorkshire; while the latter, after a career in the West of England as a woolen manufacturer, spent his later years as director of the Pasold Foundation, which has sponsored a number of publications on textile history, including the present volume. How far have they succeeded in providing a satisfactory general account?

At the outset, Jenkins and Ponting admit that they had to be selective in their treatment. Chronologically, although they begin in 1770, they deal mainly with the period after 1835, by which time the movement into factory production was well under way and a greater volume of both primary and secondary source material is now available to the historian. Thematically, they avoid the industry's "social" history—work and wages, industrial relations, and so forth—and concentrate instead on "the growth, organisation, factor supply, output, markets, and performance of the industry" (p. xi). Throughout, they remind us of the industry's sheer diversity, and of the varying fortunes of its different branches over time; and they constantly come back to the central issue of entrepreneurial performance in an appropriately critical fashion. Their overall verdict is that Britain's woolen textile manufacturers—especially those of the North—coped pretty well in adapting to new challenges and opportunities at home and abroad: and their study is, in the main, a celebration of the qualities of doggedness, realism, and independence proverbially attributed to Yorkshiremen. At the same time, although the authors never lose sight of their main theme, the general reader will regret that their overview is frequently obscured by long and detailed discussions of abstruse points of technology, and by unexciting year-by-year accounts of the changing "state

of the trade." With useful statistical tables and an authoritative bibliography, Jenkins and Ponting have produced a valuable reference work, but it cannot be described as easy reading: for, like the industry they examine, their book, though worthy, is also rather dull.

DUNCAN BYTHELL  
*University of Durham*

JOHN BENSON. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1983. Pp. 172. \$22.00.

In the field of nineteenth-century British history, it sometimes seems as if there are few peaks in Darien as yet unscaled and few oceans undiscovered. This book is all the more notable since John Benson has charted waters that, while not entirely unknown before, have rarely been regarded as significant. In pointing to their riches, he has opened up tantalizing new possibilities for all the explorers who follow him.

His subject is the penny capitalist, whom he defines as "a working man or woman who went into business on a small scale in the hope of profit (but with the possibility of loss) and made him (or her) self responsible for every facet of the enterprise" (p. 6). By using a wealth of primary sources, including census returns and oral history accounts relating to the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, Benson is able to demonstrate both the scope and heterogeneity of his subject. He focuses especially on the primary and tertiary economic sectors. For agriculture, he finds that by the early twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of families were trying to make money from gardens and allotments. He has no comparable figures for the service sector. Yet by examining the masses of costermongers, street sellers of small manufactured goods, and small shops and beerhouses opened by workers in their own homes, he suggests that the number of workers involved in retail trading alone was enormous. Beyond that, there were laundresses, part-time barbers, unlicensed pawnbrokers, and a welter of additional service-sector petty capitalists eager to supplement family incomes. Benson argues that, even by 1900, "penny capitalism constituted the chief support of up to ten per cent of all working class families and the partial support of at least forty per cent" (p. 134). Totals at earlier points in the nineteenth century may have been higher.

As is to be expected with any pioneering effort, this work has a few obvious shortcomings. Most readers will be left asking for considerably more analysis at virtually every stage of what is really an extended essay (140 pages of text). For example, the

whole of the secondary, or manufacturing, sector is covered in just fourteen pages. Some quantification is included, but Benson seems more interested in describing the kaleidoscopic variety of penny capitalists and their enterprises. Thus, it is difficult for author or reader to trace change over time. Is penny capitalism the inevitable result of the triumph of industrial capitalism and its attendant urbanization? Or is it merely a continuation of preindustrial attitudes toward work and family income (as one might surmise from Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* [1982], pp. 56–57, 99, 212–13)? Or should penny capitalism be added to the list of those things that were planted in preindustrial times but that blossomed only after the onset of industrialization? By focusing primarily on the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and by treating them in a fairly static manner, Benson is not in a position to answer these questions.

Benson concludes this lively study by pointing to four major implications of penny capitalism: (1) it serves to reemphasize the continuing importance of the family economy in burgeoning industrial societies; (2) it offers hitherto neglected perspectives on social mobility and attitudes toward capitalism; (3) in its heyday, it provided debilitating competition for many types of workers' organizations; and (4) it was undoubtedly "inimical to the development of a homogeneous working class" (p. 136). One might add a fifth important implication, for this work sheds oblique light on the continuing debate over living standards. With penny capitalism now shown to have been a widespread phenomenon, it seems that many historians have erred by concentrating obsessively on weekly wage series (often from mills, mines, or skilled occupations) and on the prices of market baskets of consumables. It is clear that millions of Britons with talent, ambition, and opportunity gained income and food outside the formal marketplace. At a stroke, Benson has called into question the import of much of the quantitative evidence thus far marshalled on nineteenth-century British standards of living.

ROBERT GLEN  
*University of New Haven*

JOHN P. HALSTEAD. *The Second British Empire: Trade, Philanthropy, and Good Government, 1820–1890*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xiii, 261. \$35.00.

In 1953 Ronald Robinson and Jack Gallagher published an article entitled "The Imperialism of Free Trade." Its appearance initiated a searching and stimulating debate on the nature of British imperial activity in the nineteenth century. Thirty years later

that debate still rages. Major contributions have been made by a variety of scholars, most particularly by Robinson and Gallagher themselves, D. C. M. Platt, and David Fieldhouse. Our understanding of the continuity of British activity, of its "formal" or "informal" nature, of the important role played by events on the "periphery of empire," and by indigenous collaborators, has been deepened and broadened by a plethora of articles and books preoccupied with testing the validity of the various hypotheses.

John P. Halstead's book is one of the latest contributions to the discussion. In part it is an amalgamation of many of the ideas of Robinson and Gallagher, Platt, and Fieldhouse with a decided emphasis on British imperialism as a by-product of British foreign policy. It is Halstead's contention that during much of the nineteenth century the British pursued rational and concrete interests and that the decisions taken by the Foreign Office, and even by "the man on the spot," were fully explicable in light of those interests. Very rarely did emotion or prestige enter into British thinking.

Halstead contends that the major aims of British foreign policy in the nineteenth century were trade, philanthropy (defined for the most part as antislavery), and good government. Most, if not all, British actions were determined by the need to protect commercial interests, to pursue the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and to ensure stable frontiers so that the first two goals could be pursued. Halstead recognizes that while the British were reluctant to extend their imperial frontiers or to assume additional financial burdens, they often needed to establish some control in order to achieve their overall goals. Halstead does not, however, find the terms "formal" or "informal" empire very helpful in understanding what happened on the periphery of empire. He prefers to use the term "paramountcy" to describe what the British aimed at, and for the most part achieved. For him "paramountcy" has a triple meaning: internal control, external control, or diplomatic hegemony. Any one form implied the British were able to ensure trade, philanthropy, and good government.

Halstead's book is divided into two sections; the first on "The Substance of British Imperialism" succinctly defines the author's terms and mode of analysis while the second, roughly three-quarters of the book, contains a series of case studies drawn from Asia and Africa exploring the soundness of Halstead's postulates. The opening section is the most interesting and rewarding and could easily have been lengthened without loss of force. The second, while well informed and tightly structured, is by its very nature reductionist and allows little to interrupt the neat coalescence of motive and achievement.

Halstead's book is a well-written and useful contribution to the ongoing debate over the nature of British imperialism. It should be read by all interested in the British empire and in the general phenomenon of imperialism.

JOHN KENDLE  
*University of Manitoba*

R. C. O. MATTHEWS *et al.* *British Economic Growth, 1856–1973*. (Studies of Economic Growth in Industrialized Countries.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1982. Pp. xxiv, 712. \$65.00.

Students of modern economic history must surely be indebted to R. C. O. Matthews, and the other authors of this volume, who, together with Feinstein's earlier studies on national income and capital formation, provide the basic macrodata for any sensible study of the long-run growth and development of the British economy.

The present volume is, however, much more than a statistical compendium despite the mass of tables that grace the text and the appendixes. The principal objective of the work is to delineate the proximate sources of growth by the method of growth-accounting analysis. This seeks to identify the contribution to growth of factor inputs, labor and capital (TFI), and also that part of growth that is derived from sources other than measured inputs, namely total factor productivity (TFP). Although the growth-accounting method has been frequently used by scholars in the past, this is the first long-period British study covering the whole economy and its main sectors.

There has been a lengthy methodological debate about the utility of growth-accounting analysis, particularly with regard to the calculation of factor income shares, and the techniques of apportioning growth between factor inputs and productivity improvements. As E. F. Denison and Angus Maddison have shown, depending on what assumptions are made as to the appropriate allocation procedures, the final results can differ quite markedly. This point is brought out by the results of the present study that, in contrast to many other analyses, shows that factor inputs were generally a far more important source of growth than TFP, though the difference is somewhat less on a per capita basis, and that for two-thirds of a century (1873–1937) there was virtually no contribution from TFP. This is largely because most of the increase in labor productivity is attributed either to increases in the capital stock or improvements in the quality of the labor force and, hence, they automatically swell the contribution of factor inputs at the expense of TFP. Yet variations in the rate of growth of the domestic product over time were due more to shifts in TFP than TFI,

particularly in the postwar years (1951–73) when labor inputs were negligible.

A substantial part of the work is devoted to a detailed study of the measurement of factor shares, productivity change, and the influence of structural shifts in activity. The authors, however, are not unmindful of the ultimate causes of growth or those forces that determine changes in the accounting variables. They have much of interest to say on such matters though some of their comments will no doubt be considered provocative and possibly too sweeping on the basis of the evidence and arguments put forward: the low growth in manufacturing productivity from 1873 to 1913 could not have been offset by resource shifts (p. 462); the postwar performance of manufacturing would not have been transformed by a higher rate of investment (p. 393); and the high level of activity, until 1973, was not caused by policy factors (p. 313). Occasionally, some of the conclusions are rather vague and indeterminate, as in the case of the impact of the exchange rate in the 1920s (pp. 470–72, 530), or the influence of demand on TFP: "it would not be inconsistent to suggest that, as far as the growth of TFP is concerned, both the high demand of the postwar period and the low demand of the interwar period had *some* good effects."

Individual scholars, however, are bound to cavil at some of the statements in this monumental volume; indeed, the authors will no doubt be happy if their intensive labors encourage further debate on the many contentious issues raised. There is still much to be explained, moreover, about the central theme of Britain's economic growth, especially in respect of the postwar period when the track record was so poor in comparison with other countries.

DEREK H. ALDCROFT  
*University of Leicester*

RICHARD DAVIS. *The English Rothschilds*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. 272. \$17.95.

This scholarly history of the first three generations of an extraordinary Anglo-Jewish family begins with Nathan Mayer Rothschild (1777–1836), who left the Frankfurt ghetto in 1799 and eventually settled in London. Aided by banker-relatives on the Continent, he amassed a large fortune by performing financial services for the British and other governments during and after the Napoleonic wars. After Nathan's death, his widow, Hannah, directed family and business affairs until Lionel (1808–1879) and the three younger sons were able to assume responsibility. The Rothschilds continued to prosper and achieved ever-greater prominence. In 1847, Lionel



won election to Parliament for the City of London but was barred from taking his seat until Jewish emancipation in 1858. A decade later, the family included two other members of Parliament and a director of the Bank of England. The Rothschilds frequently entertained prominent public figures at their town houses and country estates. Rothschild young men attended Cambridge, where they were admitted to exclusive social circles, and young Rothschild heiresses, despite religious problems, married into aristocratic Christian families.

Beginning in the 1870s, and particularly after 1879 when Lionel's son "Natty" (1840–1915) took over direction of the family bank, the Rothschilds became deeply involved in high political controversies. Although still nominally Liberals, they supported Benjamin Disraeli's foreign and imperial policies. They arranged large loans to Egypt and favored growing British involvement in that country's affairs. Natty accepted a peerage offered by William Gladstone in 1885, the first to a professing Jew, but he and his two brothers actively supported the Unionists in their fight against Irish Home Rule. The Rothschilds were also closely linked with Cecil Rhodes but, contrary to contemporary critics, were not responsible for the Boer War. Ever sensitive to Jewish issues, they sought to combat growing anti-Semitism in England as well as in Russia. In the decade before 1914, with the Liberals again back in power, Natty and his brothers joined the Conservatives in favoring an expanded program of dreadnought construction while opposing the government's tax policies and social legislation. Natty revealed his deeply felt patriotism, however, after the outbreak of the First World War by becoming financial adviser to the Asquith cabinet and also head of the British Red Cross. A brief epilogue sums up Natty's important achievements and explains the diminished influence of the Rothschilds (and Britain) after his death.

Richard Davis, who utilized the Rothschild archives and other pertinent primary and secondary sources, has produced a solid, well-written, and informative family biography. In dealing with controversial issues, especially in the later chapters, he weighs the evidence carefully and is judicious in his conclusions. The author deals only superficially with the Rothschild bank, however, as he himself admits in his introduction (p. 19), and he has difficulty at times in organizing the multistranded material. Even so, this book is a welcome addition to the already considerable Rothschild literature and will be of interest both to the student and the general reader.

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL  
Rutgers University,  
Newark

HAROLD POLLINS. *Economic History of the Jews in England*. (Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press or Associated University Presses, East Brunswick, N.J. 1982. Pp. 339. \$30.00.

Foreigners have been responsible for significant economic developments in Britain. The Flemish weavers in the Middle Ages, the German miners in the Tudor period, the Dutch engineers and the Huguenot silkworkers in the seventeenth century, and the Irish navvies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have all contributed to Britain's industrial growth. Successive waves of Jewish immigrants, too, have played an important role in the economic life of the country as financiers, merchants, craftsmen, and shopkeepers. Their achievements are recorded in a scholarly work by Harold Pollins.

Little is known concerning either the first Jewish settlement in England in the Middle Ages or the second in the Tudor period. In the reign of Elizabeth I, there was a small community of Sephardic Jewish refugees in England who had fled from the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. They seem to have been nominally Christian, though some secretly practiced their own religion. During the Commonwealth, Jews were allowed to settle in England, and a Sephardic synagogue was established in London.

In the eighteenth century, most Jewish immigrants were Ashkenazim from Germany and Poland. Debarred from the universities, the professions, and public office, a number of Jews—both Sephardic and Ashkenazim—engaged in overseas trade, particularly in importing uncut diamonds from India. They also acted as brokers, bullion dealers, moneylenders, and army contractors. But the prosperous Jews in the London business community were in a minority—most Jews in England earned modest incomes as shopkeepers or skilled craftsmen. At the bottom of the social scale—particularly among the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim—were the peddlers, casual laborers, and beggars. Jewish charitable organizations gave generous help to poor Jews.

During the Industrial Revolution, Jews not only played a significant role as merchant bankers—N. M. Rothschild was the most famous—but were also active in promoting the expansion of many branches of manufacture. There were Jewish export merchants and entrepreneurs in the Lancashire cotton industry, the West Riding woolen and worsted industries, and the East End tobacco industry. Jews were also prominent in the manufacture and retail distribution of ready-made clothes, boots and shoes, jewelry, and watches.

The years between 1880 and 1914 saw the largest



influx of Jews into Britain. They were refugees fleeing from oppression in Russia, Poland, and Romania. While the descendants of earlier migrations were moving from towns to more pleasant suburbs, the newcomers often settled in the slums of London, Manchester, and Leeds. The new arrivals often lived in virtually closed communities having their own places of worship, schools, trade unions, markets, and shops. They were easily recognized by their clothes and by their speech (Yiddish). Many of them worked as tailors, dressmakers, furniture makers, tobacco workers, shopkeepers, and peddlers. Some were self-employed while others worked in Jewish firms that closed on Saturdays. Meanwhile, old established middle-class Jewish families continued to be active in finance and business but were now able to study at universities and to enter the professions. The last Jewish immigration to Britain was in the 1930s and was brought about by the oppression of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Unlike earlier refugees, these immigrants were mainly middle-class businessmen and professional men.

The detailed notes and the excellent bibliography show how thoroughly Pollins has examined his sources. His account is well written and well balanced. It is a valuable contribution to the economic history of Britain.

W. O. HENDERSON  
Hemel Hempstead,  
United Kingdom

JOSEPH BUCKMAN. *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880–1914*. Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 183. \$21.00.

"This book arises from an increasing dissatisfaction with the content and methodology encountered in the mounting literature on Jewish immigration to Britain during the period 1880–1914" (p. viii). It is with these vigorous sentiments that Joseph Buckman begins *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880–1914*, and by the end of the book the depths of this dissatisfaction cannot be in any doubt. It is a spare, relentless, hounding, and angry work directed against a "bourgeois historiography" (p. 2) that, he argues, has been "cemented into eclectic postures and disabled by an institution-centered and establishment-oriented methodology" (p. viii).

A good deal of Anglo-Jewish history has underplayed the history, indeed the existence, of the Jewish working class. The focus has been on middle-class institutions, prominent individuals, and the drive toward "respectability." In place of this received opinion, Buckman puts the Jewish worker in the foreground. This is a valuable corrective. More-

over, his workers exist as a separate and distinct class rather than as adjuncts moved around and pushed forward by the Anglo-Jewish establishment. In other words, Buckman, making good use of Yiddish sources, emphasizes the class divisions that opened up in the new Leeds environment. Furthermore, whereas previously there has been an emphasis on the predominantly static and generally beneficial economic environment in which the immigrants worked, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle* underlines the fluctuations and uncertainty that affected the clothing trade, where the bulk of the immigrants were concentrated. With these emphases on class, class conflict, and "ever-lasting uncertainty," Buckman provides a vigorous rebuttal of the cosy atmosphere that has suffused so much of Anglo-Jewish history. Moreover, his work is a welcome geographical extension to our knowledge of Jewish immigration; hitherto the weight of research effort has been concentrated on London.

There is no doubt, therefore, that *Immigrants and the Class Struggle* is an important contribution to the history of Anglo-Jewry. But it loses some of its impact by its narrow focus. We are told very little about the city of Leeds or about the life of the immigrants outside the workshops. This is a pity since Buckman's 1968 Strathclyde Ph.D. thesis, "The Economic and Social History of Alien Immigration to Leeds, 1880–1914," revealed his knowledge about such matters. In addition, the vitriol present in the book is, at times, overdone and, on occasions, misplaced. Furthermore, there are sources that Buckman has not used: why is there no reference, for example, to Rosalind O'Brien's Bristol Ph.D. thesis on Leeds Jewry during the time of mass immigration? Finally, although the book is generally well produced, it is regrettable that Manchester University Press did not think it necessary to provide a bibliography. In the end, of course, it is argument and analysis that count, and Buckman has thrown down his challenge.

COLIN HOLMES  
University of Sheffield

RENATE SIMPSON. *How the PhD Came to Britain: A Century of Struggle for Postgraduate Education*. (Society for Research into Higher Education Monograph, number 54.) Guildford: The University of Surrey, for the Society. 1983. Pp. 204. £9.75.

This book is a classic example of what Sir Herbert Butterfield called the "Whig interpretation of history." Its scope is governed by the present-minded assumption that the introduction of the Ph.D. degree into the British universities between 1917 and 1920 was the "symbol of the modern era of organized training in research" (p. 159). The past un-

folds as a success story. The development of postgraduate studies in Britain is viewed as a linear course of "general progress towards the Ph.D. degree" (p. 3); delivered safely down to us at last, in spite of many vicissitudes, by legions of far-sighted heroes, among them A. W. von Hoffmann, H. E. Roscoe, C. H. Firth and "the gentle and wise vice-chancellor of Leeds himself, Michael Sadler" (p. 110).

Within this overall framework the book falls into two sections. The first, a survey of postgraduate studies from the Middle Ages to the outbreak of war in 1914, can safely be ignored. Having an eye only for what in the past seems relevant to the present, the teleological foreshortening inherent in the Whig interpretation does not lend itself to an improved historical understanding. Renate Simpson's willingness to portray only as villains, obstructionists, or noncontributors those academics who opposed the introduction of research degrees because they thought them an inappropriate addition to the existing and well-defined functions of the university, simply serves to obscure the main features of one of the most interesting, and yet least explored, aspects of nineteenth-century educational history. In waiving any serious consideration of the recent specialization within the curriculum, and of the slow transformation of intellectual life from vicarage and grange to a university setting, as mitigating factors in the belated development of a research-oriented consciousness in Britain, the author appears to have written in complete ignorance of the latest and most important developments in the historiography of higher education.

The second section, which deals with the three-year period immediately preceding the institution of the Ph.D., is more impressive. Based on detailed archival research, it offers convincing evidence to suggest that the universities' blanket-like acceptance of the lower doctorate was less the inevitable product of a century-long struggle for postgraduate education than the direct result of pressure from the Foreign Office to promote the degree as a gesture of international goodwill to colonial and American students who might otherwise turn to the German system. For an explanation of how the Ph.D. was integrated and made to work we must search elsewhere.

PETER R. H. SLEE  
University of Manchester

OWEN CHADWICK. *Hensley Henson: A Study in the Friction between Church and State*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 337. \$39.95.

Churches have grown accustomed to defending their integrity from outside critics and enemies, but

if the assailant is a loyal and high-ranking member, the attack takes on added importance and significance. Herbert Hensley Henson (1863–1947), priest, pastor, celebrated preacher, and bishop, proudly styled himself as a gadfly who recognized and pointed out the evils and inequalities in his church and country. Owen Chadwick's memoir of Henson, commissioned by the dean and chapter of Durham Cathedral, traces the career of this pugnacious clergyman.

Henson's youth was a child's hell. According to Chadwick, "he was never allowed to be a boy" (p. 1). The early death of a mother, a father nurtured on evangelical nonconformity, and a vision of humanity as depraved, clouded these years. A bitter and rebellious spirit soon developed that would characterize his entire life. As an undergraduate at Oxford he read Modern History, and later was elected a Fellow at All Souls. Ordained a priest in 1888, he volunteered for parish work, and his splendid preaching ability and fine pastoral work brought him fame. Henson, a "liberal Modernist," believed that faith did not depend on historical circumstances. He also advocated intercommunion with Dissenters. His appointment as bishop of Hereford in 1918, therefore, brought a cry of protest and disbelief.

David Lloyd George wanted a preacher at Hereford, and Hensley Henson was outstanding in the pulpit. Immediately, however, Henson was branded as a heretic by many because he doubted the virgin birth and the other New Testament miracles—the new bishop believed that one could dismiss certain miracles, remain a Christian, and even become bishop. Chadwick dramatically recreates the tension, the campaigns against Henson, and his stubborn refusal to recant.

Later, as bishop of Durham (1920–1939), his words and actions continued to alienate many. The General Strike, he argued, constituted a criminal action that might lead to a civil war. He despised the idea of prohibition, and publicly attacked his dean who favored temperance. Henson questioned the motives of the National Assembly's desire to change the *Book of Common Prayer*, but after the Commons rejected the measure, he led a campaign for immediate disestablishment. The bishop of Durham shocked some by his support for a liberal divorce law. Like Churchill, he castigated appeasement and warned his country of the dangers from Germany and Italy. Even in retirement, Henson remained a man of action and words.

Chadwick portrays Henson as a prophet, rebel, and independent thinker obsessed with failure and personal sadness. The author skillfully shows his subject struggling and agonizing over issues, and then, often imprudently, speaking out. Chadwick's memoir of this fiery cleric is impressive. The psy-

chological insights do not overwhelm the reader, and the careful choice of anecdotes and extracts from the subject's journal succeeds in demonstrating the anger, frustration, and melancholy of this churchman. Moreover, Henson emerges as a symbol of the tension and crisis between a church and state leaving the security of Victorian England and confronting the uncertainties of the twentieth century.

RENE M. KOLLAR  
*Saint Vincent Archabbey*

IAN WATSON. *Song and Democratic Culture in Britain: An Approach to Popular Culture in Social Movements*. London: Croom Helm or St. Martin's, New York. 1983. Pp. vii, 247. \$25.00.

In this comparatively short book, Ian Watson undertakes several enormous tasks. Seeking to provide nothing less than a "fresh *theoretical* approach to the relationship between ideology and culture" (p. 2), he also hopes to revitalize the folk song movement in contemporary Britain. He explores the reciprocal influence of worker-songwriters and middle-class intellectuals who contribute their art to working-class causes. He vigorously defends British popular culture from the charge that it has deteriorated since the Industrial Revolution and denies that the working class has become merely a passive consumer of mass entertainment served up by the bourgeoisie.

Watson is an unequivocal advocate of the class struggle when he underscores the difference between genuinely popular and mass culture, and when he amplifies Lenin's distinction between "a democratic and socialist culture," on the one hand, and a dominant bourgeois culture, on the other (p. 43). His comments on numerous industrial folk songs not only demonstrate that the rural folk song tradition did not end with industrialization but also serve as fascinating textual analyses themselves. His pronounced Marxist bias does not permit him to praise "slipshod art just because it may have been created by a worker" (p. 136). That same bias, however, does allow him to adopt an authoritarian tone in defining the contours of real working-class culture.

Phrases such as "collectivist values," "stubborn pride," and "resilience and struggle," which recur throughout the book, suggest the qualities in plebeian culture that Watson seeks to extol. He is not looking for escapism, passivity, fatalism, or negativity, and he utterly repudiates the notion that song may be a working-class substitute for action. The industrial folk song in its genuine guise, according to Watson, encourages class unity and resistance to oppression. Furthermore, he urges collectors and

performers to choose those folk songs "whose perspective towards socialism is unequivocal" (p. 121), although socialist ideology has historically played a small role in molding the British labor movement.

As part of this highly selective portrayal of the British working class, Watson enunciates a fail-safe definition of the "second," or democratic and socialist, culture. It includes, he asserts, only those aspects of any given historical period "which express opposition to exploitation and thereby the right to a happy and meaningful existence free of oppression and injustice" (p. 47). Whatever ugly elements may exist in proletarian attitudes—racism and sexism, for example—can accordingly be minimized, for they have been imposed by the ruling-class ideology and are not intrinsic to plebeian culture. In an analysis of one particular song, Watson explicitly states that, since its conclusion is "arrogant and loveless," it cannot in any way be considered "socialist or humanist" (p. 188). Indeed, he takes the liberty of virtually equating socialism with humanism.

Such unabashed partisanship amply reveals the outstanding characteristic of Watson's book. It is not a detailed history of industrial folk music, but an ardent celebration of the working-class spirit, as Watson perceives it. The bibliography indicates how thoroughly the author consulted left-wing publications, but a more balanced assessment would have considered such important studies as Patrick Joyce's *Work, Society, and Politics* (1980).

JANET OPPENHEIM  
*American University*

M. L. SANDERS and PHILIP M. TAYLOR. *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914–18*. London: Macmillan; distributed by Crane, Russak, New York. 1982. Pp. x, 320. \$24.50.

British propaganda during World War I became a controversial subject in several ways. One controversy hinged on its effectiveness in deciding the course of the war. Even before Campbell Stuart's *Secrets of Crewe House* appeared in 1920, many Germans had extolled British efforts and denigrated their own. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler made much of this contrast, stressing that only the British had understood how to apply propaganda on a tremendous scale. The contributions of the press magnates—Lord Northcliffe at the Enemy Propaganda Department of the Ministry of Information and Lord Beaverbrook as the Minister of Information—were also subjects of debate. Many writers blamed Northcliffe's atrocity-mongering for discrediting the case for government propaganda and thereby delaying Britain's reentry into the war of words in the 1930s. By then another controversy was raging—American isolationists

charged that their country had been duped into fighting in 1917 by wily British propagandists.

Official propaganda conducted abroad is the main concern of *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914–1918*. This was, of course, only one aspect of the overall attempt to win support for the war effort, and was bolstered, and indeed at times obscured, by a flood of literature from private sources. For example, British speakers on overseas lecture tours were usually sponsored by private organizations and not by the Foreign Office or the Ministry of Information.

Given this limitation in the way they have defined their subject, M. L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor have succeeded in providing a careful, scholarly account of a thorny subject. They describe it as “a revisionist interpretation of a story that has not been told accurately before” (p. vii), but admit that with many relevant documents destroyed or lost it is not comprehensive or definitive. It is certainly revisionist in the emphasis it places on the continuity in the development of propaganda from the early years to the more spectacular achievements after February 1918, when a specific enemy propaganda department was established. It does not, however, move as far in “demythologising” Crewe House as Michael Balfour did in *Propaganda in War, 1939–1945* (1979).

British spokesmen in the first three years of the war were handicapped by a lack of funds, but their restraint was the result of a conscious belief in the value of disguised and indirect propaganda. Especially in the United States, as Lord Robert Cecil of the Foreign Office put it, one had “to do good by stealth” (p. 59). Sanders and Taylor point to the successes of those years, before Prime Minister Lloyd George’s broader effort to undermine Whitehall’s influence on foreign policy led to the decline of its involvement in the field of propaganda. They argue their case well and make few slips, although a cunning typographical error does have them making the author of a pamphlet argue that “the destruction by submarines on the high seas of non-combatant lives is done in *defence* of elementary principles of humanity” (p. 148). Their book should become the standard in a crowded field.

DONALD S. BIRN  
State University of New York,  
Albany

SHEILA LAWLOR. *Britain and Ireland, 1914–23*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan or Barnes and Noble, Totowa, N.J. 1983. Pp. xii, 291. \$28.50.

In Ireland, the years 1914 to 1923 witnessed the struggle for an independent republic, a struggle

culminating in the partition of the predominantly pro-British Northeast from the nationalist South and the establishment in the latter of a self-governing Irish Free State, whose supporters overcame Republican opposition in a bitter civil war. In her study of this critical period in Anglo-Irish history, Sheila Lawlor seeks to determine “exactly how and why events occurred, at the highest level, on the British and Irish sides” (p. viii). Her account is based almost entirely on unpublished materials (private papers and official records) and is exhaustively documented in forty-three pages of notes.

Lawlor’s work helps to illuminate the problems of the Free State and Republican armies in 1922–23, and her treatment of men and issues is generally even-handed and sometimes perceptive. But despite the claims of its author and publisher, the book offers little that is new in the way of information or analysis, and it does have serious shortcomings. Lawlor allocates only half of the text (112 pages) to the period from August 1914 to October 1921, reserving the remainder for the seventeen months from the treaty negotiations through the civil war and ending her narrative abruptly with no summation or conclusions. Although she concentrates attention on the actions and motives of high-level decision makers, she fails to examine their personal relations in any detail. Lawlor ignores the negotiations on the Free State’s draft constitution and only touches on British contingency plans for economic and military action if the Irish defaulted on the treaty, both subjects closely related to her leitmotif. And she raises some issues only to drop them with no explanation of their resolution, for example, the Limerick army crisis of March 1922 and the angry British reaction to the Collins-de Valera election pact.

Minor irritation arises from Lawlor’s insistence on letting her subjects speak for themselves. Her narrative is replete with short excerpts from letters, reports, minutes, and so forth, that are sometimes strung together awkwardly. The reader would have been better served by more frequent use of paraphrase and summary, and would have been less distracted from the narrative if the author had amalgamated consecutive references to the same source within paragraphs. Despite the inclusion of some useful biographical notes at the end of the book, a number of persons in the text (and the notes) remain unidentified. Finally, the book contains some minor factual errors, for example, the wrong date of Britain’s entry into the European war and the wrong number of ministerial resignations resulting from that action. Surprisingly, among the incorrect ages given for several Irish leaders is that of General Richard Mulcahy, whose papers are one of Lawlor’s major sources.

Because it omits or skims over so much important



background material, this is not a book for nonspecialists. Those familiar with the subject will find it of some use; they are also likely to find it hard going.

JOSEPH M. CURRAN  
*Le Moyne College*

JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU. *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance économique et attraction urbaine.* (Démographie et sociétés, number 17.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1983. Pp. 651. 390 fr.

Despite the great increase in historians' knowledge of the population of early modern Europe in the last quarter-century, our understanding of one aspect of historical demography, the movement of peoples, has failed to develop apace. The subject of Jean-Pierre Poussou's important contribution to the study of migration, immigration to Bordeaux in the eighteenth century, is ambitious. In the last century of the Old Regime the city's established wine trade and burgeoning West Indian commerce drew many new arrivals to Bordeaux. The city's formerly stable population grew from 45,000 persons in 1700 to 111,000 in 1791, and its growth rate of 145 percent was the greatest of any major French city in this period.

Poussou's research on his subject is impressive. With great understanding of the strengths and limitations of his sources, he gathered data on more than 50,000 immigrants from parish marital and burial acts and the records of the Hôpital Saint-André of Bordeaux. His demographic research beyond Bordeaux embraced the records of some 80 cities and more than 300 villages. He supplemented his demographic information with study of criminal court dossiers and marital contracts, analyzing the massive data base without benefit of computer. Poussou's extensive primary research, his consummate command of the secondary sources relating to Bordeaux and southwestern France, and the judicious conclusions that he draws from his research make his work a model for future studies of population movements.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, Poussou studies immigrants to Bordeaux to identify their social and geographic origins. He finds their numbers increasing rapidly after 1760, in direct correlation with the city's expanding economy. Some of the increasing migration fueling the city's growth followed well-established patterns. Young women from districts neighboring the city had come to Bordeaux for centuries hoping for employment, chiefly as domestics, that might eventually provide them with a marriage portion; young male artisans from disparate areas long had brought crafts suited to the city's port activity; and immigrants from

mountainous areas assumed their traditional roles in the construction trades. But new patterns of migration evolved as Bordeaux's economy expanded in the eighteenth century. New areas disgorged immigrants to the Bordeaux employment market, though not all found success on the Gironde. Poussou shows that immigrants dominated the records of crime, vagrancy, unwed motherhood, and paupers' deaths in the city's hospital.

The second part of Poussou's book is an examination of Bordeaux's attraction to its immigrants. This is the most outstanding part of the book. It is virtually a social and economic history of southwestern France, the region that provided over 80 percent of the city's immigrants. Poussou analyzes property tenure in southwestern France to find that peasant holdings were decreasing in size and rural poverty increasing in extent. Many of the most densely populated rural areas, zones in which there seemed no escape from advancing poverty, contributed numerous migrants to Bordeaux. Poussou's analysis of wages and prices explains why Bordeaux was a beacon to many of these poor. He finds that in a number of trades the city's wage levels were the highest in France. And in a significant modification of Labrousse's scheme of wage-price movement, he establishes that the wage rate in many Bordeaux trades kept up with inflation. But perhaps Poussou's most important finding is the great extent of population movement. Certainly Bordeaux drew thousands, but other smaller centers with their own zones of attraction drew their hundreds as well. This movement, moreover, was not all one-way. Poussou describes the marital and other ties with the countryside that accounted for a smaller migration away from the cities. In Bordeaux one-quarter of female immigrants eventually left as a result of their marriage to rural males.

Poussou's analysis of the eighteenth-century growth of Bordeaux is a signal addition to our knowledge of the social history and demography of early modern Europe. As such its import will extend well beyond the ranks of historians of France.

JULIUS R. RUFF  
*Marquette University*

CLAUDE GRIMMER. *Vivre à Aurillac au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Foreword by EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1983. Pp. 261. 79 fr.

Written and printed in Aurillac, these interesting pages were composed with a desire to please not only the scholarly public but also the Aurillacois themselves. That is the charm of the book. Claude Grimmer has a real flair for her subject. Her work will appeal to antiquarians; it will, however, also



entice the learned reader. This carefully documented *thèse de troisième cycle* (the first cycle is under way, we are told) has a genuine intellectual message. It denies the relevance of class to social analysis and also makes a statement about the changing nature of culture in eighteenth-century provincial France.

During the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI (the book carefully ignores the Revolution looming in the future and concentrates on Aurillac under Louis *le bien aimé* and his successor) this Auvergnat center had a population of 6,000. It was economically and demographically dormant. But it was, emphatically, a city. Its inhabitants, rich and poor alike, shared a common cultural world-view. Religious attitudes, for example, were uniform. An organic whole in its own right, Aurillac was necessarily distinct from its hinterland. Its bourgeoisie was important. Many nobles lived in Aurillac but culturally their influence in the city was more diffused than it was in the outlying countryside. French was more often spoken *intra* than *extra muros*, and Aurillac had a more modern cultural life. (A theater was set up there in the 1780s.)

The *topoi* currently discussed in the history of eighteenth-century France are all considered here. The nature of provincial sociability is described at length as are violence, the condition of women, cultural hegemonies, the vital importance and extent of public life, the weight of feudalism, and the relations of town and country.

The central argument of this anti-Marxist essay is somewhat uncertain. We are told on the one hand that Aurillac was still a corporately defined entity. Clans mattered more than class, and traditional hierarchies like the church and royal officialdom were critically active. On the other hand we are told that, in the eighteenth century, the Aurillacois acquired a new sense of what their city should be like. After 1720 they lost interest in their battlements and ordered them torn down. The town fathers beautified and gentrified the city. By the late 1770s the Aurillacois, whose loyalties to corporate entities were earlier described as intact, had become confirmed individualists. This juxtaposition of old and new is somewhat baffling. It may well be that such divided loyalties should be thought of as "fruitful contradictions," to use Maoist jargon, but readers will regret that the author does not say very much on their extent, causes, and effects.

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's preface is typically intelligent and puckish. In a few pages he describes with unusual elegance and deft accuracy the contents, strengths, and (by implication) the weaknesses of this book. He also adds that Grimmer was quite right to take as her model the thought of Ibn Khaldoun, a connoisseur of Mediterranean society and, as such, a much better guide to the history of Aurillac than "les études de Marx sur la lutte des

classes." Grimmer appears to agree, but I am not altogether sure that she is right.

PATRICE HIGONNET  
Harvard University

NORMAN HAMPSON. *Will and Circumstance: Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the French Revolution*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press or Gerald Duckworth, London. 1983. Pp. x, 282. \$17.50.

A full study of Montesquieu's influence on the French Revolution would be a most welcome pendant to the numerous publications on Rousseau and the French Revolution. Articles and books by Joan McDonald, G. H. McNeil, Lionello Sozzi, Durand Echeverria, Ruth Graham, Roger Barny, Albert Soboul, and others over the past two decades have hardly exhausted the Rousseauiana of the 1790s, the titles alone of which occupy hundreds of pages in A. Monglond's ten-volume bibliography, *La France révolutionnaire et impériale*. But there does not seem to be any study specifically devoted to Montesquieu's influence on the Revolution. He is generally identified with a cult of the British constitution (G. Bonno, 1932) during the pre-Revolution and the constitutional monarchy (1789-92) and with the separation of powers inimical to both monarchical and revolutionary absolutism. Norman Hampson has chosen to emphasize Montesquieu's environmentalism which finds men are able to shape the environment far more through institutions and circumstances than by virtue and will.

Hampson's lively book is less a comparative study of Rousseau and Montesquieu in the French Revolution than a book about five Rousseauists who are shown to have been much indebted to Montesquieu. The five are L. S. Mercier, J. P. Brissot de Warville, J. P. Marat, Robespierre, and Saint-Just. Others who were clearly indebted to Montesquieu such as Mirabeau, J. J. Mounier, E. Sieyès, Mme. de Stael, and Benjamin Constant are hardly mentioned.

Like Hampson's many other books, *Will and Circumstance* is packed with detail and the writing is crisp and economical, descriptive rather than discursive or analytical. Sources consist largely of contemporary pamphlets; current literature on these men is refreshingly, if annoyingly, ignored. The result is vivid but not always easy to read or retain, as the biographies tend to elude the central focus of the title.

Nonetheless, Hampson's paradoxical and provocative argument is unmistakable. "Where Montesquieu, after some hesitation, had rejected antiquity in favour of the modern world, Rousseau remained wedded to a literal re-creation of Sparta" (p. 50). Montesquieu's recognition of *la force des choses* and the ineluctability of circumstances is more modern

than a millenarianism inspired by Rousseau. Saint-Just claimed that the moral revolution failed. Saint-Just had noted: "A Revolution has taken place within the government; it has not yet penetrated civil society" (p. 258). Mercier, the only one to survive Thermidor of these five men, laments in 1796: "When a Revolution does not bring out virtues, it throws up vices and that is what has happened to our youth" (p. 268). Catherine II, Joseph II, and Frederick II are seen as the true agents of revolution because they were enlightened pragmatists. Even Marat, who approved the king's legislative veto, and Robespierre, who disapproved of direct democracy, paid tribute to the wisdom of Montesquieu—but evidently not enough. Rousseau prevailed and France lost. "Like Montesquieu, [Rousseau] was the first to formulate a political philosophy that, for better or worse—in his case mainly for worse—has survived to the present day" (p. 51). This juxtaposition of Rousseau and Montesquieu offers us sobering enlightenment (somewhat at the risk of a cynical amorality on which Rousseauianism breeds). Hampson has argued an impressive case.

R. EMMET KENNEDY, JR.  
George Washington University

WILLIAM FORTESCUE. *Alphonse de Lamartine: A Political Biography*. New York: St. Martin's or Croom Helm, London. 1983. Pp. 296. \$29.95.

Both Lamartine's political career and William Fortescue's lively and perceptive reconstruction of that career owe a great deal to the peculiar French reverence for the successful man of letters. Lamartine chose, for reasons somewhat cloudy, to parlay a youthful reputation as one of the three outstanding poets of his generation first into a diplomatic, then into a parliamentary career. Lamartine was born into a family of *grands notables*, yet it is evident that his literary contacts greased his way into the diplomatic service and that, later, his standing as a national poet gave his utterances as a politician a resonance they would not have had otherwise. One does not realize how peculiarly French this experience is until one looks for analogues in nineteenth-century Britain, Germany, or the United States.

Fortescue is, in a way, himself the beneficiary of this French adoration of literary greatness. His is admittedly a work of synthesis based not only on Lamartine's own vast corpus of incidental writings, letters, and memoirs, but also on the immense secondary literature that Lamartine has spawned. In examining Fortescue's documentation, one comes away with the impression that every youthful love affair and every casual friendship has resulted in

learned articles and monographs: the "un ami inconnu de Lamartine" set-piece has become a veritable literary genre in its own right.

On one level, this welter of already explored detail must have facilitated the author's task; on another level, one should admire the deftness with which Fortescue steps back from these tempting sidetracks. What we are given is a straightforwardly chronological political biography that begins by taking a bored and idle young provincial aristocrat born into a fervently royalist family to the pinnacle of national literary success. We follow the young poet as a not overly enthusiastic diplomat, then, after 1831, as a parliamentary politician who, with his aura of romantic aloofness, ends up as a national political figure. Fortescue traces Lamartine's slow ideological evolution to the left—his protagonist made a career of ambiguity and equivocation—that began as early as the late 1820s, but turned against the July Monarchy only after 1843.

I found the author's analysis of Lamartine's gradual rise to political eminence as an outsider the most informative part of the biography: Lamartine's career prepared him both for revolutionary leadership and for probable failure as a revolutionary *malgré lui*. His role in 1848—as chief spokesman for the provisional government and as minister of foreign affairs—is allotted not quite one-third of the book, while his remaining, politically sterile, twenty years of life get a brief chapter. Fortescue presents the archetypal Lamartine, *Quarante-huitard*, conjuring the crowd, but his Lamartine is much less socially conscious than the sage depicted by H. Guillemin and is, moreover, often swayed by purely personal considerations, as in his support of Ledru-Rollin. Lamartine's foreign policy is presented as a contradiction of peaceminded common sense (which prevails) and a secret adventurism (which circumstances abort)—an interpretation not unlike that of L. C. Jennings.

Lamartine does not make an easy subject for a political biography. The man was complicated yet shallow, so that the unravelling of his complications is not always rewarding. His ideas tended to be fuzzy and perhaps a touch more self-serving than those of the run-of-the-mill nineteenth-century politician. He was vain and totally self-absorbed: in short, not really very *sympa*. Although Lamartine himself wallowed in tedium, it is to Fortescue's credit that the story he tells seems more compelling than its hero. I was impressed not only by the thorough scholarship but also by the intelligence, feel for literary style, and extraordinary fairmindedness of the biographer. To the extent that there is such a thing as a "definitive" political biography, this is it.

PETER H. AMANN  
University of Michigan,  
Dearborn

STUART MICHAEL PERSELL. *The French Colonial Lobby, 1889–1938*. (Hoover Colonial Studies.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 235. \$24.95.

Historians have much to learn from lost causes. One of the most spectacular of them is the subject of this carefully researched monograph by Stuart Michael Persell. In less than seventy-five years, France acquired and then relinquished the second-largest overseas empire in modern times. The book deals with the pressure groups that pushed for expansion and development. They sprang largely from the middle classes and were mostly moderate or radical republicans. But they were diversified professionally, and as personalities they ranged from the gentle, scholarly Henri Froidavaux, who introduced this reviewer into colonialist circles, to the exuberant and faintly sinister Eugène Etienne. The latter is properly identified as the most untiring and successful of their leaders.

The title of this work is somewhat misleading. Only a brief chapter is devoted to the years 1914–38. But for the earlier period the author has presented an impressive study. He treats the well-known motivations: national pride, military advantage, the *mission civilisatrice*, and economic gain. The missionary impulse receives little attention because the colonialists with few exceptions were anticlerical. On the economic side, Persell exposes the myth of the “tropical treasure house.” On the military theme, he fails to include the proposals for North African and black troop reinforcements advocated by Adolphe Messimy and Charles Mangin.

The most important contribution made by Persell is his computer-assisted analysis of the 167 deputies and senators whom he lists as the core members of the *parti colonial*. Proof is provided for its geographic base (ports, colonies, commercial cities like Paris and Lyons), its middle-level business connections, and its strong representation on important parliamentary commissions. But big industry and the great banks were usually unwilling to contribute large sums to the major colonialist propaganda organizations that, together with the *parti colonial*, constituted the colonial lobby.

A debate continues about the effectiveness of the lobby in foreign policy and in public opinion. The editors of this book state a basic truth (p. xi), that the “French government always regarded colonies as being of secondary importance” to French security in Europe. Yet on the same page they assert that “through the *parti colonial*, the Quai d’Orsay was influenced, indeed, was dominated.” It was influenced often, yes; but never dominated. When the chips were down, as at Fashoda in 1898, with Siam in 1899, and with the French Congo in 1911, the colonialists had to endure setbacks. Persell acknowledges this in the case of Siam. But Fashoda, the classic instance, is not in his index.

No considerable part of public opinion was ever won over except in times when feelings were running high against England or Germany. Otherwise, the general attitude was one of indifference or apathy. The author is on questionable ground when, writing about the campaign to create a separate ministry of colonies, he claims that “public opinion, which had been apathetic on the issue in 1889, had grown receptive by 1893, thanks largely to the education it had received from the efforts of the colonialist press.” That apathy persisted until the bitter end in 1962. It then, however, produced one fortunate effect: it made easier a transition to the nation’s postcolonial role. As C. M. Andrew and A. S. Kenya-Forstner have noted in their *France Overseas* (1981, p. 251): “For France, unlike Britain, the imperial experience impinged only fleetingly on national life. For most Frenchmen it has been quickly shrugged off.”

VINCENT CONFER  
Syracuse University

MARIA GRAZIA MAIORINI. *Il Mouvement Republicain Populaire partito della IV Repubblica*. (Università di Roma, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, number 41.) Milan: Giuffrè. 1983. Pp. 335. L. 16,000.

Founded in 1944, the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP) was inspired by the prewar Christian democratic tradition of *Le Sillon* and *l’Aube* as well as the experience of the resistance and the liberation. The new party hoped to break through the sterile polarity of left and right in French politics and become the creative force behind the transformation and renovation of French society so widely sought in 1944–45. The MRP scored a major electoral success in 1946, becoming for a while the largest party in France. Although its leaders continued to play a prominent role in the governments of the Fourth Republic, the party gradually lost its élan and its electoral strength and was dissolved in the 1960s. Maria Grazia Maiorini gives a lucid and sympathetic account of the party’s history although there is relatively little in her study that cannot be found in previous English and French studies.

Maiorini’s real concern, however, is less the political history of the MRP than the internal life of the party and the penetration of its ideals into French society. The book contains a good deal of useful information about the party’s local organizations, the nature of its propaganda, and the social composition of its *militants*. She discusses at length the various organizational ambitions of the party and its persistent efforts to keep the MRP dynamic, popular, and effective. The MRP sought to be a party “pas comme les autres.” Because it was committed to a vision of a democratic France in which the division

between the *pays réel* and the *pays légal* no longer prevailed, the party was to serve as a vital organic link between society and state. Its organization was to be a direct reflection of its doctrine and its membership as dedicated to political education as to political success. To be sure, many French political parties periodically gave lip service to similar ideals, but the MRP took its rhetoric seriously. The lasting significance of the MRP, Maiorini contends, was not its lackluster existence but its contribution to political education and the politicization of public life. This is consistent with her general approach to the MRP, which emphasizes the progressive ideals of its founders rather than the conventionally conservative character of its membership and its electorate.

On Maiorini's own evidence, however, the party achieved rather less than she suggests. Despite its avowedly democratic and aconfessional character, it moved steadily to the right after 1946 and was rarely able to extend itself beyond the traditionally conservative Catholic strongholds of the east and west. It remained, its democratic statutes notwithstanding, a weakly articulated party. The endless discussions about the need for internal vitality simply reflected the increasing sclerosis of the party. Finally, the author's excellent analysis of the departmental federations of the MRP reveals a party that was not as far removed from its stagnant predecessors as her lyrical prose would have one believe.

WILLIAM D. IRVINE  
York University

IRWIN M. WALL. *French Communism in the Era of Stalin: The Quest for Unity and Integration, 1945–1962*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 97.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xii. 268. \$29.95.

Viewed from the outside during the years between the liberation and the end of the Algerian War, the French Communist party (PCF) appeared to many observers an impenetrable monolith whose leaders, hidden behind a facade of smiling unanimity and "democratic centralism," acted as agents of Soviet foreign policy and constituted a formidable obstacle to the economic recovery of France and the reconstruction of a smoothly functioning democratic political system. It was a party not left but east. The memoirs and historical interpretations of those who abandoned the PCF during this era, or were hounded from it, have not so much revised this picture as confirmed it: to them, in retrospect, the communist experience took the form of a delusion or nightmare within which truth was twisted to conform to the unpredictable gyrations of the party's line.

Irwin M. Wall now invites us to consider the history of French communism during this period

under a different light. More victim than villain, the PCF was a thoroughly French political movement whose main objective was not revolution but unqualified admission into a broadly based democratic coalition. True, the party was Stalinist and had been for many years; but that did not mean that it was always obedient to the wishes or commands of the Soviet leadership. Indeed, Stalinism in France was a means by which the party retained its independence and remained itself. Viewed from a functionalist perspective, Stalinism was a system of bureaucratic control by which a working-class elite rose to power in the labor movement and defended its position through cooptation against the threat of middle-class infiltration and domination. Moreover, Stalinism could easily be reconciled with native French revolutionary traditions; and whatever its history in Russia, in France it turned out to be perfectly compatible with social democratic practice. Witness the fact that between 1945 and 1962 the PCF's major campaigns were directed against American interference in French affairs and colonial wars. At times when the political system was threatened by instability, the PCF always counseled caution or, as in 1958, rallied to its defense.

This thoughtful book will be, and deserves to be, widely read. Drawing on interviews with participants and an impressive range of published sources, Wall is able to explain shifts in party line and purges of high-ranking leaders that seemed puzzling and capricious at the time. Of particular interest are: his careful examination of communist ministers in office during the years between 1945 and 1947; his exhumation of the conflict between those leaders who obeyed party directives in 1939–41 and those who owed their position and prestige to their involvement in the Resistance; and his treatment of Maurice Thorez, whose authority over the other members of the Politburo was much less binding than had formerly been assumed. Not everyone, however, will draw the conclusions Wall has from the dossier he has assembled. What Wall calls the quest for integration could just as easily be interpreted as an artful adjustment to circumstances that militated against the immediate achievement of long-standing communist aims. Nor do I grasp how the practice of a party whose structure is authoritarian, whose economic policies are aimed at the creation of a state within a state, and whose highest priority in foreign affairs has been the support of Soviet suppression of liberties both within and outside the borders of the Soviet Union can be said to be "social-democratic." Perhaps this term means something different to Wall than it means to me. What a shame, too, to have to report that Wall's book, admirable in many respects, is marred by slipshod writing, missing accents, misspellings, inconsistent capitalization, and minor but disconcerting errors of fact. The author would be well advised to



edit carefully any future edition that his book enjoys.

ROBERT WOHL  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

DAVID E. VASSBERG, *La venta de tierras baldías: El comunitarismo agrario y la corona de Castilla durante el siglo XVI*. (Estudios.) Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones Agrarias. 1983. Pp. 265. 450 ptas.

MIGUEL ÁNGEL LADERO QUESADA, *El siglo XV en Castilla: Fuentes de renta y política fiscal*. (Ariel Historia, number 34.) Barcelona: Ariel. 1982. Pp. 212.

These two volumes deal with Spanish fiscal policy in late medieval and early modern times. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada's book consists of a collection of articles, published originally in different journals between 1974 and 1980, in which he examines the general pattern of royal income and expenditure in late medieval Castile. In the process Ladero further develops views and conclusions presented in his previous work *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV* (1973). David E. Vassberg's book is a monograph devoted to a consideration of one specific financial expedient utilized by Spanish rulers in the sixteenth century.

Monarchs of the late Middle Ages, as Ladero notes, faced difficult economic problems. State-building required large sums of money, but royal income tended to decrease because of the growing social and political power of the nobility. The response of the Castilian monarchs was to devise additional sources of revenue. Between 1338 and 1406 many new forms of taxation were introduced, such as the *alcabala*, or sales tax, which became the most important single source of royal income. The new system brought increasing returns, with receipts reaching their highest levels in the first half of the fifteenth century; they decreased sharply, however, during the troubled reign of Henry IV (1454–74). When Ferdinand and Isabella came to the throne, they retained the financial structure inherited from the late Middle Ages but found other ways to replenish the royal purse. The Habsburg rulers continued the same system, but when faced with mounting debts and growing expenditures, they resorted to desperate financial expedients to raise money.

One such measure was the sale of the *tierras baldías* or *baldíos*, public or semiprivate lands to which the crown had a claim. Under this plan landholders in Castile, most of whom were *labradores* (independent peasant farmers), were compelled to make large payments to the crown or lose the land that was often the basis of their existence. According to

Vassberg, the government began to sell parts of the *tierras baldías* to those who were occupying them during the first years of the reign of Philip II. By the mid-1570s occupants of the *baldíos* were given the first option to purchase at a fair market price, but if they declined to buy, the property was to be sold to someone else. In order to protect land being used for common pasture, the earliest sales were of plowed lands only; but despite frequent royal orders to the contrary, uncultivated *tierras baldías* were also sold.

An important part of Vassberg's work consists of a quantitative analysis of the *baldío* sales. Although the *baldío* papers in the Archivo General de Simancas are impressive in number and scope, only four kinds of data about the sales are present with frequent consistency to permit statistical analysis, that is, geographical location, price and year of sale, and the name of the land commissioner. On the basis of this data the author concludes that there were three regions where sales produced the greatest revenues: Andalusia, the cereal-growing plains of Zamora and Valladolid, and the three central provinces of Toledo, Madrid, and Guadalajara. Beginning to increase in the 1550s, the sales reached their peak in the 1580s, and then declined substantially in the 1590s. The drop in sales in the 1590s can be explained in part by the success of resistance to the sales program, particularly by the Cortes, as well as by the fact that the most exploitable *baldíos* had already been sold. Finally, through a comparison with revenues from other sources, Vassberg concludes that the *baldíos* ranked as a major source of income for the government of Philip II.

Although the author makes skillful use of the limited statistics available, he could have done more with the problem of the impact of the sales on Castilian economy and society of the sixteenth century. Otherwise, he deserves much credit for this careful and well-written study. In all, both Ladero's and Vassberg's books are useful additions to the small number of publications dealing with Spanish royal finances in the late medieval and early modern eras.

RUTH PIKE  
Hunter College,  
City University of New York

ALFREDO FLORISTÁN IMÍZCOZ, *La Merindad de Estella en la edad moderna: Los hombres y la tierra*. Foreword by VALENTÍN VÁZQUEZ DE PRADA. Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana. 1982. Pp. 399.

MERCEDES BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ, *El mundo rural sevillano en el siglo XV: Aljarafe y Ribera*. (Sección Historia, series 1, number 23.) Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla. 1983. Pp. xix, 434.



These two fine monographs reflect the interest of a new generation of Spanish scholars in the world of the anonymous rural masses, who long remained in the margins of published history. The works of Mercedes Borrero Fernández and Alfredo Floristán Imízcoz, originally doctoral theses, deal with the economy and society of rural districts of similar size and population at opposite ends of Spain. Aljarafe-Ribera is in Andalusia, lying mainly in western Seville province; Estella is in Navarre, on the Ebro River. Both areas were important wine and livestock producers and grew wheat as the preferred grain. But whereas Aljarafe-Ribera was a major olive-growing district, Estella was too far north for olives to prosper.

The authors have based their work on an impressive variety of sources, mainly from local archives—municipal, ecclesiastical, and private. And they have used them well. One of the most valuable aspects of these books is the authors' running critique and analysis of sources—sometimes in the text, sometimes in the notes. The books follow a similar organization: first the historical and geographical setting, then a demographic study that is followed by a section on property ownership and the rural economy. Both works abound in useful details about rural life. And both are rich in tables, graphs, and maps. The Floristán book is lavish in nontextual materials, with over 100 statistical tables, including even colored maps and photographs.

In terms of breadth, the Floristán book is the more ambitious, covering the span 1500 to 1840—wide enough to permit long-term historical analysis. For example, Floristán has used censuses and sacramental registers to study the characteristics of the population of several parishes over more than two centuries. Many readers will find this demographic section the most important part of the book. Unfortunately, Floristán was unable to locate much documentary evidence about property ownership before the seventeenth century, and his statistics for agropastoral production rarely antedate the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, he is able to conclude that Estella experienced neither the general Castilian boom of the 1500s, nor the sudden collapse of the 1600s. By the same token, Estella did not share in the rapid eighteenth-century growth of the Basque provinces, Catalonia, and Valencia. Instead, Estella's population and economy grew slowly over the entire period under study, without spectacular dips and peaks. The region's stability is explained by its geographical variety, which encouraged diversification and the commercial development of wine, grain, and animal products.

The Borrero book focuses on the fifteenth century, which permits a more profound analysis in certain areas. The dominant theme of the work is how the city of Seville was able to control its rural

hinterland. The mechanics of the city's hegemony over Aljarafe-Ribera are studied in detail. And Borrero devotes a final chapter to the *concejos* (local governmental units). This is one of the most useful parts of the book, because few historians seem to understand how the *concejos* really operated.

Both monographs show that there was a wide variation in property ownership but land and livestock ownership were far more egalitarian in Estella than in Aljarafe-Ribera. Most of the property of the latter belonged either to small local proprietors or to large institutions or individuals from the city of Seville. Borrero finds that the most important large landowners of the area were not titled aristocrats but, rather, members of the Sevillian oligarchy—lesser nobles who had built up their estates through purchase, inheritance, and dowries. Peasant proprietorship was important in both Estella and Aljarafe-Ribera, especially in vineyards, which tended to be small owner-operated units. Borrero concludes that the large landholders of Aljarafe-Ribera actually encouraged peasant landownership, because they found that minifundia owners made dependable seasonal laborers for their estates.

Floristán's book includes an entire chapter devoted to the marketing of rural products. This includes a description of local markets and fairs and of the various trade regulations of the day. Commercial viticulture expanded rapidly in the Estella area in the mid-1700s. One reason for this was that there were few restrictions on the sale and movement of wine, whereas the grain trade was hampered by numerous laws and privileges. The supply and demand of grain were also regulated, indirectly, by the policies of public granaries. Most historians have lumped these into a single category. But Floristán distinguishes between the *Arcas de Misericordia*, which loaned grain (mainly for planting seed) and were repaid in kind, and the *pósitos*, or *vínculos*, which purchased grain to sell to bakers so that it could be offered to the public as moderately priced bread.

The authors reveal few preconceptions, and they have not tried to force their data into some theoretical construct. Their research is sound and meticulously documented. They are careful in their judgments, always opening their reasoning processes to the scrutiny of the reader. And their prose style is clear and deceptively simple. There are some shortcomings, to be sure. I wish these books had alphabetical indexes for reference purposes. I cannot understand why Borrero omitted the clergy from her juridical-fiscal categorization of the population, or why she included no section on royal taxation. And I find the Floristán book lamentably weak on the sixteenth century and suffering from huge gaps (perhaps inevitable) in the data. Moreover, the second half of Floristán's book is needlessly repeti-

tious. But despite their flaws, both books are valuable contributions to the literature in the field. They deserve to be read by everyone interested in the rural world of late medieval and early modern Spain.

DAVID E. VASSBERG  
Pan American University

TIMOTHY E. ANNA. *Spain and the Loss of America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 343. \$26.50.

The independence of Spanish America was among the longest and most bitterly fought decolonizations. Although many reasons can be found to explain this, Spanish counterinsurgency is not among them, for Spain was first occupied by Napoleon's army (until 1814) and then was too impoverished and divided by internecine quarrels to do much about the Americas. Spain barely managed to send some 27,000 soldiers to the Americas, of whom 10,500 belonged to Morillo's expedition to Venezuela. Other than that, Spanish policy consisted of a long series of conflicting proclamations and unenforceable decrees that, if they were noticed at all, did nothing to reconcile the Spanish Americans.

Histories of the period have focused on the conflicts in Spanish America and in Spain separately, leaving Spanish policies toward the Americas after 1808 in relative obscurity. Timothy E. Anna's *Spain and the Loss of America* seeks to redress this neglect. The author maintains that the crucial period for Spanish American independence did not come during the French occupation of Spain but later, under Ferdinand VII, specifically in 1818–19 when Pizarro's reform plans were rejected in favor of a military solution.

To test this, Anna contrasts the minimal reforms that might have reconciled Spanish American moderates to continued Spanish rule—free trade with other countries and equal opportunity for the American-born in the administration of their homelands—with the maximum concessions Spanish leaders were willing to make. He finds the chasm unbridgeable. For centuries Spain had gotten much from the Americas and paid little in return; being so underdeveloped, Spain had little hope of salvaging any advantage from their independence. Spanish leaders, from Ferdinand's most reactionary advisers to the most radical *liberales*, were unwilling to admit that Spain had lost its main source of wealth, power, and government jobs. Instead of reforms they offered illusions: from the right, the magic of monarchical legitimacy and "the ties that bind" to "mother" Spain; from the left, the magic of the 1812 Constitution and the promises of formal liberty and equality. Anna argues that Spain lost America because its

leaders would not make practical concessions. One could argue equally well that Spanish decision makers conceded nothing because they had already lost the Americas. To concede reforms to the faraway Americans would have weakened them in their real struggles against one another for control of Spain. Spanish colonial policies in the twilight of empire therefore seem pathological.

Anna shows a thorough grasp of the relevant documents in the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo Histórico Nacional. His command of the details of administrative and Cortes politics in this confused period is impressive. In his narrow focus on the political leaders and their conflicts, however, the author hardly relates his story to the broader context of the disintegration of the Old Regime. He proposes no theory of decadence. Nor, alas, does he compare his case to any other decolonizations, with which our age is so replete. Readers are given the facts and left to draw their own conclusions.

DANIEL R. HEADRICK  
Roosevelt University

ANTONY BEEVOR. *The Spanish Civil War*. New York: Peter Bedrick; distributed by Harper and Row, New York. 1982. Pp. 320. \$19.95.

The primary argument advanced for publishing a brief new one-volume history of the Spanish Civil War is that this is, as the dust jacket says, "the first new full-length account of the Spanish Civil War to appear in English since the death of General Franco in 1975." It is based on no new research and presents no new information. The author relied almost exclusively on secondary sources—most of them in book form. Its claim to any particular originality or utility must therefore be based on whatever new analysis, perspective, or interpretations it may have to offer. As a detailed treatment it cannot, of course, compare with Hugh Thomas's massive *The Spanish Civil War*, whose revised and expanded edition (1978) totaled more than 1,100 pages. As a brief account it would have to compete with Raymond Carr's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1977), which, in this reviewer's judgment, is the best brief interpretative treatment of the Spanish war.

In general, it cannot be said that Antony Beevor has any new perspective to offer the reader, although his book does have certain distinctive features that vary considerably in quality or emphasis. About fifty pages, or nearly one-sixth of the whole, are devoted to background and historical origins and contain no more than the usual quotient of errors or dubious interpretations normally found in a general work by a nonspecialist (such as continuing to present the 1936 revolt as a "generals' rising").

One distinctive feature is the greater attention paid to military affairs than in most other brief accounts. Yet there has been so little objective and scholarly study of the war's military aspects that any general treatment continues to tread on soft ground—especially since the author chooses to ignore some of the chief studies, such as the numerous monographs by Martínez Bande or the works on the Republican Army by Alpert and Salas Larrazábal.

The author is much more sympathetic to the left than the right, to whom he rarely concedes the benefit of the doubt. The revolution in the Republican zone is treated only in passing, however, so as to maintain the focus on political and military events. In general, the political disputes on the Popular Front side are unraveled and clarified reasonably well for so brief a work and, if the author is scarcely unbiased in his treatment of the Nationalists, he is generally even-handed and accurate in his description of intra-Republican politics. The last two chapters are devoted to Spain after the war, providing very brief thumbnail sketches of the development of the Franco regime and the leftist resistance.

Overall, the reader is left with a mixed bag that fails to present the "important new insights into the war" promised on the dust jacket but is nonetheless clearly and crisply written, moves rapidly with economy of detail, and is frequently sharp and accurate in individual perceptions. It is probably most solid as yet another in the series of accounts of Republican politics during the Spanish Civil War.

STANLEY G. PAYNE  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

NICOLE HAESSENNE-PEREMANS. *Les pauvres et le pouvoir: Assistance et répression au pays de Liège, 1685–1830*. (Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États, number 81.) Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA. 1983. Pp. xxiv. 205.

This book by Nicole Haessenne-Peremans intends to provide a case study of social policy, government institutions, and the assumptions informing them by examining the treatment of the one in five Liégeois who lived in poverty under three successive regimes.

In many respects, the system changed little between 1685 and 1830. Liège's old regime measures of poor relief were limited in scale, underfunded, and ineffective, and, although the principality participated in the "Great Confinement" sweeping across Europe, this failed to reduce either poverty or mendicancy. By 1770 the existing structure was under siege by philanthropists imbued with notions of individual liberty, manufacturers angered by competition from low-wage pauper labor, taxpayers demanding an end to expensive building projects.

Simultaneously, Enlightenment ideas, a more positive conception of the state's role in welfare, and fear of the impoverished engendered numerous reform proposals. Despite this groundswell favoring change and its own grandiose projects for aiding the poor, the new regime that took power in 1794 quickly shelved all notions of reform in order to defend the revolution. Instead of trying bravely to uproot poverty, the new authorities, like their predecessors, sought to prevent disorder and thus failed to alleviate either chronic distress or the misery due to revolutionary convulsions. The Dutch government that ruled between 1814 and 1830 largely perpetuated the traditional measures, with equally disappointing results.

Even if authorities proved powerless to limit poverty, and if most reform proposals were anachronistic, Nicole Haessenne-Peremans does find a few initiatives directed at eradicating the causes of poverty rather than simply managing its effects. In 1773 a councilor to the prince-bishop proposed generating relief funds by suppressing religious houses, targeting aid to the unemployed, and providing jobs, while early nineteenth-century policymakers settled beggar families on uncultivated land in the Campine and encouraged institutions designed to teach orderly behavior, thrift, and foresight. Although the author admits that few people actually benefited from these plans, she argues that they indicate the beginning of a crucial change in attitude from assistance to insurance (*prévoyance*) and thus represented the forerunners of contemporary social security.

Although the book provides an interesting look at elite attitudes toward poverty and the poor and their implementation, its potential usefulness to historians of poverty and welfare policy is not realized. The author neglects the ways in which the socioeconomic transformations Liège was undergoing, the composition of the successive regimes, and popular attitudes shaped policy; indeed, the book remains largely an internal history of ideas and institutions. Despite the adoption of a Foucaultian framework and a few comparisons with conditions obtaining elsewhere, the scholarly literature is neither systematically employed nor critically addressed. Haessenne-Peremans adduces little evidence to support her hypothesis that welfare policies were dictated most often by fear of the poor; nor does she consider the possibility, forcefully advanced in Hugo Soly and Catharina Lis's *Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe* (1979), that labor market regulation was the authorities' primary concern.

The book does have the merit of showing the slow pace of change in social policy and practices, but readers trying to understand the dynamics of continuity and discontinuity in pre-industrial welfare systems still need to consult Soly and Lis or Jean-

Pierre Gutton, *La société et les pauvres en Europe* (1971).

ROBERT S. DUPLESSIS  
Swarthmore College

FRANK C. SPOONER. *Risks at Sea: Amsterdam Insurance and Maritime Europe, 1766–1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 306. \$54.50.

Marine insurance, one of the traditional investment opportunities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middelburg, is the subject of this book by Frank C. Spooner. With its origins in the sixteenth century, the Dutch business was almost a century older than Lloyd's in London. The predominant figure was that of the private underwriter, an individual who might live almost anywhere in the republic. He would take a share of the risk in a particular voyage by writing a line of insurance at the end of a printed policy form. The prudent would write lines of one thousand guilders; less well-off men might write lines of as little as three hundred, sharing the risk. The normal policy involved seven underwriters, although there might be as many as seventeen. During a voyage the value of the hull would decline, while the value of the cargo would increase as it neared the point of sale. Hull and cargo, therefore, were insured separately. Often enough, owner or shipper obtained coverage for only a portion of the value. The Dutch East India Company made a point of self-insuring, while private individuals might obtain coverage for only the outward voyage, not the return, or else for only a percentage of value. In wartime rates went to 15 or 30 percent when coverage could be obtained at all, and shippers often could not afford to insure.

Although insurance firms are to be seen after 1720, the private underwriter remained the dominant figure throughout the eighteenth century. It was relatively easy for him to change trades, either to go into the expanding fire and life insurance business or to invest in something entirely outside the area, such as Austrian bonds. This may explain a wastage rate for the industry of about 7 percent a year in peacetime. In a catastrophic year such as 1781, during which the industry as a whole suffered losses, the wastage rate was much higher. Pressure to invest in *something* was fierce. It has been estimated that the top 5 percent of the Amsterdam regent patriciate may have saved as much as 25 percent of income, while Dutch government securities paid less than 3 percent. But the ninety-odd private underwriters of Amsterdam and their friends in Rotterdam and Middelburg did have options.

The fact that these capitalists had alternative investment opportunities meant that the insurance business was never completely cut off from the rest

of the market. Thus, marine insurers suffered an "event uncertainty" during the financial crisis of 1763 and another nine years later, to say nothing of the troubles caused by war in the years after 1776. The phrase "event uncertainty" may not be a proper umbrella term to cover both the crises of 1763 and 1772, from which recovery was quite rapid, and the much more serious dislocations of the American Revolution. Certainly our friends in risk theory have come up with a phrase that cannot be termed user-friendly. One might be willing to put up with the name Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, correct for the years after 1780, but not with the term "event uncertainty."

It is also rather strange that Spooner points out the traditional nature of Amsterdam marine insurance, which was overtaken by London and by Rotterdam as well, and then argues for the continuing vitality of Dutch trade and enterprise in the years after 1740. The weight of professional opinion is against him on that topic. But everyone must be grateful for the careful work that Spooner has done in many archives and for his splendid footnote references to the literature in Dutch, German, French, and Spanish as well as English and Italian. This is a real contribution to knowledge, and students will have reason to be grateful to the author for many years.

STEPHEN B. BAXTER  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

HENRIK S. NISSEN, editor. *Scandinavia during the Second World War*. (Nordic Series, number 9.) Translated by THOMAS MUNCH-PETERSEN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press or Universitetsforlaget, Oslo. 1983. Pp. x, 407. \$39.50.

Much of the historical scholarship in Scandinavia the past two decades has been the product of large-scale joint research projects. Results from these efforts have been mixed. *Scandinavia during the Second World War*, edited by Henrik S. Nissen, is an example of such a project—in this case an inter-Scandinavian effort to synthesize research done on the wartime experiences of each Scandinavian country. Happily, the study avoids many of the problems of other projects and presents the English reader with useful and informative accounts of the experiences of the Northern European countries caught in the wake of great power politics.

Instead of a geographical division of their efforts, the seven authors opted to divide their topics along thematic and chronological lines. Chapters include "The Race for Northern Europe, September 1939–June 1940," "The Beginnings of the Resistance



Movement," and "Adjusting to Allied Victory." There is an effective introductory chapter by the editor that introduces the reader to the nature of the politics and societies of four Scandinavian states. Iceland is not treated in the work.

Although no attempt is made by the authors to harmonize their interpretations, there is in fact a great deal of agreement among them. All view the small Scandinavian states as having been acted on by the great powers rather than initiators of their own policies. Only in the case of Finland's decision to pursue borders beyond those of 1939 in the Continuation War does one author indicate that there were many options and that sometimes it was the small state rather than the great power that established a particular policy. The tenor of the text is descriptive rather than inquisitive.

Perhaps the most unusual chapter is the conclusion, "Winning the Peace: Vision and Disappointment in Nordic Security Policy, 1945–49" by Karl Molin. The topic appears to be outside the expressed purpose of the project and more dependent on interpretative speculation than on summaries of extant research. Yet it is a stimulating essay that attempts to link the wartime hopes of democratic socialism for a postwar world with the policies of the Scandinavian states from 1945 to 1949. Molin argues that the collapse of the Nordic Defense Pact in 1948–49 depended on different perceptions in Stockholm and Oslo of the Soviet threat and on the moral issues raised by the Norwegians. Perhaps too, the two countries drew different conclusions from their wartime experiences? Swedish social democrats were more hostile to their communist counterparts than were their Norwegian counterparts; yet Sweden's independence had been preserved by its neutrality during the war, while Norway had suffered through five years of occupation. Scandinavian cooperation has not had a particularly impressive record. Nissen comments that the Scandinavian states act "contrary to the Napoleonic doctrine: they have been united on the march, separated in battle."

Although there are no footnotes, there is an impressive, partially annotated bibliography. The translator, Thomas Munch-Petersen, is to be congratulated for making the work eminently readable. Typographical errors are few—page 358, last paragraph, repeats three sentences; the Finnish indemnity to the USSR is stated to be either \$300 million (p. 286), or \$300 billion (p. 333). The former is correct. For students who wish to acquaint themselves with the experiences of the Scandinavian states during the war and who want to be exposed to the current historical scholarship in the area, this book is to be recommended.

STEVEN KOBLIK  
Pomona College

KARL-ERIK FRANDSEN. *Vang og tægt: Studier over dyrkningssystemer og agrarstrukturer i Danmarks landsbyer, 1682–83* ["Vang og Tægt": Studies of Field Systems and Agrarian Structures in the Villages of Denmark, 1682–83]. Summary in English. Esbjerg, Denmark: Bygd. 1983. Pp. 296.

Karl-Erik Frandsen has produced an interesting work using unusual research techniques to describe agricultural field systems in Denmark during the seventeenth century. The basic sources for Frandsen's work are the documents prepared for Kristian V's Land Register (*Matrikel*) from 1681 to 1688. These registers were created to establish a reasonable method of taxation for Denmark by measuring all arable land. A description was therefore made of the land in each parish (except for Bornholm) and its productivity. No large-scale maps exist from the seventeenth century so to map this information Frandsen had to use the oldest such maps, which date from the late eighteenth century. This is not an entirely satisfactory method even for the author, but it does provide a means of perceiving the general structure of agriculture in Denmark at this time.

Frandsen examines Denmark's field structures at many levels. He looks at eleven villages in detail as examples of different field systems. He also surveys at length the counties (*amt*) and districts (*herred*) of Jutland, Zealand, Møn, Falster, and Lolland. He provides a more detailed parish-by-parish analysis for the islands of Fyn and Langeland, which he regards as transition points in Danish field rotation systems.

Frandsen identifies three main agricultural systems in Denmark. Denmark's eastern islands and Eastern Fyn were characterized generally by the three-field system. The "Little Belt" system existed in Western Fyn and Eastern Jutland and consisted of variations on the two-field system. Western Jutland, on the other hand, possessed the "Limfjord" system, whereby multiple fields of sandy soil with no internal fences were rotated for periods of over five years.

The eleven case studies of villages throughout Denmark were undertaken by Frandsen to demonstrate the variations that might exist within these rotation systems. Fyn was studied intensively, however, to explain the existence of different systems on an island where the soil is essentially the same throughout. The author concludes that the three-field system of eastern Denmark resulted from the introduction of winter rye to Denmark. This idea is not new, but Frandsen contends that his mapping project provides proof of this assertion for the first time. He suggests then that the two-field system was much more prevalent at an earlier date until the introduction of rye changed matters, probably first



on Zealand, then in Skåane, and later in Eastern Fyn.

Frandsen's book is richly illustrated with the maps necessary to explain his thesis. A nine-page English synopsis presents a valuable summary of the author's work to those not able to read Danish. It is a work of arduous scholarship and provocative conclusions that will very likely generate new and interesting discussions in Denmark on seventeenth-century agricultural patterns.

LELAND B. SATHER  
Weber State College

RAGNAR BJÖRK. *Den historiska argumenteringen: Konstruktion, narration och kolligation—förklaringsresonemang hos Nils Ahnlund och Erik Lönnroth* [The Historical Argumentation: Construction, Narration, and Colligation—Explanatory Reasoning in Works by Nils Ahnlund and Erik Lönnroth]. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 132.) Uppsala: Historiska Institutionen vid Uppsala Universitet; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm. 1983. Pp. 340.

Like many of us who "do" history, Ragnar Björk is interested in the methods by which various historians explain the past. In writing his doctoral dissertation, therefore, he wisely chose to analyze the work of two major Swedish historians of the twentieth century—Nils Ahnlund and Erik Lönnroth. Moreover, he recognized the importance of situating both historians in the broader context of modern Swedish historiography: Ahnlund was a product of Harald Hjärne's "Uppsala school" and its belief that the historian's task was to create believable models of past policies and figures; Lönnroth was trained in Lauritz Weibull's "Lund school," imbibing formalistic modes of reasoning. But when Björk found enough similarities in the writings of Ahnlund and Lönnroth to belie the notion of contrasting historiographical schools, he turned to the philosophy of history for a theoretical model that would explain these parallels and provide a trustworthy anchor for his comparative study. So it did, but with elephantine proportions. Björk's theoretical anchor became so cumbersome that the rest of the project lost much of its seaworthiness.

Several noteworthy strengths do prevent the project from capsizing altogether. Björk has read Ahnlund and Lönnroth with sensitivity and exactitude. The reader gains an understanding of each historian's unique style, methodological priorities, and theoretical orientations that is not immediately obvious from reading their works alone. Moreover, Björk deftly paraphrases and cites from the often bewildering and sometimes precious debates among philosophers of history since Popper and Hempel

formulated their respective "covering-law" theories in the 1930s. Björk has no hesitation about evaluating this secondary literature and relating it to Swedish historiography. He finds little evidence of the covering-law orientation in the two books by Ahnlund and Lönnroth from 1940 that he analyzes in considerable detail. In fact, Björk detects a distinct preference in both historians for colligation and narration, a preference he seems to share and deem worthy of individual explanatory chapters.

The irony is that Björk's own dissertation lacks colligation; rather than a unified analysis, the book is fragmented from beginning to end. For example, the discussion of Swedish historiographic traditions is incomplete and contradictory. Björk blurs theoretical distinctions among the schools and waffles on generational affinities. In addition, he constantly interrupts his discussion with confusing schematic diagrams, distracting synopses of countless philosophers of history, and a bewildering collection of esoteric concepts. One cannot avoid wondering why Björk uses almost two-thirds of his dissertation to recapitulate historiographical debates that are largely Anglo-American and already placed by others in a Scandinavian setting. Perplexity changes to concern when one realizes that Björk's obsession with *History and Theory*-type problems has little relevance to the mode of reasoning actually employed by Ahnlund and Lönnroth. Björk could have spared himself and the reader many tangential problems if he had concentrated instead on the essays of people such as J. H. Hexter, whose views do contain very illuminating parallels with the two Swedish historians Björk chose to examine.

Although Björk appears to be an intelligent, gifted reasoner and a promising scholar, his dissertation should not have been published in its present form. But Björk is less at fault than the institutional framework that forced him to publish it. The Americanization of the Scandinavian *doktoravhandling* has increased dramatically in the last two decades, especially in Sweden. Rather than the mature work of an established scholar, the dissertation is now the typical entrée to academia. What remains largely unchanged, however, is the tradition that dissertations are published prior to the defense, even though it must be obvious to almost everyone that most Scandinavian dissertations, like their American counterparts, would benefit immeasurably from a fallow period. Björk's dissertation is no exception; in the present form, it is more a working draft of a book than a finished product.

A less significant but equally worrisome corollary to this problem is the contorted prose in hastily translated English summaries. Since relatively few scholars read any Scandinavian language with ease, the presence of a well-written summary in English, French, or German is essential for wide dissemination.

tion of Scandinavian scholarship. But greater care must be taken in the choice of translators than occurred in this case, which is regrettably representative of many others. Björk's style is never light, but it is much more readable than a translation of his summary that oscillates between the barely intelligible and outright incomprehensibility.

PETER VINTEN-JOHANSEN  
Michigan State University

GÜNTER BARUDIO. *Gustav Adolf—der Grosse: Eine politische Biographie*. Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1982. Pp. 723.

Günter Barudio, a freelance historian from Frankfurt, has written an avowedly revisionist biography of Gustavus Adolphus that will significantly alter our understanding of the king and his intervention in the Thirty Years' War. Rejecting traditional "academic interpretations" that have portrayed Gustavus Adolphus primarily in terms of power politics, as an absolute ruler at home and military conqueror abroad, Barudio insists that the king's actions can only be understood in the context of "Sweden's libertarian constitution." The result is a book that is both fascinating and stimulating.

The first half of this 700-page study traces Sweden's constitutional heritage and shows how Gustavus Adolphus, an avid disciple of Lipsius and Grotius, worked within the confines of this heritage to strengthen his own political power in Sweden. In what is one of the most fascinating chapters in the entire book, Barudio shows how Johan Skytte, Gustavus Adolphus's teacher and later chancellor of Uppsala University, taught the young king that "the aim of all politics in a libertarian constitutional state must be the rule of law and the realization of justice" (p. 73). Throughout his reign, Gustavus Adolphus followed this precept by respecting the rights and privileges of Sweden's estates and working through the country's constitutional bodies, the imperial diet and the imperial council. By recognizing the interdependence of these governmental organs and emphasizing their mutual responsibilities, the king was able to harness Sweden's rather limited resources at a time when he frequently had to defend his country's interests abroad.

Gustavus Adolphus intervened in the Thirty Years' War not because he had imperial ambitions in the Baltic area or the Holy Roman Empire but rather because Sweden's security and peace depended on the continuance of Germany's "benign" constitutional system. He entered the central European conflict to contain the absolutistic ambitions of Emperor Ferdinand II, whose recent military triumphs jeopardized the very survival of Germany's political and religious liberties. His goal was to restore the

German imperial constitution to its prewar status. Barudio likens Gustavus Adolphus's intervention to the landing of William of Orange in England in 1688 and the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. The object each time was the same: the restoration of the constitutional state that had been destroyed by a tyrannical ruler.

Barudio's study, which is based on extensive archival research, generally is convincing, but not without faults. The author, for instance, never seems to appreciate fully that quite valid constitutionalist and libertarian concerns also were found among the German princes, particularly the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. Their initial unwillingness to cooperate with the king after his landing in Pomerania was not just foolish and obstinate behavior, as Barudio suggests. The two Protestant electors and others wanted to remain neutral because they feared that the king would threaten their "liberties" just as the emperor. Very much like many of Barudio's compatriots today, they tried to survive the approaching conflict between these superpowers by seeking refuge in a neutral third-party block.

BODO NISCHAN  
East Carolina University

ANDREAS TJERNELD. *Från borgarståndets storhetstid: Statsbudgeten som partiskiljande fråga i den sena ståndsriksdagen* [The Grand Era of the Burghers: The Budget as a Party-Making Issue in the Late Riksdag of Estates in Sweden]. (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, number 31.) Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1983. Pp. 176. 75 KR

Ever since World War II younger Swedish historians have emulated the heavy bombers of that era. They fly in tight formation and, maintaining strict methodological discipline, bomb the bejabbers out of some vulnerable historical subject matter that might or might not be important. They get their Oak Leaf Clusters (read academic degrees and other kudos) mainly for following approved procedure and Andreas Tjerneld should, by now, have his chest full. In this doctoral dissertation he takes care to check his instruments constantly, report his position relative to other flyers, state and restate his intentions. He does very well, and any flak he may encounter will have to be fired at the whole formation.

One can with some justification criticize the dissertation (and similar efforts) on the basis that saturation bombing of the type involved mainly "makes the rubble bounce." It does that. And the certainty that Tjerneld and his companions will make further passes over the same heavily cratered terrain is, in some ways, sad. The Swedish historical establishment, however, seems to have developed an

insatiable appetite for missions of this sort, the target areas are thoroughly mapped out, and in them any surviving unanswered historical questions must certainly face annihilation. The missions they choose to fly will certainly be "accomplished," Tjerneld's "very accomplished."

In this book Tjerneld contributes to a larger ongoing cooperative study of mid-nineteenth-century Swedish political life by demonstrating, elaborately, that parliamentary parties of a sort, exhibiting both continuity and predictability, existed within the old four-estate system of representative government that served Sweden before the two-chamber legislature was introduced in 1867. That is hardly an earth-shaking contribution. He concedes that politicians and journalists of the period often referred to parties. What is valuable is that for a tiny, carefully delimited slice of Swedish history he methodically and intelligently defines, refines, explains, and belabors. What is fun is the fact that in turning all the stones over (and over) in his little field he also gives us fascinating glimpses into quaint practices and real people.

Tjerneld looks at all the more important members of each of the four estates in the *Riksdag* of 1859–60, describes how they reached membership on the more important committees and how the committees voted on selected items in the expenditure side of the budget proposed by the administration. As a general rule and also in 1859–60 the nobles and clergy came through solidly for administration proposals (and higher expenditures); the burgers and peasants stood in opposition. In the joint committees, however, and notably in the large Committee of State, there were "defectors," (*överbäpar*) from strict estate solidarity who, acting out of practical tactical considerations, made compromises and thus government possible. Few in number, mostly burghers (but occasionally nobles), they worked effectively within the quaint old system. Tjerneld shows us how the system functioned, explains the background of controversies and decisions (including gossip and rumors) and, for one who flies so high methodologically, actually comes down to earth on specifics.

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK  
*California Institute of Technology*

KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE. *The Fertility Transition in Sweden: A Preliminary Look at Smaller Geographic Units, 1855–1890*. (Reports from the Demographic Data Base, number 3.) Umeå, Sweden: Demographic Data Base, Umeå University. 1983. Pp. 135.

Since the Second World War, demographers have interested themselves in the dramatic and unprecedented fall in fertility that occurred in most Western countries in the years 1870–1930. The question has

an immediate relevance, of course, since the continuing high fertility in the currently underdeveloped countries, despite dramatic falls in mortality, has brought about a population surge of unprecedented proportions with, so most experts agree, dire economic effects.

The search for an explanation has focused on structural changes of an economic, social, or demographic nature such as industrialization, urbanization, education, or fall in infant mortality. Yet no single structural change has provided an explanation of more than local significance.

In the study under review, Kenneth A. Lockridge tries his hand on the Swedish case. Marital fertility fell sharply there between 1890 and 1930. Tracing the antecedents of this fall, Lockridge exploits with considerable ingenuity Swedish demographic statistics broken down into middle-order units, not so big as provinces but not so small as parishes. He isolates three distinct regions within central Sweden that had sharply differing histories of marital fertility in the years 1805–90. In the western area traditional methods of controlling fertility persisted, namely, late age at marriage and low levels of nuptiality. In the eastern area and in a subset of deaneries within that area, family limitation within marriage appears to have emerged as early as 1855.

Why? A single structural explanation would appear to be out. Neither the arrival of capitalist enterprise, the proportion spent on welfare, the area of cultivable land per inhabitant, nor the level of infant mortality provide an answer. Indeed, Lockridge notes that the "three foci of suspected family limitation were as different from one another in their economies as any three areas in Sweden could have been" (p. 48). One scholar has come up with something different. Lockridge, acknowledging the work of Margareta Larsson of Stockholm University's department of sociology, avers that all the areas of early family limitation were characterized "by the presence of a weakened liberalised version of the old state religion" (p. 59). By contrast, the clearly nonsecularized areas showed virtually no sign of family limitation.

How far this cultural explanation can be generalized remains to be seen. Work by Knodel, Lesterhaeghe, and Wilson for other parts of Europe seems to support it. Yet there is contrary evidence (in France, for instance). And one wonders if the search for a single explanation, in spite of the coincidence in the timing of the fertility fall, is the only way forward. After all, the most recent work on England's demographic history in the period 1541–1871 would suggest that although in England fertility was the engine of demographic change, in much of Europe mortality took on that role.

MICHAEL DRAKE  
*Open University*

MAX ENGMAN. *St. Petersburg och Finland: Migration och influens, 1703–1917* [St. Petersburg and Finland: Migration and Influence, 1703–1917]. (Bidrag till Kännedom av Finlands Natur och Folk, number 130.) Helsinki: Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten. 1983. Pp. 453.

The decision of people to leave their home and settle in another area reveals much about the conditions in both places. Migration is an extreme form of accommodation to changes in the social and economic environment, and a study of its volume and the characteristics of the people involved can uncover fundamental aspects of social development difficult of access in other ways. Max Engman's comprehensive treatment of the movement of Finns and Swedes into St. Petersburg fulfills much of the promise of historical migration studies.

The work rests on an impressive base of archival sources, including documents from Sweden and the USSR as well as from central and regional depositories in Finland. Of special interest are the registers and parish histories of the Nordic Lutheran congregations in St. Petersburg, which provide much detail about the population dynamics of the Finnish community. As the author is aware, however, these sources fail to give a perfect representation of the community of migrants from Finland. Lutherans from places other than Finland joined the parishes, and Finns of the Orthodox faith, who were numerous, did not appear in these parish registers.

Finns and Swedes were already settled in small numbers at the mouth of the Neva River when Peter the Great began building his new capital there. Their numbers grew along with the burgeoning city, which by the middle of the nineteenth century was the largest in northern Europe. The attraction of St. Petersburg as a source of jobs for Finns seeking work as artisans and servants reveals the weak development of urban places in Finland. In the eighteenth century, when Finland still belonged to Sweden, only Stockholm and Åbo (Turku), the capital of the Grand Duchy, could compete. As late as 1840 about as many Finns lived in St. Petersburg as lived in either Åbo or in the new capital of the Grand Duchy, Helsingfors (Helsinki). By 1880, however, the Finnish population of St. Petersburg peaked, as rapidly growing towns in Finland provided opportunities for urban employment in more familiar surroundings and long-range migrants from northern and western Finland turned away from Russia toward Sweden and America.

In addition to telling a great deal about the situation in Finland, Engman never loses sight of Russian developments affecting the "pull" to St. Petersburg. His most important observations concern the influence of the abolition of serfdom. Finns worked in the Russian capital principally as crafts-

men and servants (both male and female), and their cleanliness and good work habits recommended them to employers. But their particular advantage during the serf era was their stability as a work force. The situation of the Finns contrasted with the unreliability of Russian serf migrants, who were often available only on a seasonal basis and in any event remained subject to the whim of their lords. As the serf emancipation worked itself out in the decades following 1861, free Russian artisans converged on the city and rapidly narrowed the opportunities for Finnish craftsmen. The emancipation also made it possible for unattached Russian women to migrate to the city in search of work as servants. Until mid-century St. Petersburg had had nearly two times more males than females. The Finnish community was unusual in having a surplus of females, women who came to take advantage of the favorable market for female servants and perhaps also the favorable marriage market (half of the unmarried female migrants married within five years of their arrival in the city). As in the case of their male counterparts, Finnish women saw a deterioration of their favorable situation when in the late nineteenth century ever-larger numbers of Russian women descended on the city.

Engman tests his data against a number of standard hypotheses concerning migration, including those touching fields of influence, central place hierarchies, chain migration, and ethnic niche or labor market segmentation, and he achieves some useful insights and adjustments. More important, in the process he presents a wealth of detail on crafts, industry, work styles, transport, and ethnic relations in and around the Russian imperial capital. This study and the recently published work by Erik Amburger, *Ingermanland* (2 vols., 1980), elucidate the extensive and powerful impact of St. Petersburg on its hinterland and add greatly to our knowledge of the eastern Baltic.

DAVID L. RANSEL  
*University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign*

MIRJA HÄRKÖNEN. *Kouluylihallituksen ensimmäisen päällikön Casimir von Kothenin koulupolitiikka: Taustatavoitteita-tuloksia* [The School Policy of Casimir von Kothén, the First Director of the Board of Education: Background, Objectives, Results]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 119.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1982. Pp. 345.

Those familiar with events in Russia's Grand Duchy of Finland during the nineteenth century will approach this dissertation with interest. Baron Casimir von Kothén (1807–80) is a traditional bogeyman, a native of Finland who, after an early career in the



Russian army, joined the higher ranks of the Finnish bureaucracy. His interpretation of his administrative duties brought him repeatedly into conflict with Finland's academic and intellectual leaders and especially with those committed to the creation of a nationalist, Finnish-language culture. The victors' clerks write the history books, and von Kothén has received a predictably bad press.

During the mid-1800s the Finnish government undertook to reconstruct the nation's school system in response to changing economic and social realities. Von Kothén was twice required to deal with questions of national school planning, first during his term as minister for ecclesiastical affairs in Finland's senate from 1853 through 1857 and again in 1869–73, when he was appointed director of the new central board of education overseeing elementary and secondary school reforms. Throughout this period and well into the next century, the schools were a battleground for various powerful interest groups, pitting Fennocists against Svecomen, urban merchants against agrarians, classicists against modernists, Lutheran clergy against materialists, and von Kothén against almost everyone at one time or another. Our understanding of this critical phase in Finland's modernization could be enhanced by an analysis of his role in these conflicts. Unfortunately, this dissertation is not very helpful.

Mirja Härkönen examines von Kothén during 1869–73 in the light of three reform programs: (1) the introduction of modern languages and natural sciences as alternatives to Latin and Greek, (2) the shifting balance of Swedish and Finnish as languages of study and instruction, and (3) the reintroduction of obligatory Russian language study after its temporary deletion in 1863. On the whole, Härkönen seems to accept the nineteenth-century view that languages were the critical issue, and she asks the nineteenth-century questions: Was von Kothén pro-Swedish, anti-Finnish, pro-Russian? To these she responds with a sensible negative. Von Kothén was a linguistic utilitarian, and as an elitist conservative he had little interest in stimulating social mobility through Finnish-language secondary schools. He tried instead to promote economic growth through modern language and science studies for the bourgeoisie and to encourage positive attitudes toward the Russian empire through Russian language skills. He may also have sought to forestall more extreme Russification measures of the kind imposed on Poland and the Baltic provinces.

Still, several important questions remain unanswered. We never get a systematically documented account of von Kothén's basic assumptions and conscious goals, although we get ample speculation and a tendency to assume that his views coincided with those of his more articulate friends, especially

Alexander Armfelt, Finland's minister secretary of state in St. Petersburg. One also regrets that Härkönen does not examine in greater depth the issues surrounding the introduction of modern language-natural science curriculum, which was arguably at least as great a break with the old clerical, patriarchal society as was the use of Finnish as a language of instruction in a classical curriculum.

Härkönen's decision to focus on attitudes and intentions while almost completely excluding details of the decision-making process leaves some puzzling gaps. For example, von Kothén came into office in 1869 apparently committed to a reintroduction of compulsory Russian classes in all Finnish elementary and secondary schools, yet the final versions of the school curricula approved in 1872–73 fell well short of this goal. The author is unable to conclude whether this was because of or in spite of von Kothén's role in formulating school plans (pp. 217–19). In chapter 5 she discusses Russification policies in Poland and the Baltic provinces from 1865 to 1870 but does not document any direct impact of these events on school planning in Finland. This is regrettable because one of the unanswered questions of Finnish historiography concerns the extent to which nineteenth-century Finnish administrators acted out of an explicit awareness of imperial policy toward other border nationalities.

The English-language summary does not do justice to the wealth of information that is, nevertheless, contained in Härkönen's book. Foreign readers will probably get more out of relevant portions of Juhani Paasivirta, *Finland and Europe: International Crises in the Period of Autonomy, 1808–1914* (1982) and Edward C. Thaden, ed., *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914* (1981).

ROBERTA G. SELLECK

Harvard University Library

MARJORIE O'ROURKE BOYLE. *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther*. (Harvard Historical Monographs, number 71.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. 215. \$24.00.

In previous works Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle has described Erasmus's "*logos* theology," representing Christ as the "Oration" of God to human-kind (*logos* being translated as *sermo* instead of the traditional *verbum*, or word). This theology, which implies that God does not coerce men to do his bidding but rather persuades, provides a legitimate place in the divine plan for the classical arts of persuasion, which Erasmus always believed to be fundamentally compatible with Christian faith. The present volume applies this conception of his thought to the controversy with Luther.

Boyle's analysis of *De Libero Arbitrio* is valuable



both for its strategy and its method. First, she focuses not on the question of free will versus predestination but on the apparently secondary question of how theological disputes are resolved, which may well have been (as Boyle thinks) more important in the mind of Erasmus. Second, she deals with Erasmus's thought in terms of what his intellectual preoccupations were at a given time (Cicero, Galen, Irenaeus, and so on). Thus, she relates *De Libero Arbitrio* to the mode of disputation common among the academic skeptics of antiquity and readily available to Erasmus through Cicero's dialogues. Like Cicero, Erasmus engages in a *collatio* or comparison of arguments in which the author's own views are, for the sake of discussion, stated only tentatively; discussion of questions for which there is only a probable answer belongs in what rhetoricians call the deliberative genus of discourse, not in the epideictic mode suited to matters that can be known with certainty. The parallel is convincingly drawn and shows how Erasmus framed his debate with Luther in a convention designed to discourage assertiveness. At times, however, one wishes that Boyle had resisted the urge to write down all the sometimes rather fantastic associations that may occur to a scholar who is tracking the allusions of an Erasmus. Also, some important recent works, though cited, are not discussed at the apposite moment (for example, Chantraine's discussion of the *accommodatio* of God's message to human circumstances or Kerlen's description of the scholastic roots of Luther's conception of *assertio*).

Luther is understood in this book more from Erasmus's vantage point than in his own terms. Luther scholars will perhaps appreciate Boyle's effective critique of the common view that his tower experience happened while he was seated on the toilet, and it is refreshing to find *De Servo Arbitrio*, like any other polemic, treated as having a conscious rhetorical strategy for pulverizing its adversary. Moreover, as Boyle contends, Luther not only recognized the skeptic epistemology that underlay Erasmus's strategy but also countered it with the Stoic doctrine of certitude. But it would require a good deal more discussion, and especially consideration of alternative views, to establish that Luther's doctrine of the clarity of Scripture was based on Stoic conceptions of the overwhelming clarity of certain sense impressions or that his fondness for *assertio* was likewise derived from Stoic epistemology. Above all, it is in the persona of Erasmus that Boyle makes it one of Luther's purposes in this debate to "condemn the values of civilization," or suggests that Erasmus, in defending his God of persuasion against Luther's God of absolute necessity, was also defending the civilized order that (according to Alfred North Whitehead) was made possible by Plato's discovery that "the divine element

in the world is to be perceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency." Perhaps the salient point is that, although Erasmus's and Luther's difference of opinion over grace and free will might yet prove surmountable among Catholic and Lutheran theologians, their differences over the criteria for determining religious truth may well be, as Boyle says, "absolutely irresolvable." Perhaps this is why none of the scholars who has written on this controversy (the reviewer not excepted) has ever managed to be fair to both Luther and Erasmus at the same time.

JAMES D. TRACY  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

THOMAS NIPPERDEY. *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. 838.

The period of sixty-five years from the fall of the Holy Roman Empire to the establishment of the German empire has traditionally been regarded as the heroic age of German history. For here can be found grand themes of redemption and regeneration, of a people rising from weakness to power, from defeat to victory, and from division to unity. Every generation of German historians, from Sybel and Treitschke in the 1880s and 1890s to Marcks and Srbik in the 1930s and 1940s, has celebrated this great national epic. Only the Second World War put an end to the long succession of scholarly works commemorating the unification of Germany by casting doubt on the significance of its achievement. After 1945 the scholars who studied that period, like those studying every other period of modern German history, reflected an uneasy perception that all the fervor and idealism of the struggle for unification had led, directly or indirectly, to the Third Reich. But now, for the first time in more than forty years, a leading German historian has written a comprehensive account of the *Reichsgründung*, taking a fresh look at the process by which political consolidation was achieved in Central Europe. Expressing a new sober attitude toward the past, Thomas Nipperdey is neither a prosecutor nor an apologist, neither a witch hunter nor a hero-worshiper. Highly original in dealing with some aspects of the period, he sounds familiar and even trite in others. His book is all in all a mixed success.

What is new is his freedom from that preoccupation with political and diplomatic events that has characterized all other important histories of the period except Schnabel's. In keeping with recent trends in historiography, Nipperdey devotes almost half of the book to economic, social, cultural, and educational developments. There are chapters on the growth of population, family life, everyday

experience, the lower classes, the well-to-do classes, and the Jews. Some of this is a little subjective and intuitive, based on guesses or hunches as much as on hard empirical data, but it is generally stimulating and persuasive. The author, moreover, examines religion, education, science, scholarship, and the arts; indeed, these are the best sections. Nipperdey attaches great importance to the influence of ideas, writing about them skillfully and sometimes brilliantly. There are unmistakable echoes of the Meinecke school in his emphasis on thought as a vital force in its own right, independent of the vagaries of politics, economics, or society. He is most effective in this kind of *Geistesgeschichte* or *Ideengeschichte*, and the interesting and original things he has to say about it are based on wide reading and vast erudition. The going gets a little rough at times, what with all the thinkers, scholars, creeds, concepts, and philosophies, but the overall achievement is impressive. In contrast to the national teleology that has dominated the work of earlier historians, Nipperdey presents the first half of the nineteenth century in all its kaleidoscopic diversity and multiformity.

The sections dealing with political and diplomatic developments are sound but less original. There is the familiar story of the reform movement during the period of Napoleonic hegemony, the War of Liberation, the sleepy decades of the Restoration, the brave but doomed attempt in 1848–49 to establish a liberal national state, the years of reaction, the new era, the constitutional conflict in Prussia, and finally the fratricidal war of 1866 and the triumph of Bismarckian statecraft. All of this is portrayed accurately and thoughtfully, but with a certain resolute detachment that borders at times on blandness. Nipperdey appears to have constructed this part of his work on the principle that *tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*. He seems to agree with Ranke that since every epoch stands in a direct relationship to God, it must be understood in its own terms and on its own assumptions. He is particularly anxious to avoid the appearance of judging the past in the light of fashionable present-day leftist leanings. He shuns like the plague any suggestion that class interests or economic purposes played a significant role in national unification. The revolution of 1848 was inspired almost entirely by political rather than social dissatisfactions, he maintains. The struggle of the Prussian legislature against the crown in the early 1860s was an attempt to liberalize the system of government, nothing more. Since Austria had to be expelled from the Germanic commonwealth, Bismarck, his reliance on blood and iron notwithstanding, was historically right. And so it goes.

Despite this scrupulous detachment, Nipperdey does have his somewhat unlikely heroes. They are the generally scorned middle-of-the-road liberals, who can certainly use an eloquent defender. Their

philosophy of the golden mean has been criticized by the right as well as the left, although one does not have to be a reactionary or a radical to find weaknesses in their principles and policies. To most historians they have appeared calculating yet ineffectual, urging resistance but seeking compromise, disguising small purposes and petty interests behind a facade of brave phrases. Nipperdey sees them in a different light, perhaps because their belief in a *via media* parallels his own. To him they were not supporters of a competitive free enterprise economy, but defenders of the Jeffersonian ideal of a polity of small proprietors, urban and rural, founded on liberty and justice. If they opposed manhood suffrage, that was because semiliterate agricultural laborers or mill hands could not be expected to vote intelligently. If they distrusted the lower classes, who can blame them in view of the plebiscitary dictatorship established in France under Napoleon III? In opposing Bismarck, they were acting on principle, seeking freedom as well as unity. And in compromising with him, they were accepting inescapable reality, recognizing that politics is the art of the possible. This is a highly favorable interpretation; not even Valentin or Ziekursch in the heyday of the Weimar Republic went so far in defense of the liberals. As to how plausible the reader will find it, that will no doubt depend on his predispositions.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

HANS-GERHARD HUSUNG. *Protest und Repression im Vormärz: Norddeutschland zwischen Restauration und Revolution*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 54.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1983. Pp. 385. DM 78.

Hans-Gerhard Husung's *Protest und Repression im Vormärz* investigates a neglected aspect of German history during an equally neglected period: crowd protest during the thirty years before the 1848 revolution. Opening with a review of theories regarding collective protest (mostly American), Husung establishes clear sets of categories for analysis (for example, homogeneity of the crowd, type of protest, level of organization, and so forth). He considers crowds of twenty or above in the five northwest German states of Brunswick, Hannover, Oldenburg, Bremen, and Hamburg.

Three-fifths of the study examines the specific economic, social, and political background of the 153 incidents of collective protest Husung considers. In this way he hopes to avoid the abstract, ahistorical comparison of which social quantifiers are accused. These pages make for lively reading and are an excellent source for pre-1848 German

historians as they summarize large quantities of contemporary, secondary, and archival material. The differences in social and political development among these states as well as the differing modes of protest, whether peasant, artisan, railway construction worker, student, or small town property owner stand out clearly.

Many of these protests were against state incursions into guild organization, some were against high grain prices, a few (especially in the earlier period) were anti-Jewish, while others involved constitutional, dynastic, and political issues. Most demonstrators were from the lower classes, although typically burghers and aristocrats could use lower-class discontent to gain their own political goals.

Husung finds no direct connection between general economic conditions and protest among the urban lower classes, although the catastrophic food crisis of the 1840s created widespread unrest. According to Husung, the collective protests of 1847 and early 1848 are neither quantitatively nor qualitatively precursors of a revolutionary situation. He also notes that where constitutional issues were settled satisfactorily (as in Brunswick and Hannover) before 1848 the March movement ran rather quietly.

What novel conclusions come from all this? That there was no trend toward increasing protest that culminates in 1848; that guild-related protests reached a peak between 1835 and 1840; that urbanization seems to have played little role (though he thinks *Urbanität* doubtlessly did); and that most protests were not successful. Many of his other conclusions confirm research on other contemporary West European societies: that most protests had participants from specific groups, that traditional forms of protest persisted through the 1840s, that artisans made up 37 percent of all participants, and that they were youthful. Protesters were not the rootless hungry but those whose position in society was somewhat established.

Although the title leads the reader to expect an equal treatment of repression, Husung deals only in a general way with the role of the police and the military (only twenty times was it the sole force for order). Frequently, the authorities made concessions, especially in food riots, rather than exercise full repression.

For the quantifier, Husung includes fifteen tables in the concluding sixty pages of comparative analysis. There is also a list of protest incidents with notes of the main sources used for each.

LOYD E. LEE

State University College of New York,  
New Paltz

ROBERT J. RUBANOWICE. *Crisis in Consciousness: The Thought of Ernst Troeltsch*. Foreword by JAMES LUTHER

ADAMS. Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida. 1982. Pp. xxiii, 177. \$20.00.

This lucid intellectual biography assesses the achievement of Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) as religious scholar, philosopher of history, and political commentator against the background of spiritual and historical crisis through which his generation lived and which he epitomized. Robert J. Rubanowice focuses on Troeltsch's preoccupation with the deterioration of values in Western civilization around the turn of the century and his efforts to analyze and combat it in his extensive publications on theology, church history, sociology, ethics, historicism, and politics. Central to Troeltsch's vision was the "severe crisis of religion in the modern world." Deeply religious himself but cognizant of the decline of religion as a vital force in human affairs, Troeltsch rejected the view of Christianity as an absolute, static, transcendent religion advocated by his renowned teacher, Albrecht Ritschl, in favor of a view of Christianity as a historical phenomenon, subject to the same transformations and methods of investigation as any other historical phenomenon. Influenced by Dilthey and Weber, Troeltsch pioneered the historical and sociological approach to religion (defended by Rubanowice as relevant to contemporary theology) in such landmark works as *Protestantism and Progress* (1906) and *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912), which challenged theology to take the real world seriously.

Troeltsch's historicization of Christianity soon blossomed into a full-blown historicism that rejected any absolutes in history and that regarded all human values and institutions—the state, law, morality, and art, along with religion—as in a perpetual state of flux and "true" only in relation to the historical context. Acknowledging the relativism inherent in this view, Troeltsch nevertheless insisted that "a truth for us does not cease, because of this, to be very truth and life." The truth, for Troeltsch, was not the religious and rationalistic dogmas of the past, but only a viable philosophy of history based on the concept of "polymorphous truth" that could provide guidance and direction to the modern age. Critical of all past philosophies of history, Troeltsch set forth his own in *Historicism and Its Problems* (1922), which synthesized his "formal logic of history" and "material philosophy of history." This work is now regarded by many as the summa of German historicism.

In his later years Troeltsch became politically active, first as a propagandist for the German cause in World War I, then as a journalistic observer and supporter of the Weimar Republic. Rubanowice traces this side of Troeltsch's career in the first detailed English-language account of the subject.

Rubanowice rightly concludes that Troeltsch was,

in the last analysis, an eclectic thinker who borrowed freely from others and failed to produce an original system of his own, although his five-hundred publications, many of lasting interest, constitute a microcosm of the major intellectual trends of his time. But readers of *Crisis in Consciousness* will also agree that Troeltsch was a thinker of remarkable range and insight who raised important questions, both in his life and writings, about the moral and intellectual responsibilities of the historian, especially in an age of crisis.

ROBERT ANCHOR  
University of California,  
Santa Cruz

JOHN HIDEN and JOHN FARQUHARSON. *Explaining Hitler's Germany: Historians and the Third Reich*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1983. Pp. 237. \$22.50.

The historiography of National Socialism and the Third Reich has now reached the stage where some basic stocktaking is becoming necessary. With a plethora of titles it is desirable to identify historians by their specialty, their era, or their school, to say nothing of differences in national approaches and the divisions between East and West. With this need in mind, some years ago the French historian Pierre Aycoberry published his *Nazi Question*, a guide through the main literature of the field. There have also been a number of useful bibliographies toward the same end, notably by British scholars. The authors of this volume are also British, and each has already distinguished himself in a particular field of enquiry: John Hiden with a book on Germany in the European context (1919–39) and John Farquharson with a study of the peasants under Nazism and the Third Reich.

Such experience well equips both authors to deal with the historiography of the Third Reich in seven specific categories: Hitler's personality, Nazi ideology, the nature of the dictatorship (centralized or polycentric), the question of "social revolution," foreign policy, economics, and general interpretative problems. The reader is helped along by an introduction, extensive notes, a bibliography, and an index.

The authors' approach is somewhat different from Aycoberry's. The Frenchman took a few key issues, either in theme or methodology, and identified them with certain key historians. He then dealt with the issues and their interpretations in a highly subjective manner, expressing strong likes and dislikes. He always managed to remain with one author or a distinct group of authors sufficiently to treat them poignantly and conclusively; hence, he did not generally weave in and out of issues and authors.

Hiden and Farquharson manage to combine various authors' interpretations of a particular problem and treat them in short order, always ready to return to these historians for yet another issue in their book. This methodology has the advantage of presenting a problem area, such as Hitler's personality, coherently, but it does not do justice to an individual writer's comprehensive body of views. Furthermore, within the review of the literature on a given subject, the authors have merged their synthesis with an analysis of their own, so that often it is difficult to tell whether: (a) an author is represented (or misrepresented, for that matter), (b) the two Britons are offering their own versions, or (c) a combination of both.

This is not necessarily a weakness of this book, although, undoubtedly, some readers will be more uncomfortable with this approach than others. For my own part, I was happy to see the major historiographical areas in the field summed up in this fashion, yet I would have been even happier had the notes conformed more closely to the bibliography (titles would sometimes be missing in the one but not in the other) and had the purview been extended, at least in one self-contained chapter, to the Nazi "Time of Struggle" before 1933. As it stands, the book should prove to be a useful tool for researchers and, even more so, for students in the classroom.

MICHAEL H. KATER  
York University

WINFRIED EBERHARD. *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen, 1478–1530*. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 38.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1981. Pp. 314. DM 58.

To some extent this study clarifies the religious and political trends and movements within Bohemia from 1478 to 1530, a time marked by economic, social, and religious change. For much of Europe this change took place in the context of a contest between crown and estates. Winfried Eberhard shows that in Bohemia, where the king was weak or frequently absent, the struggle for power was between nobility and towns. Both church and polity at this time were divided into a bewildering array of groups, each part of an alliance that kept shifting. The religious parties included the Catholics, the moderate Utraquists, the extreme Utraquists, and the almost apolitical Unity of Brethren. The polity consisted of the nobility and the towns; both classes were represented in all of the religious groupings.

The author sees the Hussite reformation as a movement of estates because they represented it politically, set its goals, and generally fostered its development. Thus, in the midst of a number of Utraquist setbacks in the 1470s, several nobles called



a Utraquist diet that organized their defense and set up an administrative structure and a constitution. The author's thesis that the fate of religion and estate went hand in hand as parties joined alliances based sometimes on confessional and other times on political interests is well presented.

The estates, however, were not united. Members of an estate changed sides when it suited them. For example, one Hussite town did not join Prague in 1483 when two Catholic ones did. It was the same within the nobility. Catholic barons who protected the extremist Unity of Brethren did not join the Catholic-dominated opposition to the towns in 1504, whereas Utraquist nobles did. Their enemies included the cities, a number of Utraquist nobles, and two Catholic barons, political rivals of the four major Catholic office holders. What is lacking is a convincing explanation of why particular individuals and groups supported the line they did.

The author convincingly shows how in 1524–25 the economic interests of the conservative guilds influenced their religious policies, leading to a break in the longstanding alliance between the cities, led by Prague, and the Utraquists. Eberhard stresses the continuity between the nobility's support for the early Hussite Revolution and for the later Utraquist developments (pp. 16–26, 112–19, 207). He ought therefore to have read the literature on the nobility in the early phase that has recently appeared both in Czech and English. That research supports his overall conclusions.

Eberhard makes an important point when he describes reform Utraquism at the beginning of the sixteenth century as the result of dynamic native forces and not part of Luther's revolt. Unfortunately, he does not describe to any great extent who these reform Utraquists were, what their aspirations were, nor how they expressed them. On balance this is a valuable description of the dynamics of the conflict within the Bohemian estates at the end of the Middle Ages.

JOHN KLASSEN  
Trinity Western College

JOHN KOMLOS. *The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union: Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 347. \$35.00.

This is an important book in two respects. First, it is a splendid specimen of the new economic history, the more welcome because it deals with east central Europe. Second, it makes a significant contribution to Austro-Hungarian economic history, although it may turn out to be less a landmark in this field than claimed. As the subtitle indicates, the major contri-

bution is a careful and comprehensive utilization of extant statistics (some starting in the 1770s) and of estimation procedures to construct indexes of industrial product in Austria and Hungary for 1830–1913 and of Hungarian agriculture for 1870–1915. The book also presents a systematic survey of Hungarian industrialization. The stress on quantitative history finds expression in the book's structure: the 220 pages of text include nineteen figures and sixty-six tables, and of 100 pages of appendixes about 60 percent are tables. No doubt, John Komlos's indexes and estimates will remain the definitive indicators of Austro-Hungarian economic growth for a long time; the reader is convinced of this more by the author's sound scholarship than by Appendix C, which criticizes—in parts devastatingly—all previous quantitative studies of Austrian industrialization.

The long period covered and the discussion of both sections of the monarchy and of their interrelations are justly emphasized as merits of this study. In this sense the book is about the customs union (see main title). Thus, one of its findings, that after 1870 Austrian and Hungarian industrial growth rates were "out of phase with one another" (pp. 132, 218), throws much additional light on the roles of Austrian capital and Hungarian policies in the impressive achievements of Hungarian industrialization.

The controversial aspect of this book relates to the almost exclusive weight assigned to quantitative evidence and (narrowly defined) economic motivations in explaining developments. The finding that the mid-century reforms had no "profound immediate impact" (p. 50), especially in Hungary, is provided a sound quantitative underpinning; but it is not really a complete revision in historiography, as can be seen from a fair reading of the last decade's literature. Moreover, this finding does not justify the statement that "the reform should be viewed as a purely formal act" (p. 50) that did not release modernizing forces. Neither are Komlos's conclusions on the long-run rhythm of Austrian industrialization or on the respective gains of the union partners truly revolutionary. The crucial question, however, is whether to accept his basic beliefs, that the driving forces of growth were "not in government policies but in the interaction of market forces" (p. 23) and that "in the nineteenth century the economy had a dynamic of its own, *quite independent of political events*" [italics added] (p. 112). And this with respect to the Habsburg monarchy! Komlos starts out with these views and then presents their more extreme formulation as a conclusion. But in fact, some of his own analysis—especially of the behavior of Austrian investors (p. 168) and of Hungarian development policies (summarized on page 207)—can be construed to contradict his position. The elegance of exposition is marred unnecessarily by overstating the author's case (for example, page 19 on the terms



of trade), rarely by misinterpreting data (those of Table 2.13) or misusing "close to" (p. 98, n. 27).

In sum, this significant contribution should stimulate, even challenge, further research, particularly on the regional and microeconomic levels. It can also conceivably serve as a text for a methodological course to analyze the merits and limitations of the application of economic theory and statistical rigor to history.

NACHUM T. GROSS  
Hebrew University

ARNOLD SUPPAN. *Die österreichischen Volksgruppen: Tendenzen ihrer gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung im 20. Jahrhundert.* (Österreich Archiv, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. 1983. Pp. 263.

The social position and rights of Austria's ethnic minorities have been an explosive political issue almost throughout the history of both republics. The demise of the Habsburg monarchy by no means ended the problems of ethnic pluralism for the predominantly German provinces of the old empire. The census of 1923 showed nearly 35,000 Slovenes in Carinthia, 42,000 Croats and more than 9,600 Magyars in the Burgenland, and 52,000 Czechs and 2,500 Magyars in Vienna and Lower Austria. As Arnold Suppan lucidly shows, emigration, declining birthrates, and, above all, assimilation with the German-speaking majority have caused all of the principal minority groups to decline in the last sixty years; but questions of their rights to education and other public services in their own languages and to representation of their group interests caused recurring conflict in Austrian domestic politics between 1918 and 1938 and again after 1945. The issue of Austria's ethnic minorities has also figured importantly in its foreign relations, particularly with Yugoslavia, and minority rights were a source of contention in the drawing of state boundaries and in the peace settlements after both world wars. Suppan's fine overview of the experience of Austria's minority groups in the twentieth century will therefore be of interest to students of political and diplomatic history as well as of the social development of Austria and her neighbors.

Suppan's short book offers the first general synthesis on the political, demographic, and social history of the Austrian Republic's principal minority groups. A number of studies of the legal and political development of the individual ethnic groups have appeared previously, but there has been little work on their demographic, social, and economic history and no serious effort to compare the experiences of the various groups. Suppan's treatment of the different groups together pays

particular dividends in his discussion of the importance of social structure and social experience in the survival or decline of the various ethnic communities. He makes it clear why the primarily peasant and artisanal Croat and Slovene populations have had different bases of group identity and have faced processes of assimilation different from the more diverse Magyar minority. Suppan is prudent in his use of the often ambiguous official statistics on the numerical strength of the groups, and he is sensitive to the complex of factors that have influenced the processes of ethnic persistence and assimilation. The treatment of the consequences of Nazi control over Austria is particularly enlightening. Although Nazi racial policies called for assimilation with the Germans of portions of the Croats and Slovenes in their home provinces and the resettlement of the rest, the involvement of the Burgenland and Carinthian populations in the Nazi war effort sharply accelerated the Croats' and Slovenes' integration into the surrounding society. Even now the issue of minority rights is politically sensitive for any Austrian; Suppan succeeds well in presenting an even-handed treatment from which neither German nationalists nor radical partisans of the now-diminished Croat and Slovene minorities will be able to take much comfort.

The shortcomings of Suppan's work derive principally from its brevity. Suppan often substitutes simple lists of causal factors, of relevant conditions, or of outcomes for worked out, orderly explanations. The analysis of the development of group identities and of the assimilative processes needs to be illustrated with more individual and community examples to increase its credibility. Although the introduction clearly defines basic concepts and the general issues of ethnic identification and assimilation, it does not really establish a clear agenda of historical questions for what follows. Although Jews and gypsies cannot be considered comparable to the other groups in their political-legal situation or in their numbers after 1945, some will question the decision not to discuss either group. Still, Suppan offers an admirable introduction to an important area of Austrian social history.

GARY B. COHEN  
University of Oklahoma

GYÖRGY RÁNKI. *Economy and Foreign Policy: The Struggle of the Great Powers for Hegemony in the Danube Valley, 1919-1939.* (East European Monographs, number 141.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. 224. \$25.00.

During the interwar period, the newly established states in the Danubian Basin were drawn more

closely into the international economy than before the Great War, when most of the nations in the region had been part of a relatively self-sufficient economic unit within the Habsburg monarchy. Although formally politically independent, the policies of these states were influenced in the first postwar decade by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the Versailles peace treaties, whereas in the second decade they were largely shaped by the economic crisis and the rise of fascism. György Ránki's book fits into this general framework and follows in chronological sequence the economic diplomacy of the four leading European capitalist powers (France, Britain, Italy, and Germany) in pursuit of their interests in the Danubian successor states.

The interwar diplomatic power game has been well researched and widely written about by historians, but Ránki specifically emphasizes the interconnections between economics and politics as they were reflected in foreign policy toward southeastern Europe. With this approach he contributes a further dimension to the discussion by his concept of "credit and market." He argues that France and Britain established their hegemony in the Danubian region during the 1920s by supporting the stabilization of the new states—mainly by procuring credits and thereby ousting Germany from her previously dominating position. By the end of the 1920s, the economies of southeastern Europe were immensely indebted and without sufficient outlets for their exports and could only operate through further credits. On the one hand, due to the impact of the crisis of 1929–33, credits from Britain, France, and the U.S. dried up and, on the other, these same creditors were unwilling or unable to provide markets for the exports of the Danubian Valley. The only market potentially able to absorb the products of the agrarian states of southeastern Europe was in Germany. "The credit-providing and market-providing countries did not coincide" (p. 42).

Ránki analyzes the failures of attempts at economic cooperation in the Danube Basin and comments that "although the interpretation of the diagnosis was unanimous, there was no agreement as to the remedies" (p. 111). Leading politicians and businessmen in Germany were aware of this situation, and trade with the Danubian countries became an increasingly potent instrument of their foreign policy. Under the Hitler regime, the policy of *Grossraumwirtschaft* was directed purposefully to regaining hegemony in southeastern Europe. Although Ránki puts forward convincing evidence of the role of foreign credits in the 1920s and of the export market in the 1930s, his conclusion that Germany had actually regained hegemony in the Danubian region before 1938 is less plausible. This reviewer has shown that there was no voluntary economic withdrawal by Western democracies from this area

in order to make room for German expansion, that is, there was "no economic before the political Munich," and Ránki accepts this interpretation (p. 183). Evidence is heavily weighted to substantiate that Germany had not achieved hegemony before the *Anschluss* of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia between October 1938 and March 1939. Indeed, the southeastern European countries sought with a certain amount of success to extricate themselves from the German trade ensnarement. Therefore, gambling on the acquiescence of the appeasers, Hitler took recourse to aggression during 1939. In doing so he overstepped the limits to which Britain and France were prepared to tolerate German expansion. Ránki seems to underestimate the vital change in the balance of forces caused by the fall of Austria and Czechoslovakia when timing the German regaining of hegemony in southeastern Europe.

Ránki's book is based on the results both of completed and currently proceeding research projects. At the same time it provides a summary of Ránki's and his Hungarian colleagues' recent writings published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In this respect it offers a synthesis; this alternates with descriptions of detailed diplomatic negotiations of the Hungarian with other European governments. Ránki is tempted to regard Hungary as typical for the whole area, often stating that "it was the same for the others." This, however, conceals the considerable differences among the Danubian states. Ránki's book raises questions that are undeservedly by-passed and that need to be clarified and included in our interpretation of European history. Even allowing for unavoidable errors, it is unfortunate that more care has not been taken to check references, footnotes, and misspellings.

ALICE TEICHOVA  
University of East Anglia

MARCO BOARI. *Qui venit contra iura: Il furiosus nella criminalistica dei secoli XV e XVI*. (Università di Macerata. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza, second series, number 35.) Milan: Giuffrè. 1983. Pp. 164. L. 9,000.

With this work Marco Boari has attempted to bring the complex and highly developed resources of legal history to bear on the history of madness. But as he is little concerned with what legal tradition meant for society, he actually focuses on a more modest task—outlining the structure of legal thought on insanity in the late sixteenth century. His introduction does raise broader methodological questions. Perhaps the most suggestive are: (1) his assertion that the jurists' writings represent an important middle ground between abstract intellectual

traditions and the practical concerns of society and (2) his claim that the political and social agendas implicit in law and its interpretation cannot be overlooked if one is to understand its meaning.

The text, however, largely leaves such questions behind. Discussion begins with an examination of the legal tradition's definition of madness. Although admitting that the wide range of terms used for madness (*furiosus*, *mentecaptus*, *demens*, *amens*, *fatuus*, *phreneticus*, *melancholicus*, *insanus*) may have had a wide variety of meanings, he argues that for Roman law they were essentially synonymous. Behind them all there existed a legal vision of the madman as one not under his own control, "*suus non est*." This concept of radical alienation meant that the mad were seriously handicapped legally; they were not capable of governing their lives and significantly lacked the essential elements of legal personality: reason and will. Insanity defined, Boari then considers the difficult issue of its legal proof. In the sixteenth century, he argues, proof turned on material evidence and testimony confirming specific deeds. As insanity was primarily a question of reason and will, or lack thereof, jurists were constrained to admit "non-definite proofs"—"signs" that suggested abnormality. After a long excursus on the development of the doctrine of nondefinite proof, Boari reviews these "signs," which fall into three main areas: public acts, words, and legal acts. Under the rubric of public acts, for example, most jurists held that madness should be associated with throwing stones, laughing wildly in the streets, doing dishonest or unclean things publicly, demonstrating a disordered mind, or spitting in the face of notaries (the last indicating perhaps some professional self-interest, he notes). Such signs turned more on the lack of rationality they implied than on the acts themselves. This interesting discussion, however, leaves one wishing that there had been an attempt to explain when and why these particular signs became part of legal thought and how they interrelated with contemporary perceptions and practice. Turning to criminal prosecution Boari establishes the well-known position that madness negated criminal responsibility in Roman law. This derived from the precept that without reason and volition there could be no guilt; but it poses as a logical corollary the legal question of whether a madman could commit a crime: "*furiosus deliquit, sed non punitur*" or "*furiosus non deliquit*?" More important for Renaissance jurists, however, were when madness began (before or after the crime); if it was interspersed with lucid intervals; or even if there were levels of madness. Each of these qualifications permitted jurists to argue in favor of "practical" adjustments to the theoretical lack of culpability of the insane. These distinctions, along with uncertainty about proof, meant that by the late Renais-

sance some jurists found grounds for punishing the insane for crime with diminished penalties.

As a summary of the Renaissance jurists' position on insanity this work is valuable, especially for legal historians. Nonspecialists will have trouble with references to legal traditions that are sometimes vague and to a host of jurists who are identified often by no more than the date of publication of their work. Seldom is there an indication of where most of those jurists worked, what political constraints they may have operated under (curious given the author's concern with such issues expressed in the introduction), or even the legal traditions to which they belonged. Taken on its own terms as a work for specialists it seems more descriptive than analytical. Still it does provide a good introduction to the Renaissance legal theory of insanity and in the process raises a number of broader questions of import for the history of insanity and of deviance in general.

GUIDO RUGGIERO  
*University of Tennessee*

JOHN F. D'AMICO. *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 101st series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 331. \$24.00.

John F. D'Amico skillfully interrelates specific institutional and intellectual characteristics of humanism at Rome from 1420 to 1527, especially in its last four decades. He describes requirements for humanists' advancement in or near the Roman curia, conditions that affected their family lives and even dictated intellectual tastes. His analysis of intricate mechanisms of curial careerism is solid and lucid. Despite its transient, cosmopolitan character, the hierarchical, celibate curia encouraged intellectual conformity. As patrons supported humanists generally for pragmatic purposes, dependence became a key to humanists' survival. This may explain D'Amico's finding that Roman humanists had no guiding philosophical preference but cultivated poetry, history, and archaeology. Unlike Voltaire, who saw in Leo X's Rome a cultural pinnacle, D'Amico finds already in its apogee omens of decline. Even promising humanists grew "sterile" and "barren" amidst the predictability of Roman intellectual interests, the monotony and compromise of curial careerism, and the instability of papal politics. Their preoccupation with literary authority made Ciceronianism an apt expression of Roman humanist spirit. D'Amico thus appears to move implicitly toward Hans Baron's and William J. Bouwsma's views that humanism in Italy

tended to make more vital, enduring contributions in republican, not princely, milieu.

In their ideology Roman humanists envisioned pope and curia as continuators of antique Roman ideals. While harmonizing Christianity with classical Rome, they ignored differences between the two, hoping to attract both theologically indifferent humanists and potentially hostile theologians. One paradox requires greater emphasis than D'Amico gives: while he finds in Roman humanists' religious interests a sign of passive acquiescence to clerical domination, he also finds their greatest diversity precisely in their theology. This explains his cursory reference to nonreligious interests in favor of penetrating analyses of unusual theological achievements of Paolo Cortesi, Adriano Castellesi, and Raffaele Maffei and an insightful interpretation of Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu* as a reform treatise. D'Amico also demonstrates that, although Roman humanists advocated church reform, it was mechanical, short-sighted, pie-in-the-sky. Earnest reform would have undone the institutions on which they depended.

The book focuses consistently on religious thinkers: it is not a cultural history of Renaissance Rome nor even a general history of Renaissance Roman humanism. One misses the profane neo-Latin literature of the epoch. Nor does D'Amico's necessary and intensive analysis of long-neglected thinkers leave him free to examine their relationship to splendid artistic programs in which some of them even participated. Yet how did the same Rome generate such memorable art and such forgettable thinkers? This cultural paradox invites deeper reflection. Jared Wicks's work on Cajetan and John O'Malley's on Giles of Viterbo raise the further question of why these scholastic thinkers contributed effectively to ecclesiastical policy whereas humanists as such influenced it minimally, the latter a conclusion D'Amico makes clear. One is left with the final question of whether the Roman humanists' disinclination to philosophy and lack of religious passion explains the academic shallowness of their theological reflection.

D'Amico engages appreciation for these humanists although their formalism strains modern sensibility, and they thus have encountered scholarly neglect (O'Malley the significant exception). Yet he is considerably more critical of them than is O'Malley (*Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome* [1979]). His tight integration of minor humanists and numerous secondary issues—the assessment of Roman Ciceronianism is especially commendable—results from an enviable acquaintance with manuscript sources and an impressive mastery of often inaccessible secondary literature. This latter strength makes it regrettable that the book lacks a bibliography. Also, it is odd that an expert on the cardinalate consistently misuses that noun as an adjective (instead of

cardinalatial), a usage sanctioned nowhere. The accustomed care of Johns Hopkins's editing in social sciences makes a beautiful presentation of this indispensable work.

JAMES MICHAEL WEISS  
Harvard University

D. V. KENT and F. W. KENT. *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*. (Villa i Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, number 6.) Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin. 1982. Pp. xiv, 192. \$22.00.

The phenomenon of neighborhood association in fifteenth-century Italian towns such as Florence has received much attention of late. But more attention has been given to debating when neighborhoods gained or lost importance than to investigating why, as a form of social and political organization, neighborhoods were significant. In this welcomed study, based on administrative records and supplemented by a wealth of other archival materials, D. V. Kent and F. W. Kent explore the nature of politics, administration, and social relations in one Florentine neighborhood in the early and mid-fifteenth century.

Like the other neighborhoods of Florence, the *gonfalone* (political ward) of the Red Lion had responsibilities that included communal defense and tax collection. In addition, the chief magistrate of the *gonfalone*, the gonfalonier, nominated those in his neighborhood deemed eligible to hold political office. The approval of one's neighbors was, therefore, essential for participation in communal government. The support of neighbors was also essential for economic survival, because responsibilities for tax collection were frequently discharged by one's neighbors acting on behalf of the neighborhood as an incorporated entity.

Between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the corporate responsibilities of neighborhoods shifted from defense to such activities as administration and taxation. The introduction of the centrally administered *catasto* in 1427 did not reduce the role of neighborhoods in tax assessment or collection, at least not until much later in the fifteenth century. Taxes were paid by citizens to their district and by the district to the city. Differences between what wards owed the city and what they collected from citizens were bridged by the districts themselves. Local committees, whose work is one of the principal subjects of this book, were responsible for determining who in the neighborhood would help defray the tax burden created by delinquent taxpayers. This process of neighborhood assessment had very real, very human dimensions. Accompanying the Florentine's sense of neighborhood and his loyalty



to neighbors and kin were deep suspicions and jealousies. Locally administered tax assessment exacerbated tensions in an already competitive, mistrustful, and gossip-ridden neighborhood culture.

The neighborhood of the Red Lion encompassed two parishes, San Pancrazio and San Paolo. San Pancrazio served as the *gonfalone's* official meeting place, and its abbot, Benedetto Toschi, was elected in 1444 by the residents of the neighborhood to be its permanent fiscal administrator. Toschi serves as the main figure for much of the Kents' story. For twenty years Toschi helped administer the assets of the neighborhood and assisted in determining which residents were granted tax relief and which would defray the uncollected portion of the district's tax assessment. As procurator Toschi was instrumental in disposing of the property of Florence's most illustrious exile and tax debtor, Palla Strozzi, who had resided in the parish of San Pancrazio until his banishment by the Medici. The loyalties and intimacies of neighborhood political culture were, for the Kents, exemplified by the relations of Toschi, Strozzi, and the men of the neighborhood. Through elaborate agreements, legal fictions, and private arrangements, Toschi, with the full connivance of inhabitants of the *gonfalone*, pro- and anti-Mediceans alike, enabled Strozzi to keep much of his property intact. In exchange for his efforts on behalf of the neighborhood and for his defense of Strozzi interests, Toschi was also able to realize his own Renaissance ambition—the expansion and redecoration of San Pancrazio, accomplished through neighborhood patronage, excess taxes collected by the district, and the income generated by Strozzi's property held on his behalf by Abbot Toschi.

What emerges from the Kents' research is the reality of neighborhood as a corporate entity, as an important component of social identity, and as a critical element in Florentine political organization, mediating the private concerns of kin group and patronage network and the public concerns of the commune. This work, focused on the early to mid-fifteenth century, will not settle the debate about the changing significance of neighborhood during the course of the Renaissance, although the political and fiscal importance of neighborhood in the first half of the fifteenth century is now, thanks to the Kents, beyond dispute. But, more importantly, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood* offers the first extended analysis of how a Renaissance neighborhood functioned and what such a neighborhood did. In so doing it provides a well-documented, vividly written, and rare glimpse of the intimacies and complexities of Italian urban society that should be of value to all students of urban political and social organization.

RONALD F. E. WEISSMAN  
University of Maryland,  
College Park

JUDITH BRYCE. *Cosimo Bartoli, 1503–1572: The Career of a Florentine Polymath*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 191.) Geneva: Droz. 1983. Pp. 358.

The culture of later Renaissance Florence has attracted increasing attention over the last fifteen years. The work of Eric Cochrane and of Giorgio Spini and, especially, the huge Council of Europe exhibition and conference of 1980, "Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento," have emphasized the vitality of Florentine intellectual and artistic life in the decades after the demise of the last Florentine Republic in 1530. To this scholarship on the emerging cultural world of ducal Tuscany may now be added Judith Bryce's impressive monograph. Her subject seems an apt choice for biographical treatment, devoted as it is to a man whose career and intellectual interests spanned the Florentine cultural world of Cosimo I's reign. Promoter of the Tuscan vernacular for all fields of learning, Cosimo Bartoli published editions, translations, and original works in history, moral philosophy, Dante scholarship, mathematics, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and theology.

Bryce has organized her study of this Florentine polymath, the first book-length treatment since Girolamo Mancini's monograph of 1918, into two sections: part 1 is devoted to Bartoli's life, particularly his public career, part 2 to his scholarship. In part 1 we discover Bartoli's development within a patrician family staunchly partisan in their Medici support; his advancement in an ecclesiastical career, including appointment to the influential post of provost of the Florentine baptistry; his role as a founding member of the Accademia Fiorentina; his brief stint in the household of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici; and his service as official Florentine resident in Venice during the decade (1562–72) that climaxed with the Battle of Lepanto.

Bartoli's diplomatic service in Venice, for which so much documentation survives, occupies fully half of part 1, an imbalance given the minor role Bartoli played and the slight impact of this experience on his own thinking. Bartoli's most fascinating public involvement was his collaboration with Giorgio Vasari in the 1550s. He assisted in the publication of the Florentine painter's famous *Lives of the Artists* and conceived the iconographical program for Vasari's redecoration of rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio intended as two suites of ducal apartments. Here Bryce demonstrates Vasari's dependence on Bartoli's erudition and astutely deciphers the complex mythology and political symbolism in these *invenzioni* devoted to Medici glorification.

This chapter indeed anticipates much of Bryce's analysis in part 2. Here she assesses Bartoli's work as editor and translator—most importantly of Leon



Battista Alberti but also of (among others) Paolo Giovio, Boethius, Albrecht Dürer, Marsilio Ficino, Carlo Lenzoni, and Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Bryce also examines Bartoli's works: a life of Frederick Barbarossa, the *Ragionamenti accademici* (which uses passages of Dante's *Commedia* as a springboard for commentary on a wide variety of issues in natural and moral philosophy, in the arts, and in religion), and the ambitious *Discorsi storici universali*, inspired by Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*.

In these chapters Bryce's grasp of intellectual and scholarly currents in Florentine culture is impressive, but her decision to separate Bartoli's life from his scholarship obstructs a coherent image of the man. This compartmentalization, nonetheless, seems symptomatic of Bartoli himself. An ecclesiastic, he lacked any religious vocation and remained nearly untouched by the great movement of Catholic reform. A diplomat, he squandered his energies in petty intrigue and low-level espionage, completely disinterested in how the Venetian constitution worked. Conscious of the great intellectual achievements of the *quattrocento*, he was content to publicize and popularize, resorting in his own works to uneasy compromise and bland platitudes.

What one detects in Bartoli is a careerism without any intellectual or moral core. For him Florentine patriotism and Medici allegiance subsumed all. Rather than embodying the *cinquecento* counterpart of Alberti's *uomo universale*, he remained, as Bryce remarks (p. 11), an unoriginal thinker and in this sense is representative of the troubled direction of humanism in the mid-*cinquecento*.

CHARLES L. STINGER  
State University of New York,  
Buffalo

BRIAN PULLAN. *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1983. Pp. xv, 348. \$32.50.

The title of this fascinating book is misleading. The Inquisition of Venice seldom preoccupied itself with Jews or Judaizers, who constituted only 3.4 percent of its cases, and Jews in the Venetian ghetto were themselves outside inquisitorial jurisdiction. Brian Pullan's subjects, Marranos from Iberia and Jews converted to Christianity in Italy, were marginal types who, through ignorance, duplicity, opportunism, or cynicism, lived ambiguously or ambivalently between the Christian and Jewish communities. Pullan concludes that such vacillating behavior was the result of a "series of individual choices, often subject to revision, sometimes complicated by youthful uncertainty, and best not portrayed in terms of any collective resolve" (p. 242). His insistence on the individuality of his few score cases and his emphasis

on the differences between Marranos and Italian converts prevent him from ever directly confronting the phenomenon of nonconformity or the sociology of marginality; he uses the trials, instead, to describe the institution of the Inquisition and to characterize Counter Reformation Catholicism in Venice. One learns from this book far more about Catholicism than about Judaism, and one learns most of all about aberrant social life in Venice.

Pullan's history of the Venetian Inquisition does not differ markedly from Paul F. Grendler's. Both emphasize the cooperative spirit between Venetian state and Roman church during the years between 1547 and the last quarter of the century when policies diverged as Venice became more tolerant while Rome grew more authoritarian. Pullan emphasizes the way in which the Venetian Holy Office promoted compromise and resolution of conflict between state and church. The presence of Roman agents prevented the Venetians from using the Inquisition, as did the Spanish, to further the centralization of the state, and the lay magistrates in the Inquisition kept Rome from influencing Venetian affairs as much as it wished. The Inquisition avoided stereotypes and, unlike in Spain, never trumped up show trials. It considered with a deliberate concern for sound evidence the doctrinal implications of the offense, the level of scandal involved, and the prisoner's social status and potential for service to the republic.

The cases Pullan cites reveal the degree to which poor Jews, that is most Jews, were completely ill-equipped—without a trade or family support and cut off from Jewish charity—to survive as Christian converts who were often forced to live by begging. The cases also show that religious adherence, of whatever stripe, was determined not so much by protesting a creed or even less by profound faith as by observing holy days, dress codes, and dietary taboos and by performing prescribed ritual gestures. If these kinds of formal behaviors defined one's social and religious identity, then those who wavered between Catholicism and Judaism blurred the clarity of social classifications and became a striking public threat to Venice's stratified society. In his study of Inquisition trials, Pullan has skillfully reconstructed, if not fully analyzed, a remarkable group whose equivocal behavior endangered society, perhaps less because its members were crypto-Jews than because they did not know or manifestly show what they were.

EDWARD MUIR  
Syracuse University

DAVID WOOTTON. *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 192. \$39.50.

For a long time scholars have wondered about the religious convictions of Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), clergyman, Venetian polemicist, and author of the *History of the Council of Trent*. Was he reforming Catholic, Protestant, political ideologue, or spiritual Christian? David Wootton argues that Sarpi was an atheist, one of those who, behind philosophical masks, denied Christianity in favor of an exclusively secular view of man and society.

Wootton takes as his starting point Sarpi's *pensieri*—brief statements on philosophy, science, morality, and religion jotted down in notebooks. They were mostly written early in his career, long before he became Venetian champion during the interdict of 1606–07, and were not published in his lifetime. Wootton relies most heavily on the *Pensieri sulla religione* published by Gaetano Cozzi and Luisa Cozzi in 1969. Because of their fragmentary and contradictory nature, historians have wondered whether they reflected Sarpi's true beliefs or were a kind of *sic et non* exercise. Wootton argues that those statements strongly reflected critical of organized religion and belief in God reflected Sarpi's true beliefs and are the starting point of any analysis of his thought. He sees Sarpi's chief contribution to be the denial of religion's importance as social glue. Whereas some earlier thinkers had said that belief in God was irrational but necessary for the majority of men to persuade them to obey authority, Sarpi denied religion this function. In Sarpi's view, religion was not only mistaken, but dangerous to secular authority, the true source of society's cohesion. It was a position that Pierre Bayle and the Enlightenment later adopted. Wootton then argues that Sarpi's positions in his major works stemmed from this atheism.

The considerable merit of Wootton's book is that he has reopened a great debate in early modern history—how atheism developed. He criticizes Lucien Febvre's view that sixteenth-century man believed, because his assumptions, concepts, and society were so permeated with Christianity that he could not *not* believe. Moreover, Wootton has read widely, and he tries to place Sarpi in the context of others, especially Frenchmen such as Pierre Charron, who also charted a new secular philosophy that became atheism.

Although Wootton's book offers a number of insights, the argument is not completely realized. The book is too ambitious. Instead of attempting to discuss most of Sarpi's major works in a cursory manner, Wootton might have presented an extended analysis of the *pensieri* that completely developed and documented his central argument. Moreover, Wootton does not always write clearly enough for a reader unfamiliar with the texts to follow him. He presents some of the material in a confused fashion, with a good deal of skipping around. He uses terms

without sufficient definition. The overall impression is that Wootton is not in sufficient command of his materials, an impression heightened by numerous simple summaries of positions that were far from simple. In short, Wootton presents an important argument that may well be correct, but whose presentation is incomplete.

PAUL F. GRENDLER  
University of Toronto

PARASCHIVA CÂNCEA *et al.*, editors. *Istoria parlamentului și a vieții parlamentare din România până la 1918* [History of Parliament and of Parliamentary Activity in Romania to 1918]. (Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga.") Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1983. Pp. 493. 47 L.

The modern constitutional history of Romania, all but ignored in Romanian letters following World War II, receives attention in this useful survey of legislative bodies in the Danubian Romanian lands from 1821 to 1918. In the present work, eight scholars at the Institute of History in Bucharest consider significant topics on the formation and activity of Romanian representative organizations in a chronological framework. For the period from 1821 to 1859, Apostol Stan notes the boyars' proposed reforms of the 1830s in the Moldavian and Wallachian national assemblies, that is, in the Romanians' "first modern parliamentary institutions" (p. 58). Furthermore, according to A. Stan, the middle class, which surfaced politically in the 1848 revolution, influenced later deliberations in the Divans ad hoc and elected assemblies after the Crimean War, anticipating the unification of the Danubian principalities. For the years from 1859 to 1871, Valeriu Stan describes an extension of the franchise by the native prince Alexandru I. Cuza, together with the coup d'état that enabled Cuza to promulgate major reforms. V. Stan then contends that the 1866 constitution provided Romanians with a political system superior to that in the neighboring autocratic empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Ottoman Turkey. On the other hand, V. Stan maintains, Romanians suffered owing to parliamentary instability during the early years of the foreign prince Carol I, before the foundation of political parties. Subsequent chapters by Anicuța Popescu, Nichita Adăniloie, Paraschiva Căncea, Nicolae Isar, Mircea Iosa, and Anastasie Iordache treat echoes and enactments in the legislature regarding such themes as national independence in 1877–78, socio-economic reforms, the Transylvanian Romanians, and the early twentieth-century international crises ending in World War I.

The authors affirm that Romanian society in the nineteenth century had a "liberal and democratic

propensity," while the Romanian legislature itself "responded to the needs, expectations, and hopes of the whole nation," thereby making Romania "an outpost of bourgeois parliamentarianism and liberalism in southeastern and eastern Europe" (pp. 14, 479).

In examining the role of the legislature, the authors merely touch on political parties and political leaders. They do, however, indicate the shifting social basis of parliamentary entities—from the boyar landlords to the middle class, but not to the peasantry—pointing out that political representation stemmed from social and property qualifications, not from universal suffrage. Although the landlords and bourgeoisie first sought privileges for themselves, they also cooperated in addressing national and social questions so as to encourage the national economy as well as to raise the peasants' standard of living. In addition, the authors aver that various views—conservative, liberal, and socialist—were freely and openly expressed in parliament, conducive to a synthesis of opinions manifested in projects that became laws of the land.

This suggestive monograph rests squarely on published parliamentary debates (1831–48, 1859–1918), the official gazette (1859–87) and other newspapers, along with some archival material. The authors' information and insights whet our appetite for more, for a broader discussion and a keener analysis of the Romanian legislature's nature and function in relation to the executive and judicial components of the state's constitutional structure.

FREDERICK KELLOGG  
University of Arizona

BÉLA KÖPECZI. *Staatsräson und christliche Solidarität: Die ungarischen Aufstände und Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Vienna: Böhlau. 1983. Pp. 423. S 680.

In this volume Béla Köpeczi offers a tribute to the three hundredth anniversary of the siege of Vienna with an impressive collection of contemporary Western literature focusing in general on the Hungarian scene from 1664 to 1700 and in particular on the rise of Imre Thököly that took place during that time. Köpeczi has located what must be every meaningful late seventeenth-century newspaper, pamphlet, history, geography, poem, novel, and play that says anything at all about the Hungarian upheaval. The selections from the French literature published in Holland are particularly impressive.

Unfortunately, this wealth of information remains largely unsynthesized. The format of the book is partly to blame. Köpeczi has divided the main section of the work into five long chapters (preceded by a brief account of conditions in Hungary in the period discussed and followed by a short

summation), each dealing with a different form of literature: the French presses in Holland and France, French newspapers in Holland and France, pamphlets, historical and geographical works, and belles-lettres. Within each chapter he describes what specific publications had to say about Thököly and Hungary beginning with those appearing around 1664 and proceeding chronologically until the end of the century. Consequently, one reads in one chapter what one kind of Western literature had to say from 1664 to 1700 and then in the next chapter one starts over with what another kind of Western literature had to say during the same time period. Since so many of the ideas are repeated, one tends to lose track of what is important and what is not.

The title offers an intriguing theme, but it is not satisfactorily pursued. Indeed, on seeing the title, one thinks that the book will show how in the late seventeenth century the medieval idea of Christian solidarity was laid to rest by the doctrine of *raison d'état* as the Hungarians, Turks, and Frenchmen finally abandoned all sensitivities about joining an infidel to fight the Habsburgs. Rather, the author points out in a haphazard manner that Christian solidarity was a slogan at times believed in strongly, at times manipulated by writers to rally popular support for some cause or other, and at times used for rather curious purposes such as calling for a united Christian war against France since Louis XIV was un-Christian in the favor he showed to the Turks.

The author also fails to use his material satisfactorily to point out Western misconceptions of Hungary and its people. He frequently cites passages that he claims reflect persistent misconceptions such as natural Hungarian rebelliousness, inclination toward religious strife, and general misbehavior, but he does not try to explain why these views persisted or why indeed they were misconceptions.

This work reveals an impressive amount of research and is a gold mine for other scholars examining popular literature in the early modern period. But more analysis of the materials collected would have made it much better.

KARL A. ROIDER, JR.  
Louisiana State University,  
Baton Rouge

JOHANNES WACHTEN, editor. *Theodor Herzl: Briefe und Tagebücher*. Volume 1, *Theodor Herzl: Briefe und autobiographische Notizen, 1866–1895*. Assisted by CHAYA HAREL et al. Berlin: Propyläen. 1983. Pp. 939. DM 158.

ANDREW HANDLER. *Dori: The Life and Times of Theodor Herzl in Budapest, 1860–1878*. (Judaic Studies Series.) University: University of Alabama Press. Pp. xiii, 161. \$16.95.

It seems incongruous to label so somber and self-important a man as Theodor Herzl, creator and propagator of political Zionism, with a childhood nickname—"Dori." Yet all historical figures must pass through childhood, adolescence, and often a good part of their adulthood before they enter the historical arena. Both of these books focus on this prepolitical stage of Herzl's life, the one on Herzl in Budapest from 1860 to 1878; the other on his life as student, budding playwright, newspaper columnist, and unhappy husband in the 1880s and early 1890s.

Andrew Handler's study of the child and teenager (1860–78) and the promised seven-volume collection of Herzl's letters and unpublished journals (volume 1, covering 1866–95, is edited by Johannes Wachten) both stand in the tradition of lavishing great attention on the formative years of influential political figures. A shortage of materials limits such studies because politicians are usually not politically active as children and because it is extremely difficult to draw connections between childhood experiences and later activity, the efforts of psychohistorians notwithstanding.

Handler did not have these letters and autobiographical notes at hand when he wrote his study, but that makes no difference because, with the exception of some childhood notes to Herzl's parents, all of the items in the volume of letters are dated after 1878, when his family left Budapest for Vienna. Handler, facile in both Hungarian and German, relates much interesting information about Hungary and Hungarian Jews, but he hardly proves his thesis about the abiding Hungarian influence in Herzl's later political activity. For the author, the study of Herzl's childhood and adolescence provides important clues to the "four principal tenets of Herzlian Zionism," including the adoption of modern secular nationalism, the failure of the emancipation of the Jews, and the idea of an independent Jewish state (p. xii). The book is full of reasoning like "must have thought," "could not have avoided," "surely felt," and the like. Again and again Handler points to the general circumstances of Budapest Jewry to emphasize that the Herzl family was not merely another assimilated family that had little feeling for things Jewish and consciously cut itself off from Jewish feeling and activity. In fact, Handler's real historical targets are two misconceptions about Dori's years in Budapest—the underestimation of his exposure to things Hungarian and the overestimation of his admiration of things German. Handler is no doubt right; the Herzl family did not exhibit complete alienation from Judaism, and Herzl hardly emerged from eighteen years in Budapest unaffected by Hungary and the Hungarian Jewish community. Nonetheless, the best chapters in the book are those that go beyond the confines of the Herzl family to describe the milieu of Budapest,

especially in the area of education for the young. The material is not new, but Handler does a good job of summarizing the institutional framework in which middle-class Hungarian Jews functioned. Wider-reaching claims, relating to a predominance of the Hungarian element in Herzl's life or to the seminal importance of Gyözlö Istoczy's brand of antisemitism for European antisemitism, are not easily substantiated.

If it is detail one wants, the letters of 1866–95 provide that. Herzl's friendship with fellow law student Heinrich Kana, his extremely close relationship with his parents, his unbearably unhappy marriage in the later 1880s, his literary ambitions, his friendship with Arthur Schnitzler—all these emerge from the many pages. But is it important to publish so much? Collections of letters of politicians are important for the understanding they provide of the politician's political activity; to look at everything else with such awe is to surrender to a sort of "cult of personality" that does not help the historian draw conclusions and make historical judgments. One becomes terribly impatient hearing the comments of the young man Theodor about his vacations—"Everything they say about Captri is too little" (p. 255, dated 1887). He wrote to many editors with great concern about his being published, but there is little of the content of the writings.

There is also very little about Jewish matters. After all, Herzl was the consummate practitioner of Jewish politics, in some ways the inventor of the genre, but that occurred only from the mid-1890s on. One can read the six hundred letters in this volume and learn very little about why Herzl is famous or about why he did what he did. Only in the 1890s, when he had moved to Paris, are there clues to his later Jewish activity, but even these are obscure. For example, his family pediatrician was Max Nordau, later a well-known Zionist activist, but it is hard to know who influenced whom. Only in some of the letters in the 1890s does one see any reference to Jews, usually in regard to antisemitism, which we know from his literary activity was of great importance to him. One single reference, written in 1882, a long reaction to Eugen Dühring's work on the "Jewish question," appears in the journal extracts published in the second part of the volume.

In sum, publishing this tome entailed an enormous amount of work that seems out of place. It is the political Herzl who is important for posterity; to publish so much simply because Herzl wrote it is to abandon the need for historical judgment in the editing of documents.

LAWRENCE SCHOFER  
*Temple University School of Medicine*

ZSUZSA L. NAGY. *The Liberal Opposition in Hungary, 1919–1945*. Translated by PAL FÉLIX. (Studia Histor-



ica, number 185.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1983. Pp. 143. \$9.00.

The classical liberalism of the European middle classes is one ideology that has been written off in an unending stream of obituary notices. Yet its resilience was remarkable in countries like Hungary of the interwar period. There, the aftereffects of defeat in World War I, crippling losses in territory, population, and natural resources along with deep social and economic disparities, all combined to produce a much more congenial terrain for right-wing authoritarianism than for liberalism. To a large extent that was indeed what happened, but without the abrogation of the country's constitutional framework and without the elimination of a vocal liberal opposition, particularly influential in Budapest.

Zsuzsa L. Nagy, senior researcher in the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is among the foremost experts on that subject, and it is good to see her major work in English. First, she describes the various liberal parties, their organizational life, social affiliations, and plans for a liberal Hungary. Subsequently, she follows their political activities through the ebb and flow of the 1920s and their struggle against the Nazi threat in the 1930s, ending in their courageous stand against Hungary's participation in World War II on Hitler's side.

The latter half of the book is excellent. Nagy understands the liberals' severe limitations, stemming from their middle-class origins and prejudices. She does not conceal their nearly anarchistic individualism that had frequently led them down the path of fratricidal bickerings and senseless personal rivalries. Yet she does express her admiration for their dogged persistence in keeping Hungary's liberal heritage alive against increasingly difficult odds. That is indeed a far cry from the old-fashioned Marxist tendency of shoving all bourgeois liberals of modern times into the "garbage heap of history," regardless of the circumstances.

Where the book falls short of the mark is in the author's taking for granted the reader's knowledge of Hungarian history. There should definitely be an introductory chapter in any future edition that explains the historical background, along with a brief biographical index of names. Such an addition would also be welcome because it would enable the author to argue an important point that she brings up from time to time without elaborating on it, that is, the significance of the historical roots, tradition, and continuity of liberalism in Hungary. This tradition has been so powerful that even conservatives of the István Tisza, István Bethlen, and Miklós Kállay variety would at worst weaken it without destroying its essence. Just as Tisza spoke up against incipient right-wing radicalism before World War I, so did

Bethlen, Kállay, and the liberal leader Károly Rassay find a common platform against the Nazi threat. What this valuable work does best is to prove that, notwithstanding its inherent weaknesses and limitations, liberalism in Hungary constituted an active political force of some significance in the shadow of right-wing authoritarianism and fascism.

GABOR P. VERMES  
Rutgers University,  
Newark

YESHAYAHU A. JELINEK. *The Lust for Power: Nationalism, Slovakia, and the Communists, 1918–1948*. (East European Monographs, number 130.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. xi, 185. \$20.00.

This is a peculiar book. Anyone writing on the Slovaks and on Slovakia should count on a general lack of knowledge of this nation in Western scholarship. Thus, an introductory chapter should have been written not only to situate the topic, in this case a very limited one, within the framework of the nation's history but also to link it with the theme or issue the historian feels deserves examination. In a very brief preface Yeshayahu A. Jelinek writes: "[This] study is devoted to the confrontation between Slovak nationalism and Slovak Communism and their influence on one another" (p. vii). He does indeed seek to look at nationalism and communism in Slovakia by examining the role Slovak communists have played in a part of that country's history, but he does not come to grips with either topic. There are as a result many problems.

The author's major problem is with nationalism. He writes: "It sometimes appears as if the Lord decided on collective punishment for sinful mankind and gave it nationalism" (p. vii). This is not a thesis that helps one understand how Slovak nationalism arose and the role it played in Slovak national life and Slovak politics, particularly for Slovak communists. Although the development of Slovak nationalism paralleled that of other central European nations, in the period under study, the thirty years after the First World War, it also took on forms that sought to respond not just to the imperatives of continued national development but above all to the constraints, including that of national recognition, put on the Slovaks by the leaders of the majority nation, the Czechs, with whom they shared a common state. It is with this reality that the communists in Slovakia had to deal, even when the Slovaks had their own state during the war. The author's failure to define and examine Slovak nationalism leads him as a result to misread communist politics in Slovakia.

Jelinek suggests that the communists regarded



nationalism as a mere tool to achieve political domination in Slovakia. This is a simplistic hypothesis and highlights another problem, namely the difficulties the author has appreciating the dilemma nationalism has caused for communists since the Bolshevik revolution, and on which a great deal has been written. Yet in the first two chapters, where he deals with the Šmeral and Gottwald leaderships in pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, Jelinek shows that the leadership of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia vacillated between a need to respond to Slovak needs and Comintern directives that were mostly aimed at a proper strategy and tactics in Czechoslovak political life.

The dilemma for communists in Slovakia became very acute in the Slovak Republic; that is the subject of the third chapter. The communists now had formed their own party. The first question they had to deal with was whether their allegiance was to Slovakia or to Czechoslovakia. When Moscow decided to recognize the provisional Czechoslovak government-in-exile in 1941, a split developed in the party. A group in Slovakia was aware that the Slovak Republic, in other words, Slovak statehood, responded to the national aspirations of the Slovak people and best ensured their development. This was made abundantly clear in the document prepared for the Soviet leadership on conditions in Slovakia in the summer of 1944 by Gustav Husak. It is astounding that Jelinek makes absolutely no mention of this document, which, when it was finally published in its entirety in the West in 1979 also showed that Husak and others around him preferred the incorporation of Slovakia as a republic in the USSR to a return to Czechoslovakia. When this was not possible, they then pushed for the federalization of Czechoslovakia. But this orientation brought them into conflict with the other communists in Slovakia who would not go along, together with most Czech political leaders, with the political equality of the Czech and Slovak nations in Czechoslovakia.

After the Second World War, Slovak communists thus faced a problem of allegiance: to the Slovak people or to their ideology (hence to Prague and Moscow). Until the May 1946 elections, they opted for the former; they were not believed by the Slovak electorate who gave over 60 percent of their votes to the Democratic party. They then made a volte-face and aligned themselves with Prague. Jelinek documents this reasonably well, although he overstates the importance of the Communist party in Slovak political life until 1948. The communist campaign against the Democratic party succeeded only because the Czech noncommunist parties were more interested in the abolition of Slovak autonomy granted at the end of the war than in uniting in a common front against the communists.

The communists in Slovakia could not and did not in the end use nationalism to gain power. Although they understood its role in Slovak political life, they had to be above all subordinate to Prague and Moscow, neither of which was favorably inclined toward Slovak nationalism. They paid for not always accepting this in the purges of 1949–54. Likewise, federalization in 1968, the successful assertion of Slovak nationalism under communism, was possible only because neither Moscow nor Prague saw any reason to oppose it. By then the Slovak communists also appreciated that the only way to gain political credibility in Slovakia was to represent Slovak nationalism rather than to use or confront it. In the period under study, they had not fully grasped this. Nor has Jelinek, in part because he relies too heavily on communist sources of the period in an otherwise broad research effort. The result is a confusing study.

STANISLAV KIRSCHBAUM  
Glendon College  
York University

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA. *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860–1890*. (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Monograph Series.) Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1983. Pp. xi, 244. \$15.95.

This book deals with Galicia, the largest and economically the least developed of the Habsburg crown lands, whose population consisted mainly of Poles and Ukrainians. The chronological framework is the period from the date of the October Diploma that launched the constitutional reforms in Austria until the year when in both communities socialist parties emerged almost simultaneously. Within these strict limits of space and time, John-Paul Himka presents an analysis of the origins of two socialist movements, each growing within a structurally different society. Although the Polish community consisted of all social classes, the Ukrainian included almost only the peasantry. The Poles represented a historical nation, a term referring to the tradition of their own statehood as well as to the existence of their nobility as the ruling class in nineteenth-century Austrian Galicia. By contrast, the Ukrainians lacked these attributes of national historicity, their nobility having been Polonized over the centuries.

Polish socialism began with the advantage of a following in the urban population, notably among the artisans. Generally, Polish socialists adhered to legal forms of action, although, inspired by their revolutionary-minded comrades from Russian Po-

land, they engaged briefly in unsuccessful conspiratorial experiments.

Among the Ukrainians, socialist activities had the peasantry as the social base, but the leaders came from the intelligentsia. The effect was that, although the villagers were less ready for the message of socialism than the city journeymen, the members of the intelligentsia often proved to be more radical than the leadership of the Polish movement. They were under the formative influence of Mykhailo Drahomanov, who taught that the Ukrainian people consisted of exploited peasantry and therefore that nationally conscious intellectuals had to be socialists. Yet classical socialism did not sit well with the growing national sentiment. Mykhailo Pavlyk came to renounce Marxism because its founder's slogan, "long live Poland," sounded to him as the endorsement for the rule of the Polish nobility over the Ukraine. Ivan Franko, after many years of close cooperation with Polish socialists, drifted away from them, suspicious that they hoped for the restoration of Poland in her historical frontiers.

The book, conceived as a comparative study of the two socialist movements, inevitably becomes entangled in complexities of the relations between the two nationalities. Indeed, Himka sees the historical significance of Ukrainian and Polish socialism in that both would evolve into national movements, spearheading the struggle for the independence of their respective peoples. This would, however, come only in the next period, after 1890.

By that date, says Himka, the Ukrainians, who thirty years earlier had still been an inchoate mass of atomized villagers, had already become a nation. His book does not, and is not meant to, explain this fundamental transformation. Yet, even the contribution of the socialist activities to the process is not always made clear. Some parts of the narrative are bogged down in the description of politics on the village level, and the chief distinction of these details seems to be the fact that they can be thoroughly documented by court records. This rather short book does not suffer from the lack of source material, which the author drew from the archives of Poland, the Soviet Union, and Austria.

The end result is a well-researched monograph. More than other authors of recent works in the field, such as Elzbieta Hornowa or Walentyna Najdus, Himka presents his topic in close connection to the Galician nationality question and provides a view of this question from the Ukrainian perspective.

TADEUSZ SWIETOCHOWSKI  
Pilsudski Institute of America

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI. *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian

Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. 1983. Pp. xviii. 299. \$19.95.

This book is not only very timely, considering the steady progress of East European studies in North America, but also a fine accomplishment in itself. Paul Robert Magocsi, professor of Ukrainian history at the University of Toronto, rightly placed Galicia (Halychyna) into the broader context of East European history and, irrespective of its small size (about 25,000 square miles), he demonstrated its importance through the centuries to the histories of the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, the Habsburg empire, and the Soviet Union.

The work is a combination of a survey providing sufficient historical information followed by an extensive bibliographic guide comprising sources, monographs, and articles in all languages pertaining to the subject and indicating the location of some documents. A careful check reveals that Magocsi hardly missed a title of crucial importance, and exactly this thoroughness enhances the value of the work.

The *Guide* is arranged chronologically beginning with early history and continuing up to the present. Each chapter subsequently is subdivided by subjects such as sources, history, church history, culture, economics, education, politics, language, and literature. The first two chapters provide information on bibliographical and archival aids and on general studies. The *Guide* contains 1,003 notes with more than 3,000 references, making it the most complete and updated bibliographical tool available. Magocsi offers critical comments on the substance and importance for most of the titles cited, which are helpful and done knowledgeably.

The last chapter deals with Galicia's minorities such as Poles, Jews, Armenians, and Germans, further enhancing the work's value and use. Several historical maps and an extensive index complete this attractive volume.

As in case of any other bibliography, one can always argue about missing titles. As for Magocsi's work, this reviewer's "quarrels" are only minor having noticed that only a few better-known titles are omitted, among them Iwan Mirtchuk's *Geschichte der ukrainischen Kultur* (1957) and Ivan Tyktor's *Istoriia ukrains'koi kultury* (1964). Both books discuss extensively the cultural activities in Galicia, that is also known as Western Ukraine, with its special role of being a "Ukrainian Piedmont" and the cradle of a long history of the Ukrainian nation.

It is hoped that this fine work will not be overlooked by American, Canadian, and European university libraries, as well as by students of East European history in general.

STEPHAN M. HORAK  
Eastern Illinois University

BARBARA JELAVICH. *History of the Balkans*. Volume 1, *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*; volume 2, *Twentieth Century*. (The Joint Committee on Eastern Europe Publication Series, number 12.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 407; xi, 476. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95 each.

The *History of the Balkans* "was prepared as part of a program organized in 1972 by the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council to provide histories of Eastern Europe." It has "developed under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare." It is "designed as an introduction to Balkan history; it assumes no prior knowledge" (vol. 1, pp. vi, xii). The introduction to Balkan history for the uninitiated, which comprises nearly 900 pages of text, notes, bibliography, and other accoutrements, was entrusted by the sponsors to Barbara Jelavich, a well-known specialist in the preparation of basic works on East European history.

The merits and disadvantages of such works by the author have been analyzed, inter alia, by Roger E. Kanet (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 1367–68), whose conclusions are shared by the present reviewer. The *History of the Balkans*, however, raises several additional and original issues and problems. First, and foremost, is whether the present work supersedes in any respect any other works of the same kind previously authored, or coauthored, by Jelavich or by other writers on Balkan history. The *History of the Balkans* is essentially a textbooks' textbook. It is largely an expanded and updated version of Charles Jelavich's and Barbara Jelavich's successful *The Balkans* (1965), a simplified one of their *Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (1977), and an extensive and expanded summary of Joseph Rothschild's *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (1974) and of parts of other basic studies on the Balkans since 1940 that are listed in the notes and bibliographies of the two volumes under review.

In a sense, because of a uniform stylistic and chronological coverage of the history of the Balkans since the eighteenth century, the *History of the Balkans* does indeed provide an extended introduction to Balkan history. Yet, precisely because the work was designed to inform the uninitiated of the character and complexities of that history, it was to be hoped that the prospective reader would be able to appreciate both the specific "Balkan" and the common, "European," characteristics thereof. Such a result, however, seems unlikely because of the routine, in fact mechanical, conceptual framework of the work and because of its quasi-encyclopedic character.

The conceptual framework is summarized suc-

cinctly, and in a rather unusual manner, at the very beginning of the first volume (p. i) and in the first paragraph of the preface to the second volume (p. ix). The history of the Balkans, as viewed and presented by the author, is the history of the national movements leading to the formation of the modern states whose "final stages were not completed until after World War I" (vol. 2, p. ix) and, in the twentieth century, "the completion of territorial unification and internal economic and political development" (vol. 2, p. ix). Although one may differ on details, one cannot fault this basic understanding of the paramount issues of Balkan history. What can be faulted, however, is the manner in which the evolution and significance of these issues and problems are presented and analyzed.

Both volumes focus on and discuss the history of the major Balkan nationalities—the Albanians, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, Romanians, Serbs, and Slovenes—prior to the establishment of the independent national states and that of the national states themselves after their establishment. The materials presented by the author are extensive and comprehensive, but the history of the nationalities and of the Balkan nation states as such do not necessarily lead to an understanding of the history of the Balkans. The author realizes that the sum of the parts does not make the whole and, therefore, includes chapters on the history of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, in which the nationality problems and struggles occurred and from which the succession states emerged, as well as on the Eastern Question and the other aspects of diplomatic history relevant to Balkan history. As these chapters are neither organically nor topically linked to the *History of the Balkans* as a whole, the reader must integrate the data and information himself—a rather difficult task at best and well-nigh impossible in this instance. Integrative summaries and conclusions are few and far between and, when they do occur, are both elementary and brief. Thus, for instance, the conclusion to the complex chapter on World War I is all of fourteen lines (vol. 2, p. 133) and that on the first postwar decade only thirteen lines (vol. 2, p. 199); most of the other chapters lack summarizing statements altogether.

These problems are frequently aggravated by utilization of secondary sources in the preparation of specific sections of various chapters. The sources are readily identifiable through excessive quotations from secondary works throughout the text and through references to such works used. Such problems occur primarily in the chapters concerning the communist period in the Balkans, an era in which the author has done little original work. Thus, heavy reliance on dated or critically condemned secondary works does not lead to authoritative discussions and analyses of difficult and controversial issues. Miss-

ing, too, is any meaningful discussion of cultural and social life and problems or of specific differentiating characteristics of the peoples of the Balkans. Also downplayed is the overriding role of Russia in determining the course of the history of the Balkans since World War II. All in all, therefore, it seems fair to say that the *History of the Balkans* does not supersede previous works on the subject and, particularly, the fundamental treatise by L. S. Stavrianos *The Balkans since 1453* (1958) and the inspirational, conceptual work of Hugh Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918–1941* (1962).

The secondary question as to why this work was commissioned and published is relevant to the extent to which the author either accepted or devised the scope and framework of the book. A much shorter, interpretive volume, incorporating the author's previously published work, would not only have provided the uninitiated with a clear and succinct understanding of the *History of the Balkans* but would also have avoided duplication of efforts and expense to sponsor and book purchaser alike.

The technical execution of the two volumes is outstanding, the maps are well reproduced, and the books are free of typographic errors.

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI  
University of Colorado

E. V. ANISIMOV. *Podatnaia reforma Petra I: Vvedenie podushnoi podati v Rossii, 1719–1728 gg.* [The Tax Reform of Peter I: The Introduction of the Poll Tax in Russia, 1719–28]. Leningrad: Nauka. 1982. Pp. 295. 1 r. 10 k.

At the time Peter the Great became tsar, the basis of Russian taxation had recently shifted from "fields" to peasant households (*dvory*). Under the new system, most direct taxes were calculated on the basis of the "hearth," or household. This meant that taxes could be minimized by consolidating or abandoning residences, and rising taxation produced exactly those changes in population distribution. The 1710 census showed that since the last census (1678) there were some 20 percent fewer Russian households (in some areas the figure rose to 40 percent or even 50 percent or more). The inability of surviving households to make up lost revenues increasingly imperiled Russian military efforts. Peter solved the problem through yet another reform, which shifted the tax burden from households to the males who lived in them, "not excluding the oldest men to the very latest infants." The resulting "soul tax" is the subject of this brief and successful book by E. V. Anisimov.

Anisimov's *Podatnaia reforma* is not bold or innovative, but it is well conceived, thoroughly researched, and clearly written. The first of its eight chapters surveys the *dvor* tax system and the reasons

for its decline and termination. Following pages deal with the decree that introduced the soul tax and the census carried out after 1719 related to it. Chapter 6 is the heart of Anisimov's study, running as it does to nearly a hundred pages and occupying more than a third of the text. Here the author examines the estate structure of Russian society and the estates themselves in relation to the new tax. Final chapters discuss apportionment of the revenues throughout the army, completion of the reform, and attempts at a counterreform under the immediate successors of Peter the Great. There is a brief conclusion and a good (introductory) essay with a survey of published materials as well as the archival sources on which Anisimov based his work.

Anisimov's monograph will appeal to readers interested in government organization and finance and specific problems and reforms connected with Peter's reign. It is free of dogmatism and is definitely a contribution to our understanding of this particular tax. Pioneering studies of the *podushnaia podat'* by I. P. Rukhovskii and M. Alekseenko are now over a century old and badly dated. V. O. Kliuchevskii's classic essay on the soul tax is much more concerned with its liquidation than its origins, while Paul Miliukov's masterful study of the Russian state economy and the reforms of Peter the Great considers the tax only in relation to other, larger issues. Anisimov competes with these and such Soviet masters as S. M. Troitskii by selecting a narrow but important subject and ransacking the archives for new information related to it. This is the first in a series of monographs that will examine tax reform in Russia during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. One hopes and expects that the future volumes will be as craftsmanlike as the one reviewed here.

JOSEPH T. FUHRMANN  
Murray State University

THOMAS C. OWEN. *Capitalism and Politics in Russia: A Social History of the Moscow Merchants, 1855–1905*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1981. Pp. xi, 295.

In 1900 Moscow's textile mills were outwardly similar to Manchester's, yet subtly different: the workers' barracks still bore the names of nobles whose serfs had worked there fifty years before. The proprietors, too, were products of a distinctly Russian heritage. Descended from serfs or merchants of an earlier age, they were slow to espouse the "rationality" that Max Weber and others have associated with the spirit of capitalism. Their world-view was an amalgam of paternalism, chauvinism, and religious and political conservatism. Thomas C. Owen's purpose in the present study is to explain why these



attitudes persisted into the twentieth century. He focuses on political ideology and on the articulate minority of merchants—a handful of families in a merchant population of perhaps forty thousand—who shaped it.

Owen underscores the early merchants' "cultural backwardness and commercial stagnation." By the mid-1850s, despite the structural deficiencies of the national economy, a few wealthy Russians began to adopt modern business practices, but they still hoped to reconcile economic progress with older social ideals. They sought ideological guidance from Slavophile intellectuals, who eschewed constitutionalism, civil liberties, and competitive individualism; endorsed the merchants' call for protective tariffs and autarky; and campaigned to wrest Russian railroads from foreign control.

In the 1870s and 1880s Moscow's leading businessmen became more independent and assertive without abandoning the Slavophile ideology. They played a predominant role in municipal government and public organizations, became philanthropists and patrons of the arts, and learned to influence decision makers in St. Petersburg. Merchants lambasted "bureaucratism" whenever state initiatives (for example, factory laws) seemed to threaten their well-being, yet they continued to rely on the state to protect and promote commerce and industry. Even the blunders of "police socialism" and the disasters of the Russo-Japanese War did not shake their commitment to autocracy. In the turbulence of 1905, a minority of younger industrialists flirted with reform, but the conservative majority supported the tsar against liberal and radical challenges.

Was the merchants' conservatism a cause of economic backwardness or a reaction to it? Was the rejection of liberalism a fatal mistake or a realistic response to circumstances? Owen's answers are ambiguous. He suggests that economic and cultural trends reinforced one another but implies that the Slavophile ideology was freely chosen over other, more desirable alternatives.

Those alternatives would be easier to assess if the author had placed his subject in a wider context—of entrepreneurial attitudes in other settings and of domestic and international economic trends. To understand why Muscovite entrepreneurs favored Aksakov and Chizhov over Bentham and Mill, one could begin by delineating the differences between Moscow and Manchester. Owen, citing space constraints, leaves such comparisons implicit. He makes only passing mention of Moscow's commercial-industrial rivals in St. Petersburg and Russian Poland, and consigns the European bourgeoisie to a few endnotes that hardly reflect the range of historical literature. (Reinhard Bendix's work is an especially conspicuous omission.) The result is a well-researched but unnecessarily narrow monograph—an

all too accurate reflection of Muscovite parochialism.

R. E. JOHNSON  
Erindale College  
University of Toronto

GEORGE YANEY. *The Urge to Mobilize: Agrarian Reform in Russia, 1861–1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1982. Pp. viii, 599. \$29.95.

There are valuable things to be found in this book, if one has the fortitude to thrash through 561 pages of extremely discursive narrative set about with dense prose thickets and the equanimity to endure the constant jibes at city slickers (whether "capital-city reformers" or city-boy historians) rather in the style of such anti-intellectual intellectuals as H. L. Mencken (who is not mentioned in the book) and Eric Hoffer (who is). The reader possessed of these qualities and a consuming interest in the history of Russian agrarian reform will find here a fair number of judicious comments, interesting hypotheses, and intelligent guesses about various aspects of the complex Russian experience with agrarian reform over the last half of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century. This said, the rest of the review will concentrate on the book's general arguments.

The book's purpose and theses are stated in a straightforward manner at the outset. Its purpose is "to describe the implementation of the so-called Stolypin Land Reform"; to carry out this purpose the story is quite understandably extended back to 1861 in the search for the origins of the reform impulse (also known as "the urge to mobilize") and forward to Stalin's collectivization in looking for its long-term, indeed final, consequences.

The book has two main theses: (1) The Stolypin reform (like all reforms) can only be comprehended as a *process*, in this case one of "interaction between officials and peasants in the countryside" (p. 4) rather than as a matter of the realization of "capital-city schemes," as according to convention (historians who have approached this or any other reform in these latter terms "do not know what they are talking about" [p. 4]); and (2) the government officials interacting with the peasants were animated, accordingly, not as mere instruments of capital-city authority but by an *impulse*, "their own inner need to force the rural population into conformity with 'modern' assumptions regarding human nature" (p. 5); in other words, "the urge to mobilize."

This thesis fits in with that elaborated in George Yaney's first book, where he dealt with the evolution of Russian state administration in terms of the concept of "systematization" (*The Systematization of Russian Government* [1973]). That notion, too, was



understood as an urge, indeed, a "collective neurosis," which is seen to have been the prerequisite and cause of the "urge to mobilize": "when this neurosis reached a certain intensity, it drove capital-city Russians into the countryside to reform peasant society" (pp. 7–8).

The book's approach to the history of agrarian reform in modern Russia in terms of these theses yields mixed results. Treatment of the Stolypin reform as a process, embarked on in the spirit of Napoleon's maxim, "*On s'engage et puis on voit*," rather than as a matter of realizing a precise set of goals—a process, moreover, in which the peasants were seen to have been active participants—makes a good deal of sense and helps us to see some order in the apparent chaos of successive directives and institutional *démarches* on the agrarian front in the years 1906–14. It also helps us, as the author rightly remarks, to move beyond unanswerable questions about whether the reform "succeeded" or "failed," questions on which many discussions of the reform have floundered (pp. 160–61).

At the same time, Yaney certainly goes too far in asserting that all his predecessors have been oblivious to the "reform as process" approach and have conventionally hewed to the belief that there was one generally recognized aim to the reform, namely, "destruction of the peasant commune." A quick search of my bookshelf turned up two American works neither of whose descriptions of the reform could fairly be forced into that mold (Lazar Volin, *A Century of Russian Agriculture* [pp. 101–02]; Dorothy Atkinson, *The End of the Russian Land Commune* [p. 92]). Indeed, in regard to the point about aims, one of them says in so many words that the main aim of the reform's authors was the same as that discovered by Yaney, namely, land consolidation (see Atkinson, p. 92, and Yaney, p. 145).

The utility of the "urge to mobilize" thesis is less apparent to me. Its invocation to explain the coming together of the various rival branches of the bureaucracy to mount a sustained offensive against "backward" peasants and as a sustaining force behind the actions of technocrat-implementers on the ground is at least suggestive. Yaney's employment of this notion, moreover, serves to point up how little we know about the ethos of Russia's modernizing elite (for this is what the "urge to mobilize" is all about). The recent vogue of "bureaucratic studies" has told us a fair amount about the age, class structure, and educational background of the upper bureaucracy, but very little about prevailing attitudes and values there. The trouble with employing this notion as a kind of philosopher's stone to unravel the mysteries of seemingly irrational bureaucratic behavior and diverse related historiographical puzzles lies in the fact that it—like other notions belonging to the species known as "modernization theory"—is ex-

tremely vague and elusive, as Yaney readily acknowledges: "Russian materials offer little in the way of explanation and proof of any urge to mobilize in the hearts of specialists" (p. 446).

What are we offered then as a means of gaining "some insight into the agricultural specialists' *mentalité*"?—a disquisition on the thoughts and deeds of Walther Rathenau (pp. 447–55)! One does not have to be an unreconstructed nominalist to recognize that we are dealing here with an evidentiary problem of considerable size. By the same token, it is hard to believe that no halfway suitable *professions de foi* should have been forthcoming from the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy, which did manage to generate some three hundred entries for the recent Soviet bibliography of memoirs and diaries for the period 1895–1917 alone (exclusive of the voluminous memoir literature of the post-1917 emigration).

As the reader ought to have guessed by now, the Bolsheviks are neatly assimilated in this story to the ranks of the capital-city-spawned modernizing elite; their Marxism is part and parcel of capital-city (that is, European) intellectual culture, a prime example of its mobilizing, modernizing ideologies. As for Stalin's "howling mob of ignoramuses" (p. 557), they were the legitimate and successful heirs of the agrarian specialists of the imperial ministry of agriculture.

TERENCE EMMONS  
Stanford University

DOROTHY ATKINSON. *The End of the Russian Land Commune, 1905–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 457. \$29.50.

Dorothy Atkinson's fine study of the demise of that quintessentially Russian rural institution, the commune, helps to redress a little the urban bias of so much that has been written about the revolutions of 1917 and the first years of the Soviet period. She is no doubt correct in suggesting that part of the reason for the comparative paucity of Soviet and Western scholarship on the fate of rural institutions like the commune stems from the fact that it was the city and not the village that was the stage for high political drama. Still, along with the changes ushered in by the revolution, there were continuities. One of the more important of these was the commune. It not only survived the upheaval of 1917, but also the strife and chaos that followed simply served to strengthen the role of the commune in many parts of the countryside. As Atkinson's account emphasizes, the demise of the commune was not unrelated to the basis for its renewed vitality during the 1920s—the ability of peasants to control their own affairs. Rural soviets had proven ineffec-

tual in marshaling the countryside to the needs of the state. Collectivization was to fill the void.

*The End of the Russian Land Commune* comprises five parts. The first is a thumbnail sketch of the evolution of the commune. The existence of serfdom and the commune itself, with its three-field system and hodgepodge of strips of land cultivated by individual households, were major impediments to modernization, as was already widely recognized by the mid-nineteenth century. Although the Emancipation of 1861 formally abolished serfdom, officialdom looked favorably on the continued existence of the commune. The authority it exercised over the peasants was presumed to be an important element in rural social and political stability. The widespread unrest that culminated in the 1905 revolution finally ended that assumption.

The agrarian reforms that occurred from 1905 to 1916 are examined in the second part of the study. Consolidation of individual strips of land by peasants did change the face of the countryside, though there were significant regional variations in the pattern. Occurrences were most frequent on the northwest, south, and southeast margins of European Russia. But, as Atkinson stresses, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that at the close of the imperial era most rural households still remained firmly under the jurisdictional thumb of the commune.

Whatever the reasons for the peasants opting out of the commune, developments in 1917, the period of War Communism, and finally the years of the New Economic Policy served to strengthen the role of the collective mentality in the countryside. Parts 3, 4, and 5 deal respectively with each of these important periods.

The policies of the Provisional Government did little to allay the problems of food production and distribution and in many respects played into the hands of those who advocated a *chernyi peredel*. Land redistribution was legally sanctioned in the Bolsheviks' "Decree on Land," one of the first pronouncements of the new regime. But it was through the age-old commune that the peasantry effected the redistribution. The average peasant did not receive much additional land, indeed, according to Atkinson, even the more conservative estimates of the total area garnered by the peasantry are probably overestimated. Still, the fact that there were so many peasant households meant that there had been an enormous transformation in the pattern of land allocation. Self-interest was sufficient to spur some peasants who had previously consolidated their holdings to voluntarily rejoin the commune so as to share in the windfall. More fundamental still, it seems, was the forcible reincorporation into the commune of those former, and dissident, commune members who had consolidated. These factors,

combined with the hunger in the cities that drove several million peasants back to the villages, caused the commune to emerge after revolution, civil war, and the years of War Communism stronger than it had been for close on two decades. As Atkinson notes, "by 1920 the commune encompassed almost all rural households for which data is available" (p. 185).

Throughout the 1920s the authority of the commune was largely unchallenged in the countryside. That is not to say, of course, that the political implications of this situation were not recognized by the state. In the final part of her study, Atkinson examines in depth the various stages of official policy from the initial best-left-alone approach to the initiation of the drive to collectivization. In many ways the very success of the commune in looking after the collective best interests of the peasantry provoked its dissolution. This irony is not lost in Atkinson's portrayal of the last years of the commune. In contrast to the customary emphasis in Western scholarship on the use of force in the collectivization drive, Atkinson suggests that the authority of the commune might also have played a part in the process of dissolution. State manipulation of the traditional communal assembly could have resulted in a decision to support collectivization. At first sight the argument seems implausible. But given the nature of the commune, with its three-field system and multiplicity of individual strips of land, she rightly notes that without consensus the agricultural system that existed could not function. Compliance with the commune's ruling was prerequisite for survival. Given the growing socioeconomic differentiation within the commune, perhaps there was an opportunity for subdivision. Atkinson also devotes some attention to the changing role of women, especially younger ones, within the village. Greater political activity, in the village and in the rural soviet, may well have made the introduction of collectivization less threatening.

Whatever the actual dimensions of the explanation for the demise of the commune, Atkinson's study provides a solid foundation on which to build. As she notes in the conclusion, insights are still likely to be had from a more explicitly sociological and ethnographical perspective. Well-written, well-documented, and remarkably free from typographical slips, *The End of the Russian Land Commune* is a piece of scholarship that merits emulation.

JAMES H. BATER  
University of Waterloo

ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN. *Lenin and the Problem of Marxist Peasant Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 237. \$27.50.

A distinctive feature of the Russian Revolution was that Marxist revolutionaries, dedicated to the triumph of the urban proletariat, were able to win political power in a predominantly peasant society. Few authors, however, have explored thoroughly the peasant question in Leninist theory and practice. Esther Kingston-Mann's lucid and succinct study helps to fill this gap by examining closely the evolution of Lenin's thinking on the peasantry within the stormy context of Bolshevik politics.

She begins by locating Lenin within both the Marxist tradition and the debate over Russian populism. Lenin inherited from Marx a theoretical perspective that saw scant role for the peasantry, a class presumed to be disappearing. In practice, though, Marx responded positively to peasant upheavals, and he was open to the possibility that the peasant commune might form the basis of a socialistic order in Russia. The Russian Marxists, however, were truer to the apparent determinism of *Capital* than Marx himself. In their debates with the populists, they wrote off the peasant majority as historically and politically irrelevant.

Although Lenin concurred in this, the "miniature revolution" of 1902 led him to appreciate the political potential of the peasantry. Reversing his earlier contention that capitalism dominated the countryside, he argued that the peasantry had a revolutionary role to play in destroying rural feudalism. Despite the peasants' success in 1905 in shaking the foundations of the entire social and political order, Lenin nonetheless saw them as basically petit bourgeois, and he always overlooked the existence of collectivist practices in the countryside.

Lenin endeavored to develop a consistent, Marxist peasant strategy, but Kingston-Mann argues that he was never really able to bring his political insight and revolutionary enthusiasm into accord with his Marxist belief that small producers were basically economic reactionaries. That insight and that enthusiasm were the driving force of Bolshevism in the drama of 1917. Although Lenin always insisted dogmatically on the leading role within the peasantry of the poor and landless, he in fact strove to politicize all the rural masses regardless of the class distinctions he discerned among them. His success at this, of course, owed much to the ineptitude and vacillation of his political rivals.

Obviously, the story of 1917 and the years leading to it has been told many times, but by focusing on the agrarian question Kingston-Mann casts these events in a fresh and illuminating light. Frequently blunt in its criticisms of Lenin, her book is scrupulous in its research, yet clear and economical in its presentation.

WILLIAM H. SHAW  
Tennessee State University

ANDREW EZERGAILIS. *The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution: The First Phase; September 1917 to April 1918*. (East European Monographs, number 144.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. x, 421. \$30.00.

That Latvians figured prominently in the Bolshevik revolution and early months of the Soviet regime is a well-established fact. The names of Martin Latsis, Peter Stuchka, I. I. Vatsetis, and Jacob Peters are familiar to all students of the revolutionary period, and Latvian military units—above all, the Special Latvian Smolny Battalion and the Sixth Tukums Strelki Regiment—played a key role in the consolidation of Bolshevik power. Apart from its primary duty of guarding the Smolny Institute, headquarters of Lenin's government in Petrograd, the Smolny Battalion patrolled the streets of the city, arrested real and imaginary counterrevolutionaries, disarmed unruly soldiers and sailors, prevented the sacking of wine and vodka stores, oversaw the takeover of the banks, shut down anti-Bolshevik newspapers, and provided muscle for the fledgling Cheka, the Soviet security police. The Sixth Tukums Regiment performed an equally critical function, taking part in the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, stemming the advance of White forces in Finland, opening the grain route from Siberia to Petrograd and Moscow, and carrying out a variety of missions during the initial phase of the Civil War.

Small wonder that Andrew Ezergailis, in this pioneering if defective work, should rate the Latvians among the mainstays of early Bolshevik power. Nor does he underplay the significance of the Bolshevik government in Latvia itself, the so-called Iskolat Republic, which came into being several weeks before the Bolshevik takeover in Petrograd and evaporated with the German occupation of Latvia in February 1918. Short-lived though it was, the Iskolat Republic, as Ezergailis makes clear, represented an important stage in the development of Latvian independence. It was the first ethnic Latvian government in modern history, shelving Russian as the language of instruction in Latvian schools and mandating the use of Latvian in administrative affairs. At the same time, the Iskolat Republic provided a foretaste of events in Russia proper when it confiscated landed estates, silenced the non-Bolshevik press, and inaugurated a system of revolutionary tribunals that dispensed with ordinary judicial procedure.

Ezergailis is the first Western historian to offer a full-length treatment of what is plainly an important subject. For this he has earned our gratitude. Yet his book contains serious weaknesses. Ill-organized and repetitious, it is overloaded with detail and long quotations that obscure rather than enliven the

narrative. The approach is dry and factual, and the style is pedestrian and sometimes ungrammatical. The proofreader, moreover, has nodded badly and often. The text as well as the notes are riddled with errors of typography and transliteration, and the names of several historians—Robert V. Daniels, Alexander Rabinowitch, Norman E. Saul, Lennard Gerson—are garbled or misspelled. To compound the confusion, ranks and titles that should have been rendered into English—*praporshchik* (ensign) and *kniaz'* (prince)—are given in the Russian original. Is copyediting a lost art?

This may seem a lukewarm reception for a book that contains so much useful information. Nor would it be fair to end on a negative note. Despite its faults, for which the publisher must share the blame, it is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the Bolshevik acquisition of power.

PAUL AVRICH  
Queens College  
City University of New York

CARMEN SIRIANNI. *Workers Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experience*. London: Verso; distributed by Schocken, New York. 1982. Pp. viii, 437. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$11.95.

I unhesitatingly recommend this book to all who have a historical and political interest in the Russian Revolution. It is a work of unusually broad scope, acute insight, and scrupulous scholarship. By means of a detailed historical and theoretical analysis of the forms of popular power that emerged in 1917, Carmen Sirianni seeks to critically appropriate the "lessons" of the Russian experience for democratic socialists today. What makes his book so interesting is that the author rejects the extreme determinism that characterizes most accounts of the Russian Revolution in favor of an interpretation that is deterministic (in the sense that it ascribes primary importance to structural and organizational factors) but allows for the existence of historical alternatives. Although objective conditions of economic and cultural backwardness, civil war, and international isolation severely constrained the Bolsheviks' sphere of action, Sirianni suggests that the courses they took were not imposed by some ineluctable necessity but were also a product of their own theoretical perspectives. Taking Jürgen Habermas's antipositivist reading of Marx as his guide, Sirianni criticizes these perspectives for being governed by a "productivist evolutionism," which perceived socialism as the automatic result of the development of the productive forces and the education of the people in economic management and social administration. Within this problematic, the party's role in socialist construction was paramount, and workers' self-

activity in both the industrial and political spheres was devalued. Such an ideological orientation combined with overwhelming objective difficulties to bring about the Stalinist outcome.

Using a wide range of secondary historical works, Sirianni provides an accurate and well-balanced account of the factory committee movement in 1917, the attitudes of the trade unions and leftist parties toward workers' control, the relationship of the Bolshevik party to the soviets, the role of the peasantry, and the organization of labor and industry during the Civil War. One could quibble with some of his arguments: for example, he underestimates the level of conflict between the committees and the technical personnel; he exaggerates the degree of disorganization in the trade unions and their weakness vis-à-vis the committees; and he fails to bring out the significance of the post-October 1917 reorientation of the unions toward organizing production. There are also occasional small errors (for example, the singular of the Russian word *starosty* is *starosta* [p. 17]); in general, however, Sirianni succeeds in synthesizing the findings of recent specialist studies in an admirable fashion. He demonstrates that the demise of workers' control and soviet democracy after 1917 was the result of both structural and ideological factors, and he tries to suggest ways in which they might have been preserved, albeit in an attenuated form. In an epilogue, Sirianni argues that Bukharin's policies represented a more humane and effective alternative to Stalin's program of rapid industrialization and forced collectivization, though I consider his argument that the factory committees could have become a vehicle for democratic renewal in the late 1920s to be entirely fanciful.

In the third and perhaps least successful section, Sirianni sets the Russian experience in comparative perspective by examining movements for workers' control in other countries during and after World War I. Rather surprisingly, in view of his rather rosy view of the factory committees in Russia, he stresses the potential superiority of trade unions over committees as agencies for the emancipation of labor and doubts the relevance of "councilist" thinking (of Gramsci, Pannekoek, and others) to contemporary movements. One is forced to conclude that if there are "lessons" to be drawn from this era of international revolution they are overwhelmingly negative ones.

S. A. SMITH  
University of Essex

JOHN ERICKSON. *The Road to Berlin: Continuing the History of Stalin's War with Germany*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1983. Pp. xiii, 877. \$42.50.



In *The Road to Berlin*, John Erickson, our most eminent expert on Russian military history, has written the third volume of the trilogy that includes the *Soviet High Command* (1962) and *The Road to Stalingrad* (1978). This encyclopedic study of the Great Patriotic War, the greatest clash of arms in history, establishes the author's position as one of the foremost historians of the twentieth century. There is little doubt that his books will remain the definitive study of this period of Soviet history for the foreseeable future, particularly since most of the writings on the Great Patriotic War present one-sided views.

This study is based on Erickson's incomparable knowledge of Soviet military literature and the German archives and his acquaintance with a number of wartime Soviet military leaders. He has shown unusual ability in his synthesis of this information into a remarkable narrative. The book, however, is more than a mere recitation of battles, since the author introduces many tangential stories, some of the human-interest variety, which help maintain interest for the professional historian as well as the lay reader. The story of the reintroduction of shoulder-boards (*pogons*) or a description of the most complicated ranking system of any modern army (in the army of the classless society) are examples of these vignettes.

Erickson starts his narrative at the point where he left off in *The Road to Stalingrad*. The Soviet high command opted to reduce the starving pocket instead of trying to cut off the German forces in the Caucasus, which could have been a truly calamitous defeat. In the spring of 1943, after the German surrender at Stalingrad, the overconfident Russians were caught short by Von Manstein, which delayed the real turning point of the war to July 1943, when at Kursk, the Germans finally were defeated for the first time in a summer campaign.

The next great campaign was fought in the summer of 1944 in Belorussia, where the German Army Group Center, long a thorn in the side of the Red Army, was finally routed. An indirect result of this campaign was the revolt of the Polish Home Army in August 1944. Some observers have come up with simple explanations for this great tragedy. Erickson, however, shows us the great complexity of the issues involved—how blunders in military strategy, opportunism, and cynicism (not all of it on Stalin's side) brought the curtain down on the Polish Home Army. Other chapters deal with the campaigns in the Balkans and the final victory in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The chapter on the battle of Berlin is particularly illuminating. Here Erickson unfolds a drama in which the main actors (besides Stalin) included two ambitious Soviet marshals, Zhukov and Konev, as well as General Chuikov, the feisty commander of the

Eighth Guard Army, who many years later was to question the entire Soviet strategy of this last bloody campaign.

On the whole, Erickson holds a high regard for Stalin as a *feldherr*, a view shared by a number of other historians including Albert Seaton and, surprisingly enough, even by General Grigorenko since his emigration. There are, of course, others who share General de Gaulle's observation that the final Soviet victory was less impressive than the depth of the German advance. It is a historical fact that, despite superiority in manpower and material, it took the Soviets nearly three years to regain a territory that had taken the Germans about a year to capture. In fact, *The Road to Berlin* is full of instances of missed opportunities to inflict a mortal blow on a tired enemy who was being pushed back on more than one front. One also looks in vain for any moral judgments in *The Road to Berlin*. Stalin's opportunism and cruelty, exemplified by such acts as the Katyn massacre or his indifference to the fate of Russian POWs, the second largest group of victims of Nazism, are hardly mentioned. Erickson also does not try to face the central dilemma of the Great Patriotic War, that is, why millions of Soviet citizens who had just undergone the purgatory of the Great Purge were willing to make the ultimate sacrifice to keep Stalin and Stalinism in power. This is, of course, the very same question that is avoided by the more vocal critics of the Soviet state.

MICHAEL PARRISH  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

J. D. PARKS. *Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: American-Soviet Cultural Relations, 1917-1958*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland. 1983. Pp. vii, 231. \$18.95.

This carefully organized volume surveys cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, particularly those sponsored by the two governments, from the Russian Revolution in 1917 until the signing of an official cultural-exchange agreement between the two countries, which the author summarizes much too briefly. J. D. Parks, convinced of the importance of cultural contacts by the growth of massive nuclear arsenals, views these relationships as a significant way of reducing ignorance in the two countries, a hope that all educated people share but that probably has little basis in fact, as the situation in 1984 demonstrates. His work relies heavily on Department of State documents in the National Archives, supplemented by materials from American popular journals and the records and correspondence of the Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, the New York American-



Russian Institute, and the San Francisco American-Russian Institute.

Parks's survey of this important, complicated, and neglected subject is fair-minded but suffers from several major flaws. Parks seems unaware of the considerable literature on the "images of others" produced by Daniel Boorstin, Harold Isaacs, Cushing Strout, and William Welch, to cite only a few American contributors. His bibliography includes almost none of the dozens of volumes in English alone that he should have studied carefully, and his knowledge of Russian history, of the Soviet system, and of Soviet policies is minimal. He is unaware of American popular opinion and public policy regarding Russian treatment of Jews before 1914, of the role of the Soviet Communist party, of the character of Soviet control over information, of the tragic death of N. I. Vavilov and of John Dewey's response to the Trotsky trials, of H. J. Muller's disenchantment with the Soviet system and of the effect of this (and of Sakharov's "detention") on American scientists, of Soviet espionage, and of the role Communist parties played in the world in the 1930s and of its impact on American opinion and policy. His account of American revulsion against exchanges during the decade after 1949 fails to mention Fuchs, the Berlin blockade, the coup in Czechoslovakia, the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the Korean War, and Soviet internal developments under Zhdanovism.

Curiously, Parks's emphasis on archives led him to neglect essential published works. Thus, he has not used the memoirs of George Kennan, Charles Bohlen, Father Edmund A. Walsh, Prime Minister MacMillan, and Sol Hurok. He seems unaware of the role of scholars, especially G. T. Robinson, Merle Fainsod, Philip E. Mosely, and Calvin Hoover. Emma Goldman, Jerome Davis, Anna Louise Strong, and Corliss Lamont are absent. He totally neglected journalists such as Louis Fischer, Eugene Lyons, Paul Scheffer, Walter Duranty, and William H. Chamberlin. The published reports of the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the National Academy of Sciences would have been helpful.

Parks's volume reflects a development that many who have promoted close scholarly relations have always feared, the failure to appreciate that Americans should seek the free flow of people, ideas, and materials among societies, not exchanges, because the latter give governments authority over cultural relations and thereby limit them. Any American scholar should oppose the very idea of exchanges, because they violate our fundamental principles. But many now accept the Soviet system of government control, a dreadful loss that reveals how far we have slipped from our ideals.

Finally, how ironic that an American scholar

should write on such a subject without knowledge of Russian or use of Soviet materials! How long will our scholarly community tolerate such a provincial approach?

ROBERT F. BYRNES  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

## NEAR EAST

RUDI PAUL LINDNER. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, number 144.) Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. 1983. Pp. xiv, 167. \$20.00.

Paul Wittek's thesis that the Ottomans' rise to power was based on their role as *ghazis* appeared in its full form in his classic work, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938), and it quickly became the reigning paradigm. That admirably short and compelling work was grounded in a formidable display of textual criticism on the early Ottoman chronicles. Through that process Wittek demolished, or so he thought, the Ottoman tribal genealogy. In place of the tribe he substituted a view of the Ottoman enterprise as a *ghazi* establishment that was based on his reading of Ahmedi's chronicle (composed ca. 1390), and an Arabic inscription dated 1337 in which Orkhon, son of Osman, is referred to as "Sultan of the ghazis, ghazi son of ghazi." Wittek also embellished his account with a description of the Ottoman-Byzantine frontier in Anatolia as a place where both sides were becoming disenchanted with their respective hinterlands, and where the ghazis and the *akritai* had more in common with each other than they had with their fellows in Konya or Constantinople respectively.

This frontier thesis, like that of Turner's, has not been without its critics, but Wittek's detractors have not been able to gain the day. Even Halil Inalcik, the preeminent Ottoman historian of our generation, incorporated it when writing his brilliant chapters on early Ottoman history for the *Cambridge History of Islam*.

Now Rudi Paul Lindner has entered the lists with an equally short and compelling work, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. He subjects Wittek's analysis to searching criticism of his own and finds the old master's work wanting. Relying on anthropological insights, especially recent work on tribes in Iran and Afghanistan, Lindner is of the opinion that the early Ottomans constituted a tribe engaged in pastoral nomadism. He does not see the early Ottomans as having been imbued with Islamic religious zeal in any way. Early Ottoman religious practices, he maintains, would mark them as crusaders for shamanism rather than for Islam. The

inscription of 1337 relied on so heavily by Wittek is, in Lindner's view, nothing more than a piece of historical revisionism practiced by the Muslim schoolmen who had come to wield important influence with the Ottoman elite. Lindner then moves on to discuss how the Ottomans turned their backs on their nomadic past in an effort to sedentarize the remaining nomads in order to control them politically, tax them, and make use of them in the military. This section of his work is based on a close reading of some rather difficult Ottoman cadastral registers.

Lindner rightly points our attention to the term *Osmanlı*, and he works with it to tease out the sense of tribe. Perhaps the difficulty in the way of a general acceptance of the notion of the early Ottomans constituting a tribe stems from the fact that during the Atatürk years in Turkey tribe was equated with being "uncivilized." With that era behind us, perhaps the discussion can proceed unencumbered by excess baggage. As to who is right, Wittek or Lindner, only further research will tell, but one thing is certain. Those of us who teach early Ottoman history will now have to assign Lindner alongside Wittek.

NORMAN ITZKOWITZ  
Princeton University

ANN K. S. LAMBTON. *State and Government in Medieval Islam; An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists*. (London Oriental Series, number 36.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 1981. Pp. xviii, 364. \$47.50.

Much was written in medieval Islam about government and politics. Comparatively little, though still a substantial amount, has so far been written about the Muslim aspect of these subjects by modern scholars. A well-received, comprehensive work in English was published twenty-five years ago by E. I. J. Rosenthal (*Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 1958). Ann K. S. Lambton now presents a fresh and noteworthy study based on the same and other sources. Its focus, indicated in the subtitle, are the "jurists," that most numerous and dominant component of Muslim intellectual life, and what they have to tell us about political thought in Islam.

Lambton correctly identifies three main depositories of political thinking: philosophical constructions of an ideal state, mirrors for princes, and the vast juridical literature. The three cannot be truly kept apart; quite generally, modern ideas about what constitutes individual disciplines and separate intellectual endeavors are not always applicable to the past, and certainly not to Islam. Thus, the present work contains constant references to data

provided by philosophers and the mirrors for princes. The *fürstenspiegel* of Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> is one of the first works discussed, and the "ideal city" of the philosopher al-Fārābī even rates a special appendix.

The jurists were deeply involved in politics and social problems, but their contribution to seminal political thinking should probably be ranked third on the scale of importance. As Lambton shows, their principal concern was to provide continuous *ex post facto* justification for prevailing conditions inasmuch as these were always in conflict with religio/legal preconceptions. In contrast, authors of mirrors for princes, although not providing much concrete information on actual conditions, established universally known guidelines that were considered practical norms to be followed and, even when they were not, shaded political attitudes. And the philosophers, who were perceived as inimical to true religious beliefs, were most in tune with the fundamental idealism of Islam that had been its main-spring at the very beginning. Originally, the ideal state of human organization was seen as belonging to the other world; consequently, any worldly political efforts were basically inconsequential, and there was no room on earth for political utopias. Historical events made Islam a great power before its inherited simple, traditional concepts of leadership could be organically adapted to fit a vast and complex political structure, and a legal system began to develop when it often had to be at odds with reality. These facts and others explain why the utopias of the philosophers in fact represent truly Muslim political thought, and the mirrors for princes effectively teach the practical ethics of politics, while the works of jurists mostly contribute prosaic bits of political argumentation, unless they also incorporate the other two approaches together with theological speculations.

The core of Lambton's work (chaps. 3–11) consists of succinct analyses of individual thinkers and their works, while the first two and last six (chaps. 12–17) are topical or deal with political/religious groups. Four of them (chaps. 13–16) are devoted to the various forms of Shi'ism. Covering as they do very large groups and extended periods, they are more cursory, but the reader will find them to be highly informative, as one would expect in view of the author's lifelong experience with things Iranian. As far as possible, a chronological order has been followed for the purpose of tracing historical developments. Given the nature (and still unexplored multitude) of the sources, this is most difficult, and Lambton has probably done as much as can be done under present circumstances. Here, as in so many other respects, al-Ghazzālī emerges as the great synthesizer, and the three elements around which the legal discussion revolves—the imāmate/caliph-

ate, the sultānate, and the 'ulamā'—are all in place by his time. As always, Ibn Khaldūn (chap. 10, "The Historical Theory") remains exceptional. Later authors are satisfied mostly with an intelligent mix of earlier thought, as exemplified by Ibn Rūzbihān Khurjī (chap. 11).

A topical presentation might possibly have brought out the major lines of development with some greater clarity. Thus, views on the imāmate/caliphate, for historical reasons the only given of Muslim religious and legal political thought, are dispersed over many chapters. Actual political institutions were given short shrift by the theoreticians. Something as important as the wazīrate figures in the mirrors for princes, but for the purposes of the present work, it is primarily mentioned only in connection with al-Māwardī. The practice of hereditary succession was not a subject of discussion, and thus has no place here at all.

Terminology is crucial to any effort to understand Muslim political theory. As good an illustration as any for the problems that have to be faced is the fact that the medieval words suitable for translation as "government" were so full of other connotations that modern Arabic adopted a word for it that was not employed in that meaning in older times. Our "state" was an alien concept, at least terminologically. Persian *kishwar* is probably less of a candidate for translation as "state" than is the more common Arabic *dawlah*. At any rate, neither suggested to speakers of those languages what "state" does to us. Lambton has handled the terminological dilemma well, although it has meant the frequent retention of foreign words.

In sum, this is a satisfactory and instructive treatment of an important subject and a fine addition to Lambton's many scholarly accomplishments. A careful study of it will repay the effort required, as it reveals another of the many different approaches possible to a common human predicament.

FRANZ ROSENTHAL  
Yale University

ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU. *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)*. (Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, number 11.) Venice: The Library. 1983. Pp. xxxvi, 270. L. 20,000.

This is the eleventh in a series of monographs published, mostly in the past decade, by the Hellenic Institute in Venice, and the first in English. In one form or another, this institute can trace its roots to the middle of the fifteenth century when exiles from what had been the Byzantine empire gathered about the church of San Giorgio. This volume by

Elizabeth A. Zachariadou deals with Venetian commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, principally in the Aegean Sea, in the century before the final Byzantine collapse. It was a century in which the Byzantine empire was battered by external foes and torn apart from within by endemic civil strife. Venice, in particular its regime and its merchants on Crete, saw little profit in fishing in such troubled and largely unproductive waters. The ships of their perennial enemy, Genoa, could also make it difficult for them to exploit the Black Sea markets with any regularity. Instead, they turned their attention to the fertile lands of western Asia Minor in which various Turkish principalities, emirates, had developed on the ruins of the Seljuk sultanate. Two of these stood out, Menteshe, centered around its port of Palatia (ancient Miletus) and Aydin with its port of Altologo or Theologo (ancient Ephesus). Not too distant was the large island of Crete, a Venetian colony and the obvious intermediary between the Republic of Venice and the two prosperous emirates for negotiating matters of trade, piracy, and so forth.

The ups and downs of this relationship, along with the role played by other powers, is chronicled in the first part of the book. It treats of commercial activity, pillaging expeditions, naval battles, half-hearted attempts at crusades, and treaties. These last form a significant contribution of the book and have greatly aided Zachariadou's research. Making use of a manuscript at Yale, she has edited eleven treaties (most for the first time) dating from 1331 to 1414 between Venetian Crete and the emirates. In the second half of the century, though, the two emirates were overshadowed and eventually absorbed by the rapidly growing power of the Ottoman Turks. Venice had to adapt to the new situation and, although it did so for a while, ultimately the effort proved too much for the republic.

The second, shorter part of the book will be welcomed by anyone who has tried to deal with the linguistic, numismatic, and metric confusion of the area. Weights, for example, might vary from one port of call to another depending on how much profit the local lord hoped to make. Several chapters deal with coins, weights and measures, taxes, and commodities, including one of the most lucrative, slaves, and one that at the time was just beginning to be used outside Italy, soap. Zachariadou then discusses the manuscripts and the contents of the treaties she has edited and includes two plates. The text is clearly and faultlessly presented and is followed by a helpful glossary of some uncommon terms, as well as a good index. The bibliography, placed at the beginning, is as complete and thorough as one could expect, and includes a number of works in Greek and Turkish, not accessible to many Western scholars. The sources for this period are

widely scattered, in strange forms of several languages, and generally very difficult to use. But the author knows the period and its problems extremely well and has gone about her task very professionally. Everything in this book is carefully researched and presented. The subject and its treatment are more important and instructive than the limited geographical area and the dates given might suggest.

GEORGE T. DENNIS

Catholic University of America

CHARLES A. FRAZEE. *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. vii, 388. \$59.50.

Perhaps more accurately entitled, "Rome and the Christian Hierarchies of the Ottoman East," this book concentrates on the attempt by the pope to subordinate these churches to his leadership, and secondarily on the roles of France and Austria as self-proclaimed protectors of Catholic interests. Although among the smallest of the Ottoman empire's many communities, Catholics were nearly as diverse as that entire polyethnic society. They lived and wrote in almost all the languages of the empire (principally Arabic, Armenian, and Turkish). Moreover Eastern Catholic scholars have written in their vernaculars a library of basic primary and secondary works. Ignoring these the author uses mainly Western missionary travelogues and Western secondary works to write a history of the petty squabbles that broke out among the rival princes of ever-proliferating hierarchies, a story punctuated at times by disastrous papal or sultanic intervention, aided or blocked by France and later Austria. Indeed, the attempt at union split rather than united Eastern Christendom, creating parallel churches (Rome-linked or indigenous) among all the communities. The author discusses as well Ottoman policies of expansion particularly when they stirred the papacy to unsuccessful calls for crusade. Against the traditional claim he argues that 1755, rather than 1054, should be considered the date of schism—if indeed schism there ever was—between Rome and Constantinople, for in that year the Greek church cast doubt on the validity of the Latin baptism.

The author is at his best in discussing the plight of the Catholic minorities in the Orthodox, particularly Greek, portions of the empire. He is less successful in the Turkish and Arab portions. Transliterations are often mangled, terms misleadingly defined. He seems unfamiliar with Islamic history: for example, by the time the Ottomans had conquered Egypt in 1517 the caliph in Cairo had long ceased to be what is inaccurately called "religious head of all Sunni Muslims" (p. 61). Much of what he says about the so-

called *millet* system and Ottoman policy toward non-Muslims must be revised in light of recent research that argues that the nature and extent of that system has been exaggerated (*Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 1982).

Of necessity Frazee has excluded certain subjects. The Ottoman government, except as conqueror and extorter, is not directly examined. More surprisingly, considering Frazee's expertise in Orthodox church history, the content of conflicting Christologies and of the other beliefs that constitute the doctrinal basis for division is not discussed. He has restricted his sources to those in Greek, Croatian, and Western languages; the one Turkish book in the bibliography has both author and title misspelt. Even within these linguistic limitations he could still have made a contribution had he explored Western archives, for the Catholic collections in particular—those of the Vatican, *Propaganda Fidei*, and the religious orders—are the most important and least exploited sources in the West for Ottoman history. *Catholics and Sultans* does not supersede the older and differently oriented works by Fortescue and Attwater. Within its limits, however, its bibliography is excellent.

The book curiously duplicates the very problem it attempts to analyze, for its Roman-centricity and unfamiliarity with Ottoman life reflect the very weaknesses that crippled the Roman Catholic Church's drive for unity with the East throughout these centuries.

BENJAMIN BRAUDE  
Boston College

JOHN WATERBURY. *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes*. (Princeton Studies on the Near East.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 475. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$12.50.

Egypt is one of very few countries in the Middle East whose economy and politics have received considerable attention in the English language literature. John Waterbury draws on rich personal experience for nearly the whole decade of the seventies when he lived and reported on Egypt as a resident professor of the American Universities Field Staff. The present volume is by any standard an impressive work of great substantive and scholarly value.

More self-consciously theoretical than in his previous works, Waterbury provides the reader with two introductory chapters on the authoritarian-bureaucratic and dependency models that guide his steps. The second part of the book is devoted to the growth of the governmental role in the economy. A chapter on the private sector gives a most informative account of a rarely discussed subject. The third



part deals with issues of distribution of income and social stratification. Political participation is the subject of the fourth part.

Although necessary, a brief review like this does not do justice to the main argument of a book of such complexity. The starting point is that Egypt under Nasser and later Sadat developed an authoritarian political system that relied heavily on a growing bureaucratic cadre. The economy was put under governmental control in order to enhance national development through central planning and accumulation of capital. A strong reliance on import substitution policies was followed by a critical stage when emphasis was placed on the export of industrial products, foreign investments, and the curbing of public expenditure, especially in welfare. The author agrees with the conclusions of Eric Davis and Robert Tignor that dependency was not the cause of underdevelopment in Egypt.

Waterbury adopts a class interpretation of Egyptian politics. His definition of class includes living standards, status, and power in addition to position relevant to ownership of the means of production. He emphasizes two classes in Egypt: the higher-echelon bureaucrats in the public sector, and the rural middle class. Waterbury maintains that while the bureaucratic class was in command of policy making under both Nasser and Sadat, the rural middle class barely held its ground in the new order. Evidently there is no room in this scheme for public participation in politics. He views the single official party as broadly based but devoid of initiative or influence.

An exhausted idea, the concept of class has been further encumbered by additional layers of concepts that rule out any consistent application or contribution to understanding. Furthermore, it remains unclear how the bureaucracy is related to the public or the rural middle class to the regime. The rural middle class of medium and large landowners declined under Nasser. It did not liquidate itself, a view Waterbury wrongly attributes to this reviewer. Decline was not limited to the loss of land but included loss of business opportunities under extensive governmental controls of economic activities.

More was expected from Waterbury in the discussion of the single party system and political participation. Not only is the concept of corporate politics used by Waterbury inadequate to explain single parties in Third World countries, but it also remains unrelated to the empirical discussion of the Egyptian experience. The single party under Nasser was actually an auxiliary organization of a collaborative nature that enjoyed at the same time a certain degree of mobilizational value. To dismiss the populist linkages of the regime, whereby certain groups responded ideologically or for reasons of vested interest, is to leave a major aspect of Egyptian politics unexplained.

Differences in points of view on the subject, however, should not detract from the value of this book, which is a major contribution to Egyptian studies and will remain essential reading for years to come.

ILIYA HARIK  
Indiana University

CHARLES D. SMITH. *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal*. (SUNY series in Middle Eastern Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 249. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$14.95.

This admirable book represents a leap forward in the field of Middle Eastern intellectual history. Charles D. Smith has chosen Muhammad Husayn Haykal, an important twentieth-century Egyptian intellectual, as his subject of inquiry and has skillfully treated "Haykal's life as a metaphor for the sociopolitical attitude of a generation" (p. 2). The author describes Haykal's career as a journalist, novelist, Islamicist, and politician. He shows how Egypt's political climate contributed to Haykal's intellectual development as well as the eventual influence of his ideas on Egyptian political life.

Highly critical of earlier analyses by a number of distinguished foreign scholars, Smith traces the intellectual biography of Haykal through its various stages and argues that Haykal remained committed throughout his life to the task of bringing his nation into the twentieth century. What others have seen as intellectual backsliding and compromise when Haykal began to write on Islamic themes, Smith sees as just another tactic by which to educate the masses not yet sufficiently uplifted to grasp modern ideas. In Smith's view, Haykal was an elitist who saw himself as belonging to a small group of Egyptian intellectuals, exposed to Western ideas and often educated abroad, who dedicated their lives to bringing Egypt out of the Middle Ages into the modern age with its belief in science and progress and with a more rational approach to religion.

What is very interesting about Haykal, as described by Smith, is not that he was simply defending the interests of the rising class of Egyptian rural magnates who tended to ignore Egypt's most pressing social and economic problems after World War I, but that he failed to recognize that these social and economic problems needed to be addressed. It was not class selfishness but an elitist view of knowing what was best for Egypt that guided his actions and those of his close associates. Whatever the truth of the matter, Haykal and his associates eventually left the high ground as the struggle for power intensified and other leaders offered alternative programs



with greater mass appeal that would, inevitably, affect their class interests.

Opportunism, "an obsession with self and power" (p. 161), began to characterize Haykal's behavior in the decade of the 1940s, although Smith contends that he maintained his earlier ideals. That may be so, but it is difficult to see how Haykal, toward the end, differed very greatly from other Egyptian politicians, a fact he appears not to have perceived about himself.

Smith concludes that Haykal failed to resolve the problem of "the dilemma of definition for both individual and nation" (p. 198) but that his life and work demonstrated that however this dilemma is finally resolved, it will need to be resolved within an Islamic framework.

This book is based on a wide-ranging study of sources, both Egyptian and European; it very effectively shows the interplay between the individual and his society; and it is placed in a meaningful historical context. This meshing of themes enables the reader to understand better both Haykal's ideas and works and the history of Egypt in the twentieth century. It is also interesting to read. Students of literature, intellectual history, political history, and the history of Islam will find this a most informative and stimulating work.

HELEN ANNE B. RIVLIN  
State University of New York,  
Binghamton

#### AFRICA

B. MARIE PERINBAM. *Holy Violence: The Revolutionary Thought of Frantz Fanon; An Intellectual Biography*. Washington: Three Continents. 1982. Pp. 182. Cloth \$22.00, paper \$10.00.

Frantz Fanon's concept of violence has been misunderstood, argues B. Marie Perinbam. According to Perinbam, Fanon's critics have distorted the deeper meaning he attributed to the practice of "holy violence."

Perinbam's book is one of the latest works to appear on the life and thought of the Martiniquean psychiatrist and revolutionary. Her essay attests to the continuing passions that Fanon's work inspires—his offensive against colonialism and racism remains as powerful today as when first issued more than twenty years ago. Whether Perinbam is correct in her analysis of Fanon's view of "holy violence" is another matter.

Describing Fanon's views of violence, Perinbam writes that, "it is clear that he distinguished between violence, meaning coercion and physical force; and holy violence, suggesting a distinctive force creative beyond belief, and frightening beyond comprehen-

sion, compelling and dangerously powerful, irresistible, and fearful to approach, easy to comprehend, yet mysterious, terrible and sacred" (p. 6). Tracing the origins of "holy violence," Perinbam concludes that it combines mythic and millenarian elements, represented in European and American revolutionary experience. In Algeria, the same elements fused with the conditions specific to the national struggle for independence. Fanon, according to Perinbam, believed that such violence had the capacity to change the individual and society.

Fanon did not use the term "holy violence." Perinbam concedes that he either rejected or denied that part of his cultural heritage that allowed him to understand nonrational experiences common to "primitive" peasant cultures" (p. 95). To what extent, then, is the notion of "holy violence," as Perinbam describes it, a category of Fanon's thought? To what extent did Algerians subscribe to it, as the author claims? To what extent is "holy violence" capable of being transformed into positive social change? Perinbam's essay does not close the door on Fanon's interpretation of violence. It recommends the displacement of an analysis of Fanon's views from the level of politics to that of anthropology and social psychology.

IRENE L. GENDZIER  
Boston University

ELLEN G. FRIEDMAN. *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xxvii, 215. \$27.50.

News of captives held in the jails of another culture touches a very sensitive nerve. Their unpleasant fate can produce warfare or jingoistic propaganda. Rarely can the experiences of captives be employed for a history of relations between civilizations—they evoke too many strong emotions. Ellen G. Friedman, however, has overcome the formidable cultural hurdles in this area and has produced a fascinating study of frontier violence.

Her book does not concern prisoners taken in the warfare between Spanish and Ottoman empires. Rather, it deals with the human casualties of a long struggle between Islamic and Iberian civilizations in the period after the Mediterranean truce of 1580: during two centuries of the "little war" when Maghribian corsairs, aided by Moriscos and renegades from Northern Europe, preyed on coastal populations of all Iberia.

Neither coastal galleys, nor watch towers, nor advanced bases in North Africa could stop these freebooters. They were simply too small in number and too scattered to attract the full attention of the state, and therefore their violence fell unrevenged on local communities and individuals.

Reports of these raids stirred deep emotions among the Spanish and, as Friedman demonstrates, led to an interesting commercial relationship between Muslim rulers and Catholic priests. Applying their bureaucratic talents to serve the physical and spiritual needs of the captives, Spanish priests also found it possible to mobilize public sentiments in Spain for the purpose of ransoming captives held in North Africa. Already equipped with religious reasons for tolerating other faiths—the People of the Book—the Muslim rulers of the Maghrib quickly responded to the profitable connection between their captives' religion, the more powerful Spanish economy, and the Redemptionist orders. As some Spanish officials noted, the subsequent flow of silver to North Africa merely financed a more widespread "little war."

Spain's rulers, however, saw the Redemptionist activity as a two-edged sword. Tradition compelled them to support the religious orders in their meritorious effort to free Christians, but unfettered campaigns on behalf of North African captives could also undermine the legitimacy of a Spain loaded down with more important concerns elsewhere. Thus the Council of Castile circumscribed the activities of the Redemptionists, limiting them only to the exchange of funds raised under government supervision for Spanish prisoners.

Not a great affair in terms of numbers or cost, the history of the Spanish captives in North Africa is, according to Friedman, more important in terms of its psychological impact—the organized effort to ransom captives and the Muslim response accentuated the cultural differences between Islamic and Iberian civilizations. Here a talented historian offers solid evidence that Fernand Braudel's view of a unified Mediterranean world obscures profound divisions between its great cultures.

ANDREW C. HESS  
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

JOHN K. THORNTON. *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 193.

The Kongo kingdom is perhaps the most famous of the precolonial African kingdoms, yet our knowledge of it has remained surprisingly sketchy. John K. Thornton's detailed study of the destruction of the old Kongo kingdom and the reconstruction of a new, decentralized one adds significantly to our knowledge and presents a series of original arguments about how the old kingdom operated and why it fragmented.

The book is organized in an *Annaliste* style reminiscent of Gwyn Prins's *Hidden Hippopotamus* and Jan Vansina's *Tio Kingdom*. The first part sets out the

social, economic, political, and ideological structures of the old kingdom. Thornton argues that the fundamental social division was between village and town, each of which fostered a distinct way of life. Villages produced little visible surplus and gave the appearance of poverty. Towns enjoyed relative affluence because influxes of slaves had provided the critical population density necessary for higher levels of production and consumption in a region where transportation costs made it uneconomical to carry foodstuffs farther than thirty-five kilometers. Slavery was less a way of rationalizing production than of concentrating it. Political life in the two major towns of Mbanza Kongo and Mbanza Nsoyo was animated by rivalries among noble extended families. The religion of the kingdom consisted of indigenous Kongo religious ideas with a patina of Christian nomenclature administered by native and foreign clergy. The kingdom remained highly centralized, in part because no other town could rival the capital of Mbanza Kongo.

The second part of the book traces the civil wars and the restructuring of the kingdom into the decentralized form that persisted into the nineteenth century. Departing from earlier interpretations, which saw the slave trade as the chief cause of the Kongo's decline, Thornton focuses his analysis on the rise of a second major town, Mbanza Nsoyo, and sees in the rivalry between the two towns the seeds of Kongo's destruction. The actions of the Portuguese and Dutch are interpreted largely in terms of how they affected the balance of power between the two Kongo towns. His account of the civil wars provides a new interpretation of the famous "Jaga," whom he identifies as Yaka from the Niari valley, and he sheds new light on the Antonian movement, which he sees as a peasant-based movement that attempted to adjust Kongo ideological perceptions to the new circumstances created by the wars.

Thornton reconstructs his history from contemporary documents alone, and refrains from drawing on modern anthropological studies or on oral traditions collected in recent years. By so doing he avoids the appearance of continuity that backward projections of modern data inevitably convey. He is thus able to show clearly how Kongo society and even Kongo oral traditions changed dramatically during the period of the civil wars.

ROBERT HARMS  
Yale University

MARY MCCARTHY. *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States, 1807–1874*. New York: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$20.75, paper \$10.75.

Mary McCarthy argues that the progressive extension of British power on the coast of what is now Ghana was the product of interactions between Britons and Fante, not of decisions made in Whitehall. All parties to these interactions profited by them and made concessions to sustain them. Collectively, the Fante gained informal and formal British protection against geopolitical Asante expansionism. Individual Fante benefited financially from trade with the British. Britons' very survival depended on local goodwill, for early nineteenth-century African remedies for tropical diseases were far more effective than European ones. As McCarthy observes, Britons gained more from trade than the Fante, as the Fante recognized; the Fante would not have repeatedly stopped the trade unilaterally had it been essential to their economy. Even at the best of times, British-Fante trade was characterized by sharp practices on both sides, representing mutual exploitation rather than cooperation.

Nevertheless, the coastal social order was a cultural hybrid, in which color prejudice was relatively rare until the mid-nineteenth century. The Fante had traditionally based their political and economic alliances on kinship ties, and the British accommodated themselves to Fante expectations: Fante wives and concubines enjoyed the protection of Fante law. As Christian influence on coastal society grew, however, the balance of cultural power within coastal families shifted. By the 1850s, the wives of prominent coastal merchants and professionals had, for the most part, forfeited the protection of their lineages by ceasing to contribute to them economically; they accepted British definitions of marital obligations, living in their husbands' houses and subordinating their interests to those of their husbands. Furthermore, by this time, the progressive extension of British influence had altered the balance of political power between Fante chiefs and British interests. Symbolizing the new state of affairs, in which chiefs depended on British goodwill to retain their offices, many chiefs now employed mission-educated men as their secretaries (frequently their own sons).

McCarthy's narrative is a familiar one; the symbiotic relationship between colonizers and colonized that she describes has been observed by students of the early phases of colonization in many locations—North America, Southeast Asia, as well as other parts of Africa. And her evidence supplements rather than alters our historical understanding of the processes of colonization. For in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Britain's deliberate annexation policy was centrally determined, however much local societies had been drawn into the British sphere of influence by their preceding experience. Furthermore, if we distinguish the means by which Britain acquired her colonial possessions—through

military conquest, as the proceeds of war with other European powers, or, as in this case, by gradual extensions of authority—we have not necessarily learned very much about Britain's various treatments of her colonial territories.

HENRIKA KUKLICK  
*University of Pennsylvania*

CARL WIESE. *Expedition in East-Central Africa, 1888–1891: A Report*. Translated by DONALD RAMOS. Edited by HARRY W. LANGWORTHY. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 383. \$32.50.

Minor figures involved in large events are often of great interest to the historian. Their place on the periphery of events, and the fresh insights not found in standard accounts, can frequently illuminate unfamiliar or too familiar narratives. This is the case with the *Report of an Expedition in East-Central Africa, 1888–1891*, by Carl Wiese, which has been edited by Harry W. Langworthy.

Wiese was a German who settled in Mozambique in the years just before the scramble for Africa. He became a semiofficial agent of the Portuguese government, the holder of Zambesian *prazos*, and the friend and confidant of several important African chiefs and kings. His travels made him familiar with the languages, customs, and riches of this part of Africa (knowledge that he turned to his own account when possible), and also brought him into contact and conflict with other Europeans, mostly British, who were penetrating the region of the Mozambique-Malawi-Zambia borderlands and laying the groundwork for European claims and occupation. The present report was written as the result of a journey in the years indicated when the struggle between African, Briton, and Portuguese for power and riches was approaching its climax.

It is a vivid document, offering insight into the ways of both Africans and Europeans, and it is also a telling description of the methods and difficulties of African travel and exploration in the late nineteenth century. Wiese appears straightforward throughout, hiding neither his self-interest and European biases nor his feelings about the British and Africans met on his journey and their ambitions and characters. Wiese comes across in the *Report* as an honest and frank observer, openly admitting his viewpoints and demonstrating a deep understanding of the natural and social world of East-Central Africa.

This edition of Wiese's *Report* by Langworthy, a noted scholar in this area, is a model of judicious editing. The lengthy introduction carefully and skillfully presents the background of the report, Wiese's life and activities, and the situation in regard to European and African relations in the last decade of the nineteenth century in Zambezia. Besides the

introduction, Langworthy has included brief but valuable notes throughout the body of the text. These are especially valuable in relating Wiese's comments to modern scholarly knowledge of the area, and in explicating Wiese's particular biases and perceptions. The *Report* itself has been translated by Donald Ramos, and it is surely one of the most felicitous of recent translations—keeping the flavor of the original while rendering it into clear, colloquial English. Perhaps both Wiese and Ramos should be credited for writing with style, clarity, and vividness.

Two minor negatives deserve mention. The maps, although serviceable, are too few and undetailed for a narrative that covers so much ground; and the printing of the book, in double columns, can become tiring for the reader.

Nevertheless, Langworthy has managed to provide an excellent rendering of a valuable and too often neglected piece of eyewitness testimony to an important part of African history. This translation and commentary should become a standard reference for late nineteenth-century Zambezia.

ROBERT GARFIELD  
DePaul University

DAN O'MEARA. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934–1948*. (African Studies Series, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 281. \$44.50.

*Volkskapitalisme* is the first systematic, sustained class interpretation of the Afrikaner nationalist movement in a crucial period of the history of South Africa. It starts in 1933, when the first Afrikaner Nationalist party, led by J. B. M. Hertzog, formed a coalition government with the South African party, led by J. C. Smuts; it ends in 1948, with the electoral victory of a new and more radical National party that has remained in power to the present day, led successively by D. F. Malan, J. G. Strijdom, H. F. Verwoerd, B. J. Vorster, and P. W. Botha.

According to Dan O'Meara, the Afrikaner nationalist movement has always been a shifting alliance of class interests. He places the secret *Broederbond* at the center of two transformations in this period. Through various front organizations, it was largely responsible for the rise of Afrikaner commercial and industrial capitalism, and as it did so the class structure of the *Broederbond* itself and of the National party became more complex. Secondly, as the movement and the party came increasingly under capitalist control, the *Broederbond* was responsible for the simultaneous transformation of Afrikaner nationalist ideology from a qualified anticapitalist posi-

tion that represented the interests of the Afrikaner petite bourgeoisie to an essentially capitalist position.

This thesis is presented with supporting evidence drawn from numerous published works, including official publications, newspapers, and journals. It constitutes a powerful corrective to accounts that treat Afrikaner nationalism as a monolithic and static movement. *Volkskapitalisme*, however, is based on an equal and opposite error. To O'Meara, economic interests are the only significant forces in society and classes are the only significant divisions. Ideas have no autonomy; ethnic and racial factors are subsumed in class. This is a sectarian, vulgar Marxist perspective of the crudest sort. The book contains all the hallmarks of ideological rigidity. Karl Marx is cited as an authority relevant to O'Meara's time and place (pp. 1, 9, 11, 13, 124); capital is personified, as are strata; and the writing is replete with jargon.

Despite these shortcomings, *Volkskapitalisme* should figure in the reading list of all scholars who are concerned with understanding the history and dynamics of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. In many of our publications, non-Marxist historians, including the present reviewer, have paid too little attention to the divergent material interests of different regional and occupational groups among Afrikaners, and to the political consequences of such differences. O'Meara's class analysis sheds fresh light on Afrikaner history and, by projection, it also contributes an important perspective to more recent political cleavages among Afrikaners. Though he overstates his case in making class the single fundamental category of analysis, O'Meara has made a major contribution to our understanding of the Afrikaner nationalist movement that dominates all of southern Africa. His powerful but flawed study should enrich the future work of historians and political scientists who work on South African problems—intellectual pluralists as well as dogmatists.

LEONARD THOMPSON  
Yale University

HAROLD G. MARCUS. *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States, 1941–1974: The Politics of Empire*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 205. \$26.00.

Harold G. Marcus makes the abortive Ethiopian coup of 1960 the pivotal event of this book. The first half of the work develops the background, beginning with Emperor Haile Selassie's return to Addis Ababa in 1941 under British auspices. The emperor successfully challenged British hegemony during the ensuing decade, in part due to the gradual assertion of official American interest in the Middle



East. Marcus considers the August 1943 agreement to extend lend-lease "a watershed in Ethiopian diplomatic, social, and economic history" (p. 21), although the period of American ascendancy did not begin until the British military mission withdrew in 1950—an event that coincided with Washington's growing perception of the geopolitical significance of Ethiopia and its environs in the larger East-West competition. American concern derived largely from the importance attached to Kagnaw Station, near Asmara, as a relay station for military communications and as a link in disseminating intelligence. This interest led the United States to endorse an Eritrea integrally federated with Ethiopia.

Notwithstanding the improvements Marcus attributes to American technical aid for education, health, and agriculture, Ethiopia's economic development remained uneven, thus sharpening urban-rural tensions as well as ethnic and regional discontent, notably in the Ogaden-Somali and Eritrean border areas. By 1959, social and political ferment worsened when drought and famine further exacerbated the economic decline. As the emperor failed to cope with the new realities, conditions ripened for the attempted coup of December 1960.

Marcus devotes approximately one-third of his book to the coup and its immediate aftermath. He identifies the conspirators as a small group of emergent military and bureaucratic intelligentsia—reformers who sought to improve standards of living by reducing governmental corruption. In their botched effort, they failed to inform the army and air forces of their plans, thereby arousing distrust of their intentions; their sole lever of power was a small imperial bodyguard. As for the American embassy, it remained neutral until it was clear that the loyalists would win. The major concern of the embassy was not the Ethiopian political situation; rather, it was the protection of American facilities. Embassy officials did, however, understand that decay was eroding the emperor's regime, but Washington officials gave scant attention to their warnings, so obsessed were they with East-West geopolitical considerations.

The emperor's appointment, in 1961, of safe, old-fashioned men to policy positions, impeded government efficiency and further alienated the educated bureaucracy and students, who began to accept the idea of civil insurrection to alter the status quo. The emperor rapidly lost his role as a neutral broker capable of reconciling competing interests.

Marcus's final chapter sketches the decline of the emperor's system during the thirteen years that culminated with the intervention of the military in 1974. Not only was Kagnaw Station becoming obsolete in the dawning era of communication satellites, but other international changes were diminishing Ethiopia's geopolitical significance, and Washington

found distasteful the radical change sought by Ethiopia's new management. Ethiopia then substituted a savior from Eastern Europe, and Moscow's ascendancy signaled, for the time being at least, the end of American primacy in the Horn of Africa. Rightly referring to his book as "not the last word on the subject, but very close to the first" (p. 10), Marcus views it as a preface for a more exhaustive future examination of the 1960s. In the book under review, he has already made a solid contribution to recent international history, American foreign relations, and modern African history.

JOHN A. DENOVO  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

### ASIA AND THE EAST

JOHN K. FAIRBANK, editor. *The Cambridge History of China*. Volume 12, *Republican China, 1912–1949*. Part I. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 1002. \$99.50.

This is the first of two volumes that will carry the *Cambridge History of China* from the collapse of the Ch'ing dynasty to the establishment of the People's Republic, leaving behind the problems of the old regime in its decline to confront the political (and scholarly) turbulence of more recent history.

Most of the contributions to this volume converge on the late 1920s as a *terminus ad quem*, for overlapping reasons: the whole history of the era of Peking-centered "constitutional" governments is encompassed within this timespan as is the rise and fall of warlordism, the resurgence of revolutionary nationalism and the establishment of the Nationalist government at Nanking, and the end (or the beginning of the end) of Comintern manipulation of the nascent Chinese Communist party.

There are exceptions. Albert Feuerwerker's survey of the economy covers the whole period from 1912 to 1949; Marie-Claire Bergère's long chapter on the bourgeoisie carries its analysis down to 1937, to encompass the effects of massive bureaucratization during the Nanking decade; both Charlotte Furth and Leo Ou-fan Lee, treating respectively intellectual trends (to 1920) and the emergence of modern literary styles and themes, sensibly reach back to the seminal decade of the 1890s for a starting point.

What the reader finds here overall, however, is a skillfully creative synthesis of recent scholarship on the first fifteen years or so of the Republican period. The contributors, like those already mentioned, are eminently qualified Western specialists on their subjects: Feuerwerker on economics and (in a separate chapter) on "the foreign presence" generally; Ernest



Young on early Republican politics and the presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai; Andrew Nathan on the failure of constitutionalism during the era of Peking politics (1916–28); James Sheridan on the phenomenon of warlordism and its labyrinthine history; Benjamin Schwartz on intellectual issues during and after the May Fourth period; Jerome Ch'en on the establishment of the Communist party and its vicissitudes down to the Fifth Party Congress in April 1927; C. Martin Wilbur on the ascendancy of revolutionary nationalism from 1923 to 1928.

Cultural or intellectual history receives more attention here than in the previously published Cambridge volumes on the late Ch'ing. This is justifiable, in light of the acknowledged (though not yet entirely accountable) importance of the New Culture as a pivotal turning point in China's modern history. It confirms—and will serve to perpetuate—the received opinion that somehow or other the transformation of Chinese culture (intellectual, political, and social) in the early twentieth century establishes the context within which the Chinese have been exploring alternative strategies of political and social revolution ever since. The relative inattention to foreign relations as a topic in its own right will, we are assured, be redressed in the forthcoming volume, which must address, among other troubling issues, the prelude to the Sino-Japanese War, the war itself, and its civil and international consequences.

Foreign relations is one thing; "foreignism" is another. In his prefatory essay, "Maritime and Continental in China's History," John K. Fairbank remarks on the pervasive foreign presence in China throughout the Republican period—unprecedented and, since the collapse of Russian paramountcy in the 1960s, unequaled. But Fairbank cautions that, however engaging the Sino-Western history of treaty-port China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be, "Chinese history is not one's idea of what happened in China but, rather, one's idea of what happened to the Chinese people. . . . The vital entities of modern times are the peoples with their national states and cultures" (p. 4).

How, then, are we to understand the extensive role that "foreignism" has played in China's modern history—foreign ideas, foreign models, foreign money, foreigners in the flesh? Fairbank posits the existence of an indigenous seafaring, mercantile culture that flourished for centuries along China's southeast littoral: "maritime China as a minor tradition." One might envision this as a counterpart to Owen Lattimore's familiar concept of China's Inner Asian frontier: a zone of non-Chinese social and economic culture, if by "Chinese" one means the vast agrarian bureaucratic order that occupied the interior heartland of the civilization. The extension of Western influence into this zone, the collaborative creation of a Sino-Western culture of imperial-

ism, can thus be understood not as something utterly exotic but as a new dimension within an existing environment.

Whether or not by design, the contributions to this volume may be read by and large as comments on or elaborations of this thesis. It is "maritime China"—or, more broadly, the economic, political, social, and intellectual permutations and implications of "foreignism"—that concerns these writers. In other words, the question of "what happened to the Chinese people" receives only a partial answer here. This is a history dominated by the political, economic, and intellectual elites of the early Republican period: the educated; the urban; those responsive to opportunity whatever its guise; those self-confident and resourceful enough to be (or to believe themselves to be) actors, not merely acted upon.

As important as such individuals and groups undoubtedly were, especially, perhaps, during these years of inchoate modernism, many questions are left unanswered or unasked. One hopes that the successor volume, which promises to trace the evolution of inherited modes of social control at the local level and the origin and fortunes of social revolutionary movements, will provide a somewhat different perspective on the "vital entities" of China's history in the Republican period.

These reservations notwithstanding, this volume is a remarkably impressive achievement in its own right. The scholarship is uniformly impeccable, the writing generally lucid, the argument within individual chapters frequently strong and imaginative. As with earlier volumes in this series, the "peripherals" are excellent: appropriate and clearly executed maps; informative charts and tables; multilingual and cogent bibliographic essays and bibliography (comprehensive into the late 1970s). One must, however, register an outraged protest that a book that rightly belongs in the private library of every student and scholar in the field has been priced beyond the reach of so many.

JEROME B. GRIEDER  
Brown University

JOHN W. DARDESS. *Confucianism and Autocracy: Professional Elites in the Founding of the Ming Dynasty*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 358. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$12.50.

In 1360 Liu Chi led his disciples, the Confucian intellectual community centered on Chin-hua, Chekiang, over to the support of the Red Turban rebel leader Chu Yüan-chang. Folklore later accorded Liu a key role in advising Chu in the latter's progress toward enthronement as founding emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The standard historical

sources do not support such a role for Liu, although they do indicate that Liu's defection was a factor in the loss of legitimacy by the Mongolian Yüan dynasty (ca. 1260–1368). In *Confucianism and Autocracy*, John W. Dardess takes a fresh look at this problem, using as sources the collected works (wen-chi) of 128 prominent fourteenth-century Confucians.

A review of the contents will summarize the main points of his argument. Chapter 1 argues that Confucianism and its practitioners should be regarded as a professional category, in the sense of the modern sociological literature on the professions, which the author cites extensively. Confucianism therefore was professional knowledge, since it was "general, abstract and organized" (p. 25) and could be acquired only through formal education. The Yüan state gave Confucians a license to practice, by establishing Confucian households as a separate fiscal category and by holding examinations and awarding degrees; at the same time the state was the principal client of the Confucians, whose professional skills qualified them, at least in their own eyes, for service as officials. Chapter 2 discusses the Confucian reaction to the mid-century collapse of Yüan authority. The author emphasizes the eastern Chekiang (Che-tung) area, conquered by Chu Yüan-chang in 1359, which provided the future emperor with his most prominent Confucian advisors. These men blamed the Yüan collapse on failure to control careerism and corruption among its officials; they developed the "thesis that a bureaucracy will restrict the professional role and so bring about social disaster unless it is kept under stringent central controls" (p. 105). Local reforms in the 1340s, followed by success in mobilizing local resources for Chu's regime, seemed to validate their prescriptions.

Chapter 3 discusses the four key Confucians Liu Chi, Sung Lien, Wang Wei, and Hu Han. Through extensive quotation, the author displays the utopian and totalitarian features of their thought, which are "crucial to an understanding of the value system that tolerated the vast penal slaughters of Early Ming times" (p. 166). Chapter 4 surveys the writings attributed to Chu Yüan-chang himself and finds numerous parallels to support the author's main conclusion: that the emperor's "despotism was in great measure a construction of the Che-tung intelligentsia" (p. 251). The final chapter is devoted to the efforts of the next generation of Confucians, especially Fang Hsiao-ju, to cope with the tyranny they had helped create.

Previous interpretations of Chu Yüan-chang's despotism, including this reviewer's, have emphasized the emperor's own psychology and have assumed that his personal goals were hostile in principle to Confucianism. In Dardess's persuasive counterinterpretation, the wholesale executions of

Chu's reign (1368–98) followed directly from the program of social regeneration advanced by the Chekiang thinkers. The author takes pains to limit his argument to the evidence and is also careful not to equate his subjects with all of Confucianism; there are indeed "strong odors of heterodoxy" (p. 180) about these thinkers. Some readers may be put off by the professional paradigm, but the author's purpose is to emphasize that Confucianism was more than just land- and office-holding and that this other dimension was especially important in the fourteenth century. *Confucianism and Autocracy* is an impressive achievement, which adds significantly to our understanding of the important Yüan-Ming transition period.

EDWARD L. DREYER  
University of Miami

JAMES REEVE PUSEY. *China and Charles Darwin*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 100.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1983. Pp. xi, 544. \$25.00.

If the "Darwinian revolution" in its larger context shaped Western intellectual history during the second half of the nineteenth century, what was its impact in Asia? In Europe the theory of natural selection led to a last battle of the Enlightenment—pitting the claims of revealed religion against secular rationalism—while at the same time it established the prestige of the newer framework of the social sciences, encouraging theorists to develop naturalistic models of social evolution as a basis for judging contemporary global order. James Reeve Pusey's monograph introduces the fascinating story of "Darwin's" intellectual influence in China between the 1890s and the 1920s. This influence owed its power to the historical accident that Social Darwinism's Anglo-American popularity peaked during the years when the old "Middle Kingdom" finally gave up its myth of centrality. To the Chinese reform elite, agonized over the political collapse of empire and eager to understand the West that had challenged them so profoundly, Darwinian evolutionism seemed to provide categories of analysis for understanding the weaknesses of Confucian civilization and Chinese backwardness and also, paradoxically, the path of reform.

As in Europe, in China evolutionary theory called moral absolutes into question, produced new philosophies of history, and reoriented cosmologies. It also intensified racism, inspired schemes for genetic engineering, and glorified war. The comparativists, however, will find most fascinating the shift of perspective obtained when social theories based on the metaphor of "survival of the fittest" are consid-

ered from the perspective of the weak. They will also notice the alteration of meaning given Western ideas when seen through the matrix of alien philosophical assumptions. Pusey is at his best when he shows, through the writings of eminent reform intellectuals like K'ang Yu'wei, Yen Fu, and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the juxtapositions with Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian concepts that shaped interpretation. As cosmology, evolution was not philosophically startling to thinkers habituated to a Buddhist scale of time and space or to a Taoist understanding of the relativity of phenomena. Rather, it revolutionized Confucian notions of historical change, introducing the idea of progress, a teleology of the future that was grasped all the more fervently as the alternative for China appeared forecast according to the analogy of species extinction. It is not surprising, then, that in China evolutionary theory took a utopian turn, producing not only K'ang Yu-wei's visionary *Book of the Great Commonwealth* but also thousands of naive converts to the bland religion of modernization. Equally understandable was the Chinese tendency to a "Lamarckian" model of human social improvement, as they called for a "new people" to remake their culture according to modernist standards. In the end, evolutionary theory was taken up and adapted by radicals impatient to introduce into progress-oriented philosophies of history an appreciation for creative revolutionary "moments" and a faith in the possibilities of leaping over stages. In all these ways, as Pusey's account shows, Darwinism in China prepared the way for Mao.

Pusey is at his weakest when he recurrently tries to link this protean intellectual movement to the thought of "Darwin," if not exactly as the spokesperson for scientific "truth," then as a benchmark for contemporary correct interpretation. Rather, the Chinese case shows how little Social Darwinism in either the East or the West depended on science as opposed to the prestige of science as a criterion of truth value. Westerners may have followed "Darwin" in taking the individual organism as the unit of evolutionary change, while the Chinese preferred to take the social group as central. Today scientists have deprived both analogies of their force by moving the evolutionary center stage to the gene; while the basic validity of naturalistic models of human cultural change continues to be debated. Darwinism remains worth studying as the history of a social idea that, among other things, functioned as a global ideology of imperialism and whose interpretations outside the West therefore deserve special attention. Although Pusey's account, based on dissertation research, remains narrowly textual in focus, it offers a good starting point for analysis.

CHARLOTTE FURTH  
California State University,  
Long Beach

RODERICK MACFARQUHAR. *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*. Volume 2, *The Great Leap Forward, 1958–1960*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) New York: Columbia University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the East Asian Institute of Columbia University, and the Research Institute on International Change of Columbia University. 1983. Pp. xvii, 470. \$35.00.

This is an authoritative, exhaustively researched, political history of China during the critical decade preceding the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. It is by far the best treatment of this subject in a Western language and probably in any language. Roderick MacFarquhar, a British China specialist, has been working and writing on this topic since its inception, a background that the reviewer has found almost indispensable for comprehension of it. MacFarquhar has also found time for journalism and for five years in the House of Commons!

The first volume, which was published in 1974 and deals with the tumultuous years 1956–57, is superb, for one thing because it combines contemporary evidence with later revelations (not always reliable) dating from the Cultural Revolution. This volume, the second of a projected three, is even better, partly because this time MacFarquhar has been able to use a third category of (more accurate) sources that have appeared since the death of Mao Tse-tung (in MacFarquhar's preferred form, or Mao Zedong in the official post-1979 orthography) in 1976 and above all since the emergence of Deng Xiaoping as Mao's de facto successor at the end of 1978 (pp. 434–35). As its title indicates, the second volume treats the highly dramatic period of the Great Leap Forward.

As in his earlier writings, MacFarquhar displays an objectivity and analytical good sense that have been far from universal in the field of contemporary China scholarship. His Mao, whether temporarily in command or pressed by colleagues in opposition, is a human, inconsistent, and believable figure. Premier Zhou Enlai emerges plausibly enough as probably the key individual responsible for delaying an open, irreparable rupture within the party leadership on issues of power and policy until 1966. The issues—revolving essentially around the clash between orderly planning and administration presided over by a Soviet-type party apparatus and Mao's growing personalismo—are dealt with in similarly convincing fashion.

The specialist is inevitably likely to disagree with some of MacFarquhar's interpretations. The first Chinese effort to lay down a program for the international communist movement was not, as MacFarquhar says, the anti-Soviet blast of April 1960 on Leninism, but the December 1956 statement on Stalin, which someone has described as the

first Asian initiative in European affairs since the siege of Vienna (in 1683). The story of Gromyko's alleged secret attendance at a Chinese Politburo meeting in September 1958, at a time of great Sino-American tension, is almost certainly pure Soviet disinformation retailed to a few visiting American China specialists in the mid-1970s in the hope, partly borne out, of making them more sympathetic to the Soviet side of the Sino-Soviet dispute (p. 98).

But these are small things. The China watcher's reaction to this study is likely to resemble Brahms's notation on a score by Johann Strauss—unfortunately, not by me. He will also hope not to have to wait another nine years for MacFarquhar's third volume.

HAROLD C. HINTON  
George Washington University

SHARON L. SIEVERS. *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 240. \$22.50.

The title of this book leads the reader to believe that it deals with the rise of feminism in modern Japan; it actually concerns itself with the Meiji era (1868–1912) and is to date the only treatment of feminism this early in Japan. Sharon L. Sievers seeks to cast the rise of feminism in Japan in the same framework as its American and English counterparts. Herein lies the strength and also the weakness of the book. Her search for exact parallels and a “common language” with the West leads her to overlook important differences between the Japanese and the Anglo-American cases and at the same time to ignore similarities between Japanese and other Asian examples.

The author asserts that the early feminist Kishida Toshiko's speeches “attracted a good deal of national attention” (p. 33) and that Kusunose Kitai's complaints to prefectural authorities were “picked up by newspapers all over Japan” (p. 29). In view of this nationwide attention one wonders why the famous Bluestockings were later “unaware of the struggles of their feminist predecessors” (p. 164).

The reviewer questions the inclusion of a chapter on textile workers, in particular Sievers's description of a strike by workers at Amamiya, for she cites no authority for it and apparently has not read some other scholarship on these workers, who were important to the female work force more than to the rise of feminist consciousness. Of greater interest to the Western reader are the chapters on the Women's Reform Society, women socialists, and Kanno Suga, the anarchist friend of Kōtoku Shūsui who was executed in 1911 for alleged complicity in the plot on the life of the Meiji emperor. The author's

continual endeavor to draw parallels with the Anglo-American feminists is weakened by the fact that Japanese women today are closer to their Asian sisters than to their American and English counterparts, as we know from international women's conferences. American and English women, after all, never had to combat a real parallel to the pervasive Confucian ethic or the samurai code.

The work is flawed by some errors of historical fact. The author, for example, has the Reform Society making petitions to the *genrō* in 1887; this body came into being in 1890. The resignation of Itagaki Taisuke and others from the government in 1873 was precipitated more by the debate over the Korea expedition than over power sharing (p. 24). Inconsistencies are distracting; some titles and names are given in translation, others in romanized form, still others in both. The book would be more useful with a bibliography and glossary. It is enhanced by an admirable set of photographs of Meiji feminists.

JOYCE C. LEBRA  
University of Colorado,  
Boulder

W. MARK FRUIN. *Kikkoman: Company, Clan, and Community*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 35.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 358. \$30.00.

Kikkoman Corporation, the world's largest soy sauce producer, is among Japan's two hundred largest industrial enterprises. It is also the oldest and has been under the control and management of the interrelated Mogi-Takanashi families since they began production in 1661 in the village of Noda, across the bay from the crucial Tokyo market.

The story of the rise of Kikkoman is important and fascinating. More importantly, it catches in microcosm the flavor of the evolution of Japanese economic and business history—technological improvement and the application of modern science, changes in enterprise organizational and production structure, evolving patterns of labor recruitment and industrial relations, the always great importance of distribution and marketing. And Kikkoman (which changed its name from Noda Shoyu Corporation in 1964 to reflect its major brandname product) is of additional historical significance: it was the protagonist in the substantively and symbolically important Noda strike of 1927–28, in which the union was routed.

W. Mark Fruin has told this story very well. This is the first book-length history of a Japanese company based on company archives to appear in English. The subtitle conveys the main themes. The corporation was established in 1917 essentially by five major



interrelated families, following a thirty-year period of cartel-type cooperation among two dozen soy sauce-producing families in Noda. Most of the book is devoted to the corporation's growth and problems over the past sixty years, including an insightful chapter on the effects of postwar occupation reforms and pressures for internationalization and diversification, although the author waffles somewhat on their relative importance. The clan—alliances of main and branch families reinforced by strategic marriages and adoptions—has successfully produced ten generations of owners and top management. The community of Noda evolved from an agricultural village to a company town in the prewar era, to a small postwar city where unions elected socialist politicians and family influence on community relationships weakened.

Although the author must have had to develop good relationships with the company and family to obtain access to archival materials, the study is objective, unbiased, and nonjudgmental—success, after all, makes a positive tone natural. Both union and management are criticized for the strike of the 1920s. Perhaps the only false note is the author's defense of the company against the postwar rulings of the Fair Trade Commission for price fixing and marketing transgressions.

The book provides an excellent historical overview. The main criticism, if it is that, is that it leaves the reader wanting to know more: about intraclan relationships; more clearly why Kikkoman rather than others came to achieve dominant market share in an industry that has gradually evolved from thousands of producers and brandnames; about company-community relations; and about the economics of success (there is no real discussion of revenues, costs, profits, financing—no balance sheets, no profit and loss statements).

I recommend *Kikkoman* for anyone interested in Japanese history or comparative business history. I hope this excellent book will encourage further research in an important but understudied field.

HUGH PATRICK  
Columbia School of Business

MANI KAMERKAR. *British Paramountcy: British-Baroda Relations, 1818–1848*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1980. Pp. xiv, 253. Rs. 96.

The British raj in India, in its creation and extended survival, owed much to the complex network of collaborative relationships that it evolved with the major feudal princes of the subcontinent. Although this phenomenon has long been recognized, it has been little studied. Mani Kamerkar's scholarly examination of the development of British relations

with the important western Indian state of Baroda during the formative years 1818–48, is the first to deal with this period of the state's evolution. Working closely from documents in the Maharashtra and the Baroda archives, she reveals much valuable data on the way in which British officials systematically used their superior power to transform Baroda from its earlier, relatively autonomous, status into a characteristically compliant state—fully subject to overriding British paramountcy, not merely in external affairs but in major domestic matters as well.

The book opens with a brief review of the post-1700 beginnings of Maratha, Gaekwad chieftainship of Gujarat; its subsequent break with the Maratha Confederacy centered in Pooná; and the first and definitive Baroda treaties and agreements concluded with the British in 1802, 1805, and 1817, which brought the state into subordinate alliance with the raj. The study then focuses in great detail on the way in which the British, during the ensuing three decades (coinciding almost exactly with the rule of Gaekwad Sayajirao [1819–47]), unilaterally interpreted these treaties to enhance dramatically their de facto domination over Baroda. Amid the detail, the author emphasizes three main instruments utilized by the British to erode Baroda autonomy. These were the officering and exercise of overriding control of the Gaekwad's 3,000 strong Cavalry contingent; the institutionalizing of long-term or perpetual guarantees of personal security, purses, or other rights to prominent Baroda bankers or officials; and, thirdly, the utilization of their right to collect tribute revenues for the Gaekwad from his subfeudatories in order to undermine effective Baroda suzerainty over them. With these powerful instruments at hand, a tough-minded British administration in Bombay, and its frequently imperious executive representatives or Residents in Baroda, steadily reduced Sayajirao to a position of total dependency, even in the domestic affairs of his state. Protests from the Gaekwad that the treaties were being unfairly interpreted, as the author demonstrates, usually had no impact on the British rulers. If the Gaekwad became truculent, as he did on several occasions, the British unilaterally sequestered sections of his territory and utilized its revenues for their own purposes in Baroda until he came back into line.

Useful though the study is in elucidating the development of British imperialism vis-à-vis Baroda, it suffers badly from narrowness of scope. The focus is too exclusively political with no attention to the socioeconomic situation in Baroda. Moreover, although the study covers the regency and reign of Gaekwad Sayajirao, he remains an altogether shadowy figure. There is no real exploration of his character, motives, or of the network of advisers surrounding him. Nor is there any general analysis



of overall British imperial objectives in western India at this time. Individual governors or residents might not appear so capricious or vindictive if they were seen in the context of general British policy objectives regarding Baroda. The result of this narrowness is that the study will have little utility except for those doing advanced papers or research on early nineteenth-century Baroda.

EDWARD C. MOULTON  
University of Manitoba

MICHELLE BURGE MCALPIN. *Subject to Famine: Food Crises and Economic Change in Western India, 1860–1920*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 288. \$35.00.

It may be querulous to say so, but this serious work of economic history has been misnamed. By calling her book *Subject to Famine*, Michelle Burge McAlpin raises the expectation that it is about famines. In fact, it is about the blunting of famine's teeth in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India. Thus the proper title should be, I submit, *No Longer Subject to Famine*.

The book starts slowly, but the intent of its seven chapters is to persuade one that colonial rule in rural Bombay was no bad thing: between 1860 and 1920, it is argued, the subsistence, physical security, incomes, economic prospects, and material conditions of millions of cultivators improved steadily. Since this was the high tide of imperial rule, it follows that the British raj should garner the credit. Yet I suspect that readers reared on the shibboleth of an India Drained White will be up in arms—disagreeing first about the allegation that material conditions improved, then about the role of the British in bringing about this improvement, given that it occurred. Famines come into the discussion because their prevalence in nineteenth-century India has hitherto been a stout stick with which to thrash British colonialism. A hoary thesis holds that high and ever higher land taxes stripped the Indian cultivator of his subsistence as well as his surplus, thereby making famines inevitable. This notion of starvation-at-the-hands-of-the-taxman was first enunciated in 1904 by Romesh Chandra Dutt, and it has served, down to the present, to explain why famines harrowed Victorian India. McAlpin does the obvious by comparing land-tax data with the timing and severity of food scarcities and comes to the conclusion that these items are unrelated. She shows that the land tax as a proportion of the money value of a cultivator's produce was falling in western India after the mid-nineteenth century, while the cultivation of foodgrains was rapidly spreading and the price paid to cultivators for these grains was steadily rising. Simultaneously, railways and a great-

ly expanded market in foodgrains lessened the dependence of Bombay's rural cultivators on their own produce. What then explains the occurrence of devastating famines?

It appears that most of the (considerable) variation in Bombay's foodgrain harvests can be explained by seasons of sparse or badly timed rainfall. As it happens, the closing years of the nineteenth century saw unprecedentedly bad monsoons, such that even the rapid economic gains made in previous decades and the revolution in transportation were unable to overcome the massive starvation that ensued. The Dutt thesis thus turns out to have been a reasoned but merely plausible assertion without much underpinning in the way of fiscal, market, or meteorological data. What can be said in exculpation is that Dutt made a sincere effort to explain a series of severe famines and that he did so on the field of a logical rather than a polemical discourse. He was a convincing if not brilliant thinker who understood that formal imperialism could be influenced by economic argument. His indictment of rising land taxes was taken seriously at the time and brought him into controversy with no less an antagonist than the viceroy, who labored personally over a refutation. The collective memory, however, has tended to recall Dutt's thesis rather than Lord Curzon's response. One is therefore grateful to McAlpin for her scepticism and hard work, which have laid Dutt's eighty-year-old error to rest.

Economic historians construct their arguments by performing numerical tests on propositions the laity prefers to state in words. It is not just a matter of incorporating tables into a prose text but of developing texts around precisely phrased questions that can best be answered by data in tabular form. As a consequence, such studies take the form of sandwiches—their beginnings comprise discussions of the worthiness of data, their middles use the data to make the tests, and their ends contain the data sets in appendixes, preferably in long series. McAlpin's study is no exception, in fact it is a model that shows the way for comparable studies in other parts of India. In the first part of her book, especially pages 29–39, criticism is possible because the data are not above reproach. The key failing, it is admitted, is that she cannot give us valid output statistics over time for foodgrains; the necessary average yield experiments were just not performed. Lacking output, an "index of the quality of the agricultural seasons" (IQAS) has been compounded from acreage data and from tax officials' estimates of the success of particular harvests in relation to an abstract "standard yield." Because McAlpin is more interested in seasonal fluctuations than in long-term production trends, the IQAS is an attractive proxy for year-to-year changes in output. The acreage statistics were always good, but because the "stan-

dard yield" was frequently changed, the significance of the IQAS over time is problematic. Yet it is also part of the argument that the subsistence problems in the last decades of the nineteenth century were mostly weather related, a proposition that cannot be proved without correlating long-term production with rainfall data.

McAlpin's discussion of the place of subsistence risks in the peasant experience and of the demographic consequences of famine mortality and her proposal for a new periodization of Indian agrarian history are extended themes in this important study for which space hardly suffices. In the long run, however, it is her favorable assessment of British rule in rural India that will—and should—attract the most attention.

PAUL GREENOUGH  
University of Iowa

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER. *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850–1903*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 1981. Pp. 298. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$15.00.

Scholars of Philippine nationalism during the last years of Spanish rule and the early American period are in John N. Schumacher's debt. His study of the role of Filipino clergy in the formation and sustenance of Philippine nationalism is well documented. Filipino priests have a place in Philippine history as a result of Spain's martyrdom of Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora in 1872 and as the long-suffering victims of the racist snobbery of Spanish clergy. The role of the Filipino priests in the last moments of Spanish rule, the establishment of the first Philippine Republic (1899–1900), and the founding of the Philippine Independent Church are understood by students of the Philippines. What has not been realized until now is that the native clergy were instrumental in developing a sense of nationalism among the peasants at a time when the Manila-based elite talked only to themselves about what they wanted to obtain from the Spaniards—namely, a share of political, social, and economic power.

Schumacher shows (with careful attention to the role of other elements in Philippine society that helped shape Philippine nationalism) that the clergy were a force that have been ignored to date in favor of studying the Manila-based elite or the Katipunan revolutionaries. He sees the clergy as making the revolution of 1896–98 understandable to the peasants, as agents for ameliorating the anticlericalism of the Manila intelligentsia, and as a factor in the struggle against the Americans. He contends that Filipino resistance among the peasants would have died once the United States Army broke the back of

the elite-supported Malolos Republic in mid-1899. The clergy resisted out of the conviction that Filipinos were not going to substitute one oppressor for another. The heavy-handed manner of the American military toward Filipino priests is virtually unknown in the United States. It is generally accepted, however, that Civil Governor William Howard Taft manipulated the Roman Catholic Church (with respect to the Philippines) so that he could gain the support of a significant segment of Philippine society. He saw also that unless Rome made some gesture toward allowing Filipino clergy a voice in running their church, the colonial authorities would have trouble with them. His refusal to turn over Catholic Church property to the Philippine Independent Church, as well as the elevation of several Filipino priests to bishoprics, took the steam out of clerical resistance to American control. Many clergy, however, refused to be reconciled and remained spokesmen for independence through their ministry in the Philippine Independent Church.

As a consequence of Schumacher's contribution, scholars will have to re-examine the Philippine revolution and Philippine-American war with an eye to the role of the Filipino clergy in those events. An unspoken conclusion could be fashioned that today's Filipino priests might be, as their predecessors were years ago, the champions of liberty, decency, and justice in the Philippines.

MICHAEL PAUL ONORATO  
California State University,  
Fullerton

LAURENCE K. L. SIAW. *Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jebeu*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. 1983. Pp. viii, 197. \$37.50.

The writer of local history may become so preoccupied with the details of what happened in "his" community that the study will be of antiquarian interest only. Although Laurence K. L. Siaw's book is a history of the Chinese in and around the small town of Titi in the fairly remote district of Jebeu, he has not fallen into this trap. Indeed, historians and sociologists will find a great deal in this book that relates to such broader concerns as the political and social history of the Chinese in Malaya, the Japanese occupation, the Malayan Emergency, secret societies, and the nature of leadership in overseas Chinese communities.

In the late nineteenth century, Chinese businessmen moved into Jebeu and set up many small enterprises to mine the district's rich tin deposits. The most successful of these businessmen in the Titi area was Siow Kon Chia, a Hui-zhou Hakka who in

the early years of this century recruited over one thousand families from his home village in Kwangtung to work in his mines. Siaw later encouraged his clansmen to grow rubber on land he had obtained from the government. Siaw argues that a major economic change took place during the interwar years when, because of the postwar slump and the depression, many Chinese struck out on their own to grow various food crops. Since many of them occupied land set aside as forest reserves and Malay Reservations, they frequently came into conflict with the police. Siaw then examines the link between such local tensions and the political turmoil taking place in China and goes on to describe in graphic detail life in Titi under the Japanese and during the period immediately after the Japanese surrender when the "People's Communist Government" took full control of the town and put to death people accused of collaborating with the Japanese. At the time the British reasserted their authority, according to Siaw, over half of the more than ten thousand Chinese in Jelebu were illegal "squatters." Squatters in the Titi area, as elsewhere, were antagonistic toward the government, had close ties with communist youths from Titi town, and, the government knew, supplied food to the communists in the jungle. Early in 1950, at the height of the "Emergency," the government uprooted the squatters, destroyed their crops, and resettled them in camps on the outskirts of Titi town.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this book is Siaw's description of the impact of resettlement on Titi. The government attempted to soften the shock of resettlement by introducing many "Western" social institutions, but "instead of becoming more modern or Westernized, [the people] became more confused and helpless" (p. 107). In these conditions of "normlessness," when the people of Titi were "confronted with demands and threats from both the government and communist guerillas" (p. 109), there was a great resurgence of secret society activity. The dominant society in the early 1950s had its stronghold among the newcomers in the resettlement camps, but it was soon challenged by a society led by sons of businessmen in the old town. In the final chapter, which deals with the introduction of local government in Titi, Siaw shows how these societies came to be aligned with the two main political parties, the Labor party and the Malayan Chinese Association, that vied for the allegiance of Malaya's Chinese in the late 1950s.

Siaw's account of many events relies entirely on very extensive interviews with old Titi residents. It is therefore a slight disappointment that the book contains no discussion of the problems he must have experienced in collecting and evaluating this information. And one may regret that Siaw has not done more to relate his findings to various theoretical

issues. A brief reference to Max Weber's ideas on the institutionalization of authority is his only attempt in this direction. But, as Siaw himself puts it in the preface, he has written this book "with ordinary readers in mind—people interested to read about other people described in a straightforward matter-of-fact manner." Judged by this standard, he has succeeded brilliantly.

JOHN G. BUTCHER  
Griffith University

P. G. EDWARDS. *Prime Ministers and Diplomats: The Making of Australian Foreign Policy, 1901–1949*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 240. \$45.00.

This is an unusual book, of great interest to all students of the history of Australian foreign policy. It is not a diplomatic history nor a history of the evolution of policy nor of Australian external relations. It is rather an account of how policy came to be made, centered on the personalities of the prime ministers, foreign ministers, and senior public servants who made it.

P. G. Edwards is a former Rhodes scholar and has served as deputy head of the team of historians responsible for the official series of documents on Australian foreign policy, 1937–49. It is therefore not surprising to find that his work is highly professional, meticulously researched, and well written to boot.

He has arranged the book into five substantial sections: the period between federation and the First World War; the era of William Morris Hughes; the years between the two world wars; the period leading up to Pearl Harbor; and the period of office of Herbert Vere Evatt. The period since 1949 ranks as epilogue. Through these periods Edwards traces two themes. The first is the dominant role played in external relations by the prime minister. The second is to ask why Australia took so long to develop a separate and distinctive foreign policy and a separate and capable diplomatic service.

Edwards shows that the natural tendency of prime ministers to dominate external relations was reinforced, in Australia's case, by the insistence of the British that in the conduct of an imperial foreign policy, when Australian views were considered, they could only deal with the Australian prime minister and not separately with independent satraps. It seems clear that the two non-prime ministers who carried most clout in their day, Stanley Melbourne Bruce in the late 1930s and Evatt in the 1940s, were able to operate as they did because their prime ministers chose to leave them to it. Bruce, himself a former prime minister, was dealing with a successor, Joseph Aloysius Lyons, who was chiefly preoccupied

with domestic political issues. John Curtin, equally, left Evatt to run external affairs, and Edwards makes clear how quickly Evatt's power diminished once Curtin's successor, Joseph Benedict Chifley, started to tug on the reins.

It can hardly be coincidence that one other factor is common to the Bruce and Evatt periods. Both men held office at a time when great events were in the making and Australia wanted or needed to take part in shaping them. One sometimes has the impression that at least some of the interpersonal and interdepartmental feuding evident in other periods seemed so important because the people involved did not have enough of real importance to do. Edwards contrasts Australia's slow progress toward autonomy in foreign affairs with developments in Canada, Ireland, and South Africa. Would it be possible to argue that, where each of these had external problems that were both urgent and particular, Australia did not? Perhaps Australia's real interests were perfectly well catered for through London. No one is better fitted than the author of this original, careful, and balanced work to go on from policy process to consider policy itself.

HARRY G. GELBER  
*University of Tasmania*

MICHAEL STURMA. *Vice in a Vicious Society: Crime and Convicts in Mid-Nineteenth Century New South Wales*. New York: University of Queensland Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 224. \$32.50.

There is comparatively little about "vice," in the generally accepted meanings of the word, in this social history study, and the subtitle gives a more accurate description of the content. Essentially the work examines the attitudes of the upper and middle classes and of "the respectable working class" in New South Wales toward crime in general; and in particular to the periodic "crime waves" in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, which they saw as being the result of the latent criminal tendencies of the considerable convict, ex-convict, or emancipist element in the population. The main thrust of the book is to show that the contemporary view—that the country faced a menacing crime problem—was highly exaggerated. In some respects the arguments adduced are convincing, but the author gives the impression that he is overstating his case and taking an unbalanced view of the convicts and ex-convicts as an unjustifiably maligned class.

How much weight is to be attached to the findings of the Molesworth Select Committee on Transportation, which reviewed the results of the shipment of some eighty thousand persons to Australia between 1788 and 1836, and concluded, in 1838, that the

convict system had failed and had created "a most thoroughly depraved society" with "a state of morality worse than that of any other community in the world?" Michael Sturma discounts the validity of Molesworth's findings, and holds them as indicative of contemporary, "mistaken" ideas that a numerous criminal class existed separate and detached from the respectable working class, that criminality was contagious, and its traits hereditary. He goes so far as to disagree with the considered opinions of such authorities as Alan Shaw, L. L. Robson, and Manning Clark who insist that the bulk of the convicts were, in fact, professional criminals with previous convictions, and holds that the two-thirds with previous convictions cited by them is unjustified by the evidence. He is on surer ground, perhaps, when he states that the sensational, often pornographic, emphasis on vice, crime, and punishment found in the early literature on the settlement was a deliberate perversion of the truth aimed at securing book sales.

The first three chapters analyze the three early "crime waves": the "scare" of 1835, (which Sturma sees as a tool used by the Exclusives against Governor Bourke and his measures to assist ex-convicts and give them the right to serve on juries) and the 1844 and 1850 "crime waves" (which are seen as furthering the interests of the urban middle class and their authority, and as protecting the working conditions and status of free immigrant wage earners). In this context, the expression of contempt for convicts and ex-convicts is seen as serving to legitimize the country's "new identity" as a free and progressive state and society.

Subsequent chapters trace the spread of the judicial and police systems, which are represented as "weighted" against emancipists and the lowest classes. As police forces increased in numbers, the number of reported crimes rose, explaining in part the recurrence of "crime waves." It is difficult, however, to agree with all of the author's conclusions, especially that which maintains that emancipists and ex-convicts were "coerced" by the system, by the prejudices of society, and by economic conditions into further crime. This may be so, but the contemporary view that criminality was pronounced among that class is not thereby invalidated. Conviction rates were higher in the colony than in England from 1830–50, and to condemn James Macarthur's anxiety over this as "preposterous" is a somewhat hasty and tendentious judgment.

The chapter on "Offenders and Victims," with an interesting discussion of the role of "bushrangers" as "social bandits," raises the issue of identification of this unique Australian criminal species; and the chapter on the magistracy makes interesting reading, as do those on obscenity and drunkenness. On the whole, Sturma's conclusion that the community's reaction to its convict origins proved of more lasting



significance than convictism itself is justified by the evidence.

DAVID S. MACMILLAN  
Trent University

LLOYD ROBSON. *A History of Tasmania. Volume 1, Van Diemen's Land from the Earliest Times to 1855*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 632. \$74.00.

Histories of the six Australian states have been of average quality, except for the study of Western Australia by Frank Crowley (1960), and *A New History of Western Australia* (1981) in 836 pages. It is, therefore, ironical that the smallest state, Tasmania, should receive the fullest treatment by an outstanding historian. Lloyd Robson is well prepared for the task by virtue of the publication of his earlier book, *The Convict Settlers of Australia* (1965). This present study on Tasmania will require two volumes and this first volume is over 600 pages.

Robson has studied the sources very thoroughly, indeed, more exhaustively than most historians, although it is strange that he feels no need to use the colonial secretary's papers (and other official collections) in the Tasmanian archives. Never has anyone produced so much information about Tasmania. Light is thrown on the first settlements with an emphasis on the conflict with the aborigines; this is followed by a discussion of the administration of Governor George Arthur (1824–36). Robson is as detailed in his account of Arthur as was A. G. L. Shaw in his 1980 biography. Robson brings out many details: for example, all streets of Van Diemen's Land were macadamized by the end of Arthur's regime, and he states flatly that Launceston was a more energetic town than Hobart. Even so, there was a colonial society in Hobart that enjoyed much swimming, horse racing, hunting, and theater. Sir John Franklin replaced Arthur as governor, and here Robson is quick to point out that he lacked friends in London and a close relationship with Colonial Undersecretary James Stephen. Furthermore, Robson sees Franklin as more naive than indicated in Kathleen Fitzpatrick's study (1949), and he goes further than Fitzpatrick in stating the Lady Franklin had more of an influence over her husband than was appreciated earlier and did greater harm than good to his career in Tasmania.

The next section of the book deals with Sir J. E. Eardley-Wilmot's administration from 1843 to 1846. Robson does much to clarify Colonial Secretary Gladstone's ineptitude in trumping up charges

for Wilmot's recall. The final section of the book, "from Denison to self-government," is briefer but reveals meticulous research.

To indicate the strengths of this book, one must point to the details that it reveals. Much new manuscript material is used in the sections on penal transportation. Robson describes the "Black Books" that Governor Arthur used to enter the names and assignments of all convicts in Van Diemen's Land. Robson flatly states that the success of his system of assignment depended on those books. Furthermore, the nature of transportation "was all things to all men, so kaleidoscopic were its facets and so varied its impact and effects. The most contradictory statements could be made about it with equal truth during Arthur's administration despite the fact that he strove to make the punishment fit the crime" (p. 154). The book is equally strong in its discussion of George Augustus Robinson, who became the temporary savior of the Tasmanian aborigines. The increase in internecine warfare, due to the upset of tribal life and customs, is noted. (Only 700 natives were still living in 1831.) Robson expands our knowledge of the economic system and even gives us the names of the directors of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land. He also notes that wealthy wool growers "built some of the most superb buildings in the Australian colonies" (p. 265). There is also much on religion and education. The prose is at times moving—for example, a description of the execution of prisoners—and the analysis of Alexander Maconochie's disloyalty to Franklin is documented fully. There is a masterly summary, in thirteen points, of Franklin's unsuccessful defense against dismissal. Finally, Robson excels as a writer of narrative.

On the negative side, there are times when the book is overly detailed. For example, one page is filled almost exclusively with names of early settlers; such a list could be relegated to a footnote. Another example is overlong descriptions, such as that of Governor Collins's funeral. There is too much on bushrangers; even their names are given. There are places where Robson might have pulled the narrative together and generalized. There is not enough on Arthur's religion and his workaholic habits. Robson is correct in describing him as a "cold fish" who attacked his enemies' jugular veins. At times the adjectives are emotional: for example, he calls the New South Wales squatters "robber barons."

Nevertheless, Australian scholarship is well served by this volume and will look forward to the next volume. The word definitive must be used very sparingly, but it can safely be used to describe this volume.

SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH  
University of California,  
Irvine



## UNITED STATES

NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The Creation of Modern Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 245. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$10.00.

When James Oglethorpe and his trustees planted Georgia during 1732–33, it was the only colony of the original thirteen to receive direct government subsidy; and because “it encouraged idleness” slavery was outlawed in the noble experiment. But seventeen years later in 1750 the trustees reversed themselves to permit introduction of the peculiar institution; and “by 1760 more than one third of Georgia’s people were property.” The state’s subsequent history like that of all the South—and indeed America itself—has been an unending struggle to find accommodation between the races.

Numan V. Bartley, an old hand at Georgia and southern history, has written what could well become a model for other states; his *Creation of Modern Georgia* is a scholarly, well-thought-out, compactly written survey of the state from its founding in the 1730s through the gubernatorial administrations of Jimmy Carter and George Busbee in the 1970s. Moreover, the author has succeeded in his task of fashioning “an interpretive essay” that explores the evolution of various social groups and “how their interrelationships have been expressed in politics.” Yet the old Georgia, built on a plantation, Lost Cause, white supremacy ethos that has given way to a society shaped by civil rights movements, federal judiciary intervention, the infusion of northern and foreign money, and sunbelt-suburban life styles, causes Bartley to conclude: “The future of that society is as yet unknown.”

Throughout his study, Bartley stresses an up-town-country dichotomy in Georgia social and political life. After a straightforward treatment of antebellum politics and of a state dominated by plantation elites during the Civil War era, he chronicles Republican-carpetbag-scalawag efforts to break the old order, introducing limited justice for the black man. But the Constitution of 1877 and the Compromise of 1877 in national politics established a Bourbon ascendancy that lasted for the remainder of the century. Bourbon Georgia was “a stable social order based on white supremacy, a closed political system resting on one-party politics, and a passive national stance that protected ‘home rule.’”

The Bourbon world began to change after 1900 when poor whites and rural Negroes started migrating to the state’s urban centers: Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, Macon, Rome. But challenges to the system during the Progressive era did not include all Georgians. Progressivism in Georgia as in the rest of the South meant Jim Crowism and political disfranchisement. And establishment elites led by Eugene Talmadge resisted with varying degrees of success

New Deal attempts to disturb their notions of southern life. Not until after the Brown decision did a changing order emerge when uptown became convinced that economic advances were more important than continued race baiting. Although Lester Maddox sought to block racial progress during the 1960s, Bartley notes that Jimmy Carter and his successors in the 1970s “by accepting the demise of segregation, helped to guide public debate toward the ‘hundreds of minor decisions yet to be made’ within a desegregated society.”

PAUL D. CASDORPH  
West Virginia State College

JOHN K. MAHON. *History of the Militia and the National Guard*. (Macmillan Wars of the United States.) New York: Macmillan. 1983. Pp. vii, 374. \$20.75.

Often overlooked in books dealing with American land power are the significant missions performed by the militia, the army reserves, and the National Guard. In today’s “total army” concept, the integrated roles played by these forces are vital to the nation.

Although there has not been a paucity of works dealing with the American militia and National Guard—consider, for example, the useful writings of Jim Dan Hill, William H. Riker, Martha Derthick, R. Ernest Dupuy, Elbridge Colby, and Frederick Porter Todd—there has been a crying need for a modern, thoroughly researched, and comprehensive treatment. Now, John K. Mahon of the University of Florida and erstwhile historian for the army has ably supplied the long-awaited volume. His fine study deals chiefly with reserve forces and systems that, politically, have had a dual arrangement: controlled at the state level in times of peace (usually) and federalized at the national level in times of war and major domestic disturbances.

Often caught in the middle, militia and guardsmen have been ordered to storm picket lines, fire on strikers or demonstrators, and serve almost as private armies of state governors defying national policies. Usually lacking a sufficient regular army, America has asked her citizen-soldiers to fight in periods of crisis from colonial times into the twentieth century, often without proper training, leadership, equipment, or experience, and they frequently performed poorly at first. But once the militia, volunteers, and guardsmen received these essential items, they fought superbly.

Mahon capably compares the notorious Militia Act of 1792—which, besides serving as the first direct, coercive act on the individual citizen by the government, was otherwise badly flawed—with the much more realistic Dick Act of 1903. The story is continued as, through many decades, critical national defense issues are submerged in fierce battles between those people who believe chiefly in a siz-

able, highly professional, regular army and those who incline more toward the states rights' concept of relying more on the militia and, in recent times, on the voluntary National Guard. Some have argued, as the author clearly shows, that federally funded state guard units are an anachronism, to be defended, if at all, in the belief that such a system is a hedge against possible militarism. As Mahon states, "The fear of standing armies . . . looms large in the history of the militia. Behind it . . . was the greater fear of arbitrary, highly centralized government, but such a government was not dangerous without a force arm to compel obedience. These fears are part of the history of the militia because the dual control under which it functioned impressed Americans as the best security against what they feared" (p. 3).

Such volunteer units as the Minutemen, the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, the Rough Riders, the Fighting 69th, and the Rainbow Division have gained an imperishable niche in America's military heritage, and Mahon has at last provided us with the well-written, properly researched, penetrating, and comprehensive study that our citizen-soldiers have for so long deserved. Marred only by wretched proofreading, it is a job very well done indeed.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.  
*Pennsylvania State University*

WILLIAM L. SHEA. *The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 152. \$20.00.

This book is as much about the defense of seventeenth-century Virginia as it is about the development of its militia. The struggle between colonists and Indians for control of the tidewater and, to a lesser extent, the threat of foreign invasion provide the setting for an account of the development of Virginia's early militia structure. The colony, according to William L. Shea, inherited the Anglo-Saxon tradition of communal defense—already anachronistic in England—when the Virginia Company made military duty a condition of employment in Jamestown. The system was inclusive, with command and leadership roles reflecting military skills rather than social rank and title. It was also effective. Using tactics characterized more by rapid marches and the burning of Indian crops and villages than by pitched battles, militia forces, comprised of men drawn from local training units, rid the lower James of the threat of Indian attack by mid-century.

As the militia matured, adopting a more decentralized command structure, membership became more exclusive and service in the field less frequent. Blacks were excluded from service in the 1640s, as were white indentured servants two decades later. To meet the threat of Indian attack on the increasingly distant frontier, the colony paid, armed, and supplied garrison and ranger units for fixed tours

of service. By the 1680s only those able to arm and equip themselves fully served in the militia, effectively eliminating even poor freemen from all but emergency service. A "bourgeois militia" (p. 130), operating more as a constabulary than a combat force, was in place by the 1690s. Two decades later, what militia structure that existed was without military value.

Virginia's militia had become by century's end an institution designed more to ensure social order than to wage war. Efforts to arm all adult males ended, and the colonial militia began to resemble the English militia of the early seventeenth century. Shea links changes in the militia's composition and function to the declining Indian presence and a growing concern after mid-century about the loyalty and reliability of hired servants. Bacon's Rebellion, he argues, both confirmed those fears and destroyed the organizational structure that supported inclusive militia service.

Shea's explanation may be correct, but it suffers from a failure to link the militia's evolution to other political and social developments shaping seventeenth-century Virginia society. His treatment of Bacon's Rebellion, for example, is largely an account of the military exploits of Bacon and Governor Berkeley and falls well short of showing how the insurrection swept aside nearly fifty years of militia organizational development. One wonders too about the relationship between emerging local elites and the decentralization of militia authority during the middle third of the century. Shea limits his discussion largely to an analysis of statutory law. But did the desire to control an increasingly restless and landless poor unite local elites? Or, was militia command a source of competition and division among the local gentry? The answers to these and other questions would have made this otherwise sound account of the militia's place in seventeenth-century Virginia society far more provocative.

LAWRENCE DELBERT CRESS  
*Texas A&M University*

KYM S. RICE. *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers*. Chicago: Regnery Gateway or Fraunces Tavern Museum, New York. 1983. Pp. xviii, 168. \$12.95.

Social history now directs scholars' studies into aspects of the past that once were treated as mere background by all but collectors and antiquarians. This slim volume by Kym S. Rice provides valuable continuity by ably spanning both kinds of interest. It contains the results of careful and extensive researches attractively presented to appeal to a general readership, but thoroughly footnoted so as to provide effectively for further critical engagement with its findings. The book is exemplary for the way

its rich array of visual documentation—representations of tavern scenes and photographs of surviving tavern furniture—has been assembled and is presented with full scholarly annotation.

The presentation in this work is not by thesis and argument—beyond sustaining implicitly a case that hostelries were an important part of early America that has been unfortunately ignored by historians. In between an opening and a closing piece about Samuel Fraunces (d. 1795) and his New York tavern, there are eight informative chapters that review a wide range of subjects such as: the transplantation of the English public house to America in the seventeenth century; the licensing laws and attempts to control morals; the location and staffing of taverns; and the important functions of inns as centers for the local distribution of mail, news, and political connection, as well as for amusement, and even surprisingly—through balls and polite “assemblies”—for the dissemination of cosmopolitan manners. Where appropriate, quantification is unobtrusively supplied.

Despite a sweeping statement in the introduction that “the surviving evidence does not reflect change over time” (p. 20), the detailed accounts of the many aspects of tavern practices show unmistakable shifts in operations over two centuries. The pictorial documentation reinforces an overall contrast between the early colonial period, when seating seems invariably to have been at large, common tables, and the decades from the mid-eighteenth century onward, when separate booths, screened-off areas, and even private dining rooms became quite general (pp. 23, 75, 97). In that and many other ways the text and the illustrations work together to cast light on important aspects of the changing life of early America. The result is a book that is both a valuable resource, made widely available, and a fresh reminder to social historians of the rich field that opens for them if they will only include nonverbal artifacts in their conception of “documents” that tell about the past.

RHYS ISAAC  
La Trobe University

GREGORY H. NOBLES. *Divisions Throughout the Whole: Politics and Society in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1740–1775*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. xii, 258. \$29.95.

In this study of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, Gregory H. Nobles traces the rising political consciousness of ordinary farmers during the half-century that preceded the American Revolution. Religious and political struggles, from the 1730s onward, he argues, taught rural people to challenge the established leaders in their locales and thus

conditioned and set the terms for their later participation in the Revolution. Local social conflict did not cause the Revolution in Hampshire County; indeed, the imperial struggle aroused little protest before 1774 in the towns of the Connecticut River watershed. But a generation of contention and conflict over power relationships in their communities created among these Massachusetts farmers a suspicion of narrowly concentrated authority and a habit of resistance to it. The Revolution, writes Nobles, “both followed and furthered a widespread local revolution in Hampshire County that had been growing for years” (p. 156).

The tide of local conflict first swelled during the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, when frequent lay challenges to the clergy’s authority and an irreparable division of the county’s ministry occurred. The Great Awakening left a legacy of lay recalcitrance, which made every minister’s job insecure and led to the creation of Separatist meetings and Baptist congregations with “a defiantly antielitist point of view” (p. 95). Rapid migration into the county between 1740 and 1775 produced dozens of new towns, many of them in the infertile upland areas, and caused the division of rapidly expanding old towns. Out of such growth came a nagging friction between new local groups and the old families that constituted the established county elite. Gradually the “Great men” or “River Gods,” as they were known, were unseated or their power was considerably diminished.

Nobles’s regional history of religious and political dissent directly challenges Robert Taylor’s *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (1954), for long the standard account of western Massachusetts in the Revolutionary era. Taylor pictured a frontier society marked by the political inertia of common farmers, who in a generally harmonious society had readily deferred to the leadership—even the domination—of the elite. It took the Revolution, Taylor argued, to educate these complaisant farmers in the language and techniques of resistance; in so doing, it wrought an abrupt transformation of political values and behavior. Nobles concedes the parochialism of the western farmers but argues convincingly that this insularity was not accompanied by social harmony within the region or within the towns composing it. The Revolution thus continued and completed the changes already in process rather than shattering a harmonious and deferential polity.

Based on a close reading of local town and church records and on the slim fund of personal accounts that remain, this study is an important addition to the growing literature that explicates organic links between the palpable, local experience of ordinary colonists in the pre-Revolutionary decades and the outbreak and course of the American Revolution. Hampshire County appears to be one more location

where resistance to England represented far more than an ideological and constitutional defense of traditional English liberties, free of the taint of local dissension or habits of mind inculcated by changes overcoming colonial society.

GARY B. NASH  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

JOY DAY BUEL and RICHARD BUEL, JR. *The Way of Duty: A Woman and her Family in Revolutionary America*. New York: W. W. Norton or George J. McLeod, Toronto. 1984. Pp. xviii, 309. \$19.95.

Scholars in colonial women's history have done a remarkable job at reconstructing the world in which women lived. We know much about age of marriage, family size, childbearing and child-rearing practices, gender-defined divisions of labor, the ideology of woman's place, and the particulars of her role in society. What we do not have as yet is a sense of the connection, continuity, and interplay among all these factors, a sense that can best be gained through biography. We have not seen enough ordinary women move about on the stage we have set, walk through the world we have painstakingly constructed, live the statistics we have compiled, engage the ideology we have articulated.

There are many reasons, legitimate and not, for this lack of biographical effort. The one that comes to mind most readily is the absence of written records rich enough to make possible such biographies. Joy Day Buel and Richard Buel, Jr. clearly had this in mind when they discovered the diaries, letters, and autobiographical writings of Mary Fish of Connecticut. They recognized a sufficient historical record on which to build a life history of a genteel though not elite New England woman. How well they succeeded and where they failed may prove instructive to us all. *The Way of Duty* shows us that having the sources at hand may solve only the first of many problems.

The strength of the book rests in the Buels' abundant abilities as storytellers. The reader is quickly drawn into the family circle of Mary Fish, and soon feels at home among intimate scenes of birth, death, marriage, and family conflict. The Buels are aided by what we see of Mary Fish's own personality and character. She is strong, intelligent, moral, and maternal: a heroine in the "republican mother" mode. In addition, the Buels are aided by the drama going on around the family circle. Fish's father is a victim of the Great Awakening controversies, her second husband is a victim of Tory and Redcoat kidnappers, and her eldest son, Jose, is a victim of the American dream of fresh starts and new fortunes on the frontier.

Yet these dramatic virtues are also the book's vices. *The Way of Duty* is not a biography of a woman, after all. Mary Fish is the hub of a domestic tale's universe; the Buels, however, find their book's true focus on the peripheries. It is clear that this concentration on father, husbands, and sons is not due to lack of Fish materials. Rather, one gets the impression that Fish's marginality in public life simply will not stand up against the importance attributed to the roles her men played in the world around her. In *The Way of Duty* the center does not hold; Fish's life is lost amid masculine excitement.

Mary Fish's demotion to supporting player in her own drama is not intentional, we suspect. The Buels simply could not give up the basic assumptions of the traditional historian and biographer: that political and public events are the central stuff of history and that the formula for biography is to focus on the individual's impact in these areas. Both assumptions work a hard—and unnecessary—judgment on Mary Fish. She is rescued from oblivion because of the men who father her, marry her, and call her mother. Her complex personality is soon cramped to fit the mold of loving wife and esteemed mother, a woman who shapes public events by shaping the character of men.

In the end, good sources and good writing and good intentions are not enough to create the biographies we need of colonial women.

CAROL RUTH BERKIN  
Baruch College and the Graduate Center,  
City University of New York

JOHN R. ALDEN. *Stephen Sayre: American Revolutionary Adventurer*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University. 1983. Pp. ix, 219. \$27.50.

The picaresque Stephen Sayre seems a more likely subject for a Gothic novel than for serious history. Before the American Revolution, Sayre was a banker, sheriff of London, and ardent defender of both Wilkes and the American cause. His career began to deteriorate, however, after his arrest in 1775 for a supposed plot to kidnap King George III. Charges against him were soon dropped, but his bank failed and he was imprisoned for debt. On his release in early 1777 he fled to France and began a long career of abortive diplomatic and commercial ventures that took him to Prussia, Denmark, Russia, Holland, Spain, Sweden, England, and back to America, his birthplace. Most of these projects involved other people's money—Sayre was at best an impractical visionary, at worst a charlatan. Tracing precisely the course of his tangled affairs is impossible. His own papers are no longer extant and his surviving letters among the papers of his correspondents are full of



self-promotion and manipulation of the truth.

Charlatans and fools are of some interest as indicators of social values and customs. John R. Alden in his biography of Sayre has chosen instead to concentrate on the man himself. This probably is a mistake. Sayre's wanderings, prevarications, and harebrained schemes eventually become tedious. Worse still, for want of evidence we never really understand Sayre—whether anything beyond self-promotion underlay his political radicalism, what attracted others to him, or even how he managed to finance all his projects and journeys. Alden is forced repeatedly into speculation, sometimes rather far-fetched, such as French foreign minister Vergennes's subsidizing Sayre (p. 104). Even Alden's findings do not always inspire confidence. Without explanation, Sayre appears in Nantes and then reappears in Copenhagen (p. 110); Alden dates Sayre's departure from London before the end of February 1777 (p. 98), whereas we know from a letter of Patience Wright of March 7 that Sayre was still in London (*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 23 [1983] p. 446). Finally, Alden's attempts to elevate the significance of Sayre's actions by linking them to an account of the diplomacy and politics of the period instead has a tendency to make even great events seem trivial (particularly in the case of Alden's rather embarrassing discussion of Russian affairs).

This is the first full biography of Sayre and probably also will be the last. Alden has devoted enormous energy and imagination to researching his topic. It is unfortunate that so much effort has been spent on so elusive and insignificant a subject.

JONATHAN R. DULL  
*Papers of Benjamin Franklin*

JAN LEWIS. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 290. \$24.95.

This is a chronicle of the changing *mentalité* of the Virginia gentry between 1750 and 1830. The eighteenth-century gentry, Jan Lewis argues, made its primary emotional investment in public life—in religion, politics, and the pursuit of property. Emotional life was highly formalized and, restrained by "an almost mechanical reciprocity," it led to the attainment of a rational social and domestic order. By the 1830s, this Lockean utopia had collapsed. Unlike the North, where diminishing agricultural resources and evangelical religion promoted economic and political individualism and created an aggressive capitalist democracy, these developments

had the opposite effect on the Virginia gentry. The self-reliance promoted by the evangelicals was "not a challenge; it was a calamity." For capitalism and evangelical religion "required not only adopting habits of industry, but also a whole host of loathsome Yankee characteristics." Unable to adapt, the gentry turned inward, rejecting political and economic achievement and transforming the family and the individual into the chief centers of emotional investment. Lewis examines a range of topics—religion, death, success, and love—to demonstrate the development of a crippling pessimistic and world-rejecting sensibility among the members of Virginia's elite families.

*The Pursuit of Happiness* turns away from the narrow behaviorism of the social history of the 1960s and 1970s. This in itself is commendable. For what people thought and felt is surely an important part of the past. But recorded experience is an artifact. And like all artifacts, it requires a context to make it meaningful. Unhappily, this book tells us much about the sensibility of the Virginia gentry without providing us with a context for evaluating its significance. We are, for example, given extended accounts of the gentry's response to evangelical religion. But we are given no sense of what they were responding to—for not a single sermon or religious tract is quoted or cited in the entire volume. Literature, which was presumably an important influence on the conventions of emotional expression in the literate and Anglophilic Virginia elite, is similarly overlooked.

If the intellectual context is thinly delineated, the social and economic characteristics of the Virginia gentry are entirely ignored. We never really know who the gentry are. To define them, as Lewis does, as "those few families in each county who 'dominated civil, ecclesiastical, and military affairs,'" tells us little. Indeed, it poses a disturbing contradiction. How could families as psychologically handicapped and world-rejecting as these continue to be a functional elite? This paradox parallels exactly the difficulties encountered by historians in understanding the Boston Brahmins. Viewed through literary sources, they appear much as this book depicts their southern counterparts. But reconstructing their social and institutional context shows the extent to which the brilliant verbosity of men like Henry Adams obscured the eagerness with which his own close relations performed the "expiatory pilgrimage to State Street [to] ask for the fatted calf of grandfather Brooks and a clerkship in the Suffolk Bank." If a few Brahmins rejected the world, the majority of them were busily remaking it. One wonders if the same does not hold true for the Virginia gentry.

PETER DOBKIN HALL  
*Program on Non-Profit Organizations*



HENDRIK HARTOG. *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York, 1730–1870*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 274. \$27.50.

*Public Property and Private Power* is a subtle, difficult, and important book. It breaks new ground in two important subfields of American history: legal history and urban history. Its author, Hendrik Hartog of the University of Wisconsin Law School, has placed himself at the forefront of the new breed of historians of American law by making excellent use of his double training: a law degree and a Ph.D. in history. Hartog's legal skills enable him to make sense of early corporation law at the same time that his historical skills allow him to disentangle the concepts of property and republicanism in the context of the emergence of the "modern" city of New York. The book is a revisionist work that needs to be compared, on the one hand, to the work of J. Willard Hurst and Jon Teaford, and on the other hand, to that of Sam Bass Warner and David Hammack.

Hartog's account is built around his analysis of the transition of the Corporation of the City of New York from its premodern form in the Montgomerie Charter of 1730 to the radically transformed legal institution of the mid-nineteenth century. For some readers, the distinction Hartog makes between the essentially private corporation of the eighteenth century and the quasi-public corporation of the nineteenth century will not be easy to grasp, but it is central to the argument of this exceedingly well-written book. Legal historians have long recognized the medieval connection between ownership and rulership. As Maitland noted, "medieval ownership blends with lordship, rulership, sovereignty in the vague medieval dominium," whereas modern government demands separation of the legally supported "connection between corporateness and privilege." The first section of *Public Property and Private Power* demonstrates the ways in which the corporation was identical with its property, and the manner in which (by the grant of waterfront lots) the corporation used its property power to achieve "public" ends (in this case, the development of the commercial capacity of the port of New York). Taxes were low and infrequently imposed, and the instrumental functions of government were few before the British invasion of 1776.

After the Revolution, however, the corporation changed very slowly into something that might be called, by the era of the Civil War, a municipal or public corporation, in which the function of the institution was republican (the representation of the interests of the residents) rather than proprietary (the furtherance of the property interests of the freeholders). This transformation involved both the

separation of the corporation from its real property (of which it divested itself) and the reconceptualization of the city as the legal creature of the State of New York. The corporation was no longer a grant of proprietary power to a limited group of members, but rather "legally indistinguishable from propertyless institutions of derivative public administration. . . . [E]ven its corporate capacity to own property existed only as a function of its representation of the interests of the state" (pp. 260–61).

At the same time as the legal form of the corporation metamorphosed, its functions changed dramatically. From a premodern town that could not even control the swine running freely in its streets, it became a city that increasingly provided services to its residents, and even intervened to the detriment of vested property rights. Hartog illustrates this process by reference to controversies over cemeteries and ferries, and in so doing shows how ambiguous and uncertain was the emergence of the new powers and status. Above all, he shows how the new "public" powers of the city failed to destroy the "privateness" lamented by Warner. Indeed, the entire book is a brilliant demonstration of the point made by historians working in the tradition of the Conference on Critical Legal Studies, that the public-private line in America is a reification, the creation of liberal lawyers and judges, and understandable only in political terms. *Public Property and Private Power* is an important step toward creating that understanding.

STANLEY N. KATZ  
Princeton University

GILBERT C. DIN AND ABRAHAM P. NASATIR. *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 161.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 432. \$39.95.

This handsomely produced volume provides a detailed survey of Spanish Indian policy in Louisiana and Spanish Illinois from the 1760s through 1808. Meticulously documented, the study is based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including copies of over ten thousand documents collected by Abraham P. Nasatir from archives in Spain. Indeed, Nasatir originally had intended to translate, edit, and publish many of these documents, but the length of such a manuscript precluded its publication and led to this narrative of the events discussed in the records.

Although Gilbert C. Din and Nasatir include single chapters on Osage ethnology, and on the Osages under the French and American regimes, the primary emphasis of this study centers on Spanish Indian policy, and the focus is on the

Spanish rather than the tribesmen. The authors trace the development of policy under different Spanish officials and illustrate that their decisions often were based on insufficient knowledge of Indian affairs. Much of this policy was directed toward the Osages, but it also affected other tribes, including the Caddos, Quapaws, Delawares, Shawnees, and the Sacs and Foxes.

Several factors prevented the Spanish from implementing an effective Indian policy. During most of this period Spain lacked both the manpower and the financial resources needed to either control, or even significantly influence, the Osages. Although Spanish posts at St. Louis, Natchitoches, and on the lower Arkansas flew the king's flag, their garrisons were so small that local commanders were powerless to enforce the government's regulations. Moreover, Spanish officials throughout Louisiana often were so short of funds and supplies, that they had few presents to lavish on the Indians. In addition, Spanish policy was poorly coordinated and communication between Spanish posts was so haphazard, that commanders at the different locations often worked at cross-purposes. Finally, officials at St. Louis were afraid that any strict enforcement of government regulations would alienate the Osages, who would then stop their commerce with Spanish traders, causing St. Louis to sink into an economic recession. Therefore, they refused to punish Osage lawbreakers, even when their crimes were committed within the Spanish settlements.

The authors illustrate that after 1795 traders such as the Chouteau brothers were able to gain some influence over part of the Osage tribe, but their authority was limited and often ignored. In 1795 the Chouteaus established Fort Carondelet, a Spanish post among the Osages in western Missouri, but the fort was abandoned in 1802, when the Chouteaus' trade monopoly was awarded to Manuel Lisa. Only after Louisiana passed into American hands and the Osages were forced to confront the growing power of the United States did the tribe acquiesce to foreign domination.

The primary strength of this volume is also its major weakness. Din and Nasatir's narrative is so detailed that many readers may become lost in a myriad of minor incidents. Indeed, the volume needs more synthesis, but for those scholars interested in either the Osages or Spanish Louisiana, the book contains invaluable information found in few other sources.

R. DAVID EDMUNDS  
Texas Christian University

GILBERTO MIGUEL HINOJOSA. *A Borderlands Town in Transition: Laredo, 1755–1870*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 148. \$10.95.

In Texas, only the city of El Paso has been the object of study by Mexican-Americanists (Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants*). This second book on a town with a large Mexican-American population seemingly points to a trend toward studying urban life in the Lone Star State. What makes Gilberto Miguel Hinojosa's book unique, however, is its focus on the period before 1870. Most histories of Texas towns with Mexican-Americans as their subjects, would necessarily have to start with the 1850s, if not much later.

*A Borderlands Town* is a study of Laredo encompassing the period from the town's founding in 1755 until a time just before the arrival of the railroads. Looking at the Spanish period, Hinojosa avoids the traditional attention other historians give to institutional and administrative aspects of borderlands life, and instead looks into the details of how frontier people adjusted Spanish policy and their ways of life to survive in a hostile *frontera*. He traces the fate of the little town through several eras in the nineteenth century, including the periods of the Mexican War for Independence, the Mexican War of 1846–48 when it was occupied by American soldiers, and finally the Civil War and Reconstruction. He does this by using the often neglected Laredo archives, the Laredo city records, the Webb County records, plus various documents from the state of Texas. He combines these data with quantitative analyses of the censuses of Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

These sources allow Hinojosa to ascertain the historical factors that determined the course of Laredo's destiny, to see the things that bound and divided Laredoans, and to explain how inhabitants responded to events such as New Spain's struggle for independence, United States annexation, and the American Civil War. By relying on other secondary works appropriate to the subject, he provides details of economic depression, Indian attacks, and internal and external warfare. Attention is also given to physical change occurring in the town.

By using a quantitative approach he is able to trace meticulously the rates of population growth and decline as well as the impact that episodes such as the Hidalgo independence movement and the Texas Revolution had on population and class and ethnic divisions within the town. He also determines the changing nature of the Mexican-American family and gives data on sex ratios, dependency ratios, age distributions, occupational distributions, and the several other statistical breakdowns that are identified with demographic work.

Hinojosa has provided us with a keen interpretation of this south Texas city. To his credit, he has not gone over the well-worn eulogies of such Laredoans as the Benavides—instead these personalities are subjugated to the city's history in which Hinojosa

is more interested. Furthermore, he explains to us why Laredo did not develop in the direction that other border cities like Brownsville, Eagle Pass, and Del Rio did. In the latter towns Anglos arrived as merchants to tend to the various military garrisons there and quickly assumed positions of superiority; in Laredo a merchant class already existed and Anglos found it difficult to remove Mexicanos entirely from politics. The divisions that resulted in Laredo were thus not along ethnic lines as in the case of the other towns, but ones pitting the Anglo and Mexican privileged against the poor, who were mainly Mexican. Therein lies a partial explanation as to why Mexican-Americans have always served in positions of influence in Laredo and not until recently in other cities along the Rio Grande.

ARNOLDO DE LEÓN  
Angelo State University

ROBERT W. HAYMAN. *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence, 1780–1886*. Providence: The Diocese. 1982. Pp. xi, 353. \$17.95.

Robert W. Hayman's well-documented and detailed examination of *Catholicism in Rhode Island* fits into the familiar genre of Catholic institutional history and now replaces Patrick T. Conley's and Matthew J. Smith's bicentennial study of *Catholicism in Rhode Island: The Formative Years* (1976). Although Conley's and Smith's work contained an extensive bibliographical essay, it was an undocumented popular history of Catholicism's early development—from 1780 until the establishment of the Diocese of Providence in 1872. Hayman, too, has focused on the formative years. His history, however, concludes with the death of Thomas F. Hendricken, the first bishop of Providence, in 1886. Hayman argues that by that time "the Catholic immigrant had become an integral part of the economic, political and social fabric of Rhode Island" (pp. x, 313).

The thesis is presented in five chapters that show the gradual but substantial growth and prosperity of Catholics in Rhode Island and southwestern Massachusetts (that is, the territory of the Diocese of Providence). Chapter 1 delineates the slow increase of Catholics in Rhode Island from 1780, the year of the appearance of French Catholic soldiers during the Revolutionary War, to 1844 when Rhode Island was separated from the Diocese of Boston and placed under the new Diocese of Hartford. The next four chapters—arranged chronologically around the episcopates of William Tyler (1844–49), Bernard O'Reilly (1850–57), Francis P. McFarland (1858–72) of Hartford, and Thomas F. Hendricken (1872–86) of Providence—detail the development of the Catholic population and of parish institutions.

Throughout the text, Hayman outlines the famil-

iar experiences of nineteenth-century immigrant Catholicism: tremendous population increases, scarcity of clergy, the necessity of the brick and mortar mentality, episcopal dominance in ecclesiastical decision making, ethnic conflicts, poverty, ignorance and poorly developed religious life among the immigrants, anti-Catholicism, pressing needs for Catholic schools, gradual social and political mobility. Like many of the antebellum East Coast Catholic dioceses, the Diocese of Providence had a mixed ethnic population dominated by the Irish-Catholic tradition. Although Irish-American bishops were unusually solicitous in trying to obtain an ethnic clergy to serve the ethnic congregations, they did experience a number of inter- and intra-ethnic conflicts. Dissensions were especially bitter in the post-Civil War period between the bishops and the French Canadians who comprised the second largest ethnic community.

Like most historians of particular dioceses, Hayman has relied on the rich diocesan archival deposits and local newspapers as primary sources for his history. Unlike many of these historians, he has drawn extensively on works by economic and political historians to examine the Catholic experience in the diocese within the context of economic and political conditions in the state. He has demonstrated in particular how the gradual industrialization of Rhode Island affected the Catholic experiences there. Although he also intended to show how Catholics had become integrated in the social, economic, and political life of Rhode Island by 1886, his evidence is not extensive enough to support such a conclusion.

Those historians who are interested in the religious and spiritual life of the people and in the intellectual and social developments in Catholicism will not be satisfied by this history, but they will discover here issues that need further research and development. Although this history suffers from the monotonous detailed accounting of institutional growth and clerical assignments, it is still the best history of the formative years of Catholicism in Rhode Island.

PATRICK W. CAREY  
Marquette University

JOHN OWEN KING III. *The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by Harper and Row, Scranton, Pa. 1983. Pp. ix, 456. \$37.50.

This book ranges over more than two centuries of time and quotes or cites scores of primary and secondary sources. John Owen King III might be called a historian of ideas—he has gathered the

materials for a history of modern psychiatric theory from its origins in Renaissance science (Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*) and Protestant theology (the monumental work of New England Puritan divines) to the impact of Freud on American notions of mental disorder in the early twentieth century. But King calls what he is doing "psychohistory," and he does give primary emphasis to the inner lives of five men distinguished by their experience of psychological crisis as well as their study of it: Henry James, Sr. (whose term "vastation," borrowed from Swedenborg, is said by King to have "bridged the sacred and the profane, the Puritan's conversion and mental collapse" [p. 91]); Henry James's son William; William James's close friend and colleague, Josiah Royce; the neurologist James Jackson Putnam, who was the first important disciple of Freud in this country; and (somewhat surprisingly) Max Weber, who passed through a crisis of inner conflict and, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, written after a visit to the United States, declared this country to be the most fully developed example of a society dominated by the compulsive worldly asceticism he had identified.

King's perception that the analysis of the process of conversion by Puritan theologians (including Jonathan Edwards) was part of the general secularization of occidental culture is original and important. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that his insights are made almost inaccessible by inept presentation. In the first place, the book is much too long; a copyeditor with a blue pencil could improve it significantly. Furthermore, the pages are lavishly sprinkled with superior numerals directing the reader to notes at the back that sometimes run to more than a page of small type with further parenthetical citations.

An even more serious obstacle is King's manhandling of the English language. Although on occasion he can write clearly and forcefully, he suffers from recurrent attacks of an elephantiasis of style represented by the statement that "the historians' argument lacks specificity in terms of symptomatological expression" (p. 41). Under the influence of the current vogue of French theory in literary criticism, King often uses ordinary words unidiomatically. For example: "his own words remain within a discourse of Mather's and Edwards's earlier histories" (p. 341). Such wrenching of language fosters yet another annoying mannerism—the kind of overgeneralization familiar in the writing of such prophets of the counterculture of the 1960s as Norman O. Brown. Thus, King declares that Max Weber "composed a nation convulsing in its own mechanism" (p. 290) and that "America was a vacuum, sealed from the intrusions of other texts" (p. 333).

King is very informative about once current diagnoses such as "moral insanity," "monomania," or

"neurasthenia," and about proposed therapies such as Josiah Royce's doctrine of salvation through work or S. Weir Mitchell's rest cure. But the reader is bound to be puzzled by the contrast between the rather pedantic accumulation of data and the blanket indictment of American (sometimes, it seems, capitalist) society, as in the characterization of it as a "Moloch whose mind is pure machinery!" in the long quotation from Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* that ends the book.

HENRY NASH SMITH  
University of California,  
Berkeley

DANIEL P. JORDAN. *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1983. Pp. xiv, 284. \$20.00.

Taken at its face value the title of Daniel P. Jordan's monograph implies a broad study of all aspects of political leadership ranging from local elections to presidential politics. This is far from the case. Jordan has confined his study of "leadership" exclusively to congressional representation between the years 1800 and 1830, a period of one-party domination. Admittedly the phrase "Jefferson's Virginia" is rather ambiguous, but by excluding the 1790s Jordan eliminates the decade of turbulent party rivalry that casts considerable light on the development of political leadership. A further limitation imposed by Jordan is his concentration on House membership with scant reference to representation in the Senate. Since the senators were chosen by the state legislature, quite different leadership relationships and political considerations were involved from those operative in congressional elections.

Jordan's primary concerns are with the mechanics of the election process and the formulation of a composite profile of Virginia's congressional membership during these three decades. His findings are digested in eighteen tables ranging over such data as age, religion, property ownership, length of tenure, and education. His conclusion drawn from this material is simply that the "old elite model generally holds true" (p. 71) in depicting the political leadership of Virginia between 1800 and 1830. The gentry were as securely entrenched in power as in the preceding century. Electioneering methods remained the same with the personal rapport between the candidates and the voters a central ingredient in winning elections. Issues were still relatively unimportant and voter participation was essentially unchanged. The most significant difference noted by Jordan was that the congressmen of the "Dynasty" era tended to be lawyer-farmers rather than the gentlemen-farmers typical of the past. Thus the view of the political structure of the Old Dominion



established by Charles S. Sydnor, Jack Greene, and Charles H. Ambler can be projected into the early nineteenth century.

What one misses in this study is an attempt to probe more deeply into the complexities of the leadership scene in Virginia. Were the congressmen effective instruments in expressing the interests of their constituents in Congress and at the same time providing the necessary interaction to guide the state along national policy lines not readily acceptable at home? Or were they a solid phalanx rigidly devoted to an increasingly insular view of political issues? What was their relationship with other significant elements in state leadership as represented by the state legislature and the Richmond Junto? These questions receive but slight attention. Can a study of political leadership be complete without close attention to the crisis precipitated by the Missouri question? Who were the leaders who guided the course of the state at this critical juncture? How did they operate? Answering such questions would do much to expose the naked realities of leadership.

Jordan includes a chapter on John Randolph of Roanoke as an "unlikely prototype." Unquestionably, the career of this brilliant eccentric reveals much about the business of winning elections and staying long in office in spite of opposition to Jeffersonian Republican policies. As informative as this material is, one would welcome more attention than Jordan has given to figures such as Wilson Cary Nicholas, James Barbour, and William Branch Giles whose leadership was far more effective and whose influence was more lasting than that of Randolph. If one seeks a carefully broken down statistical survey of Virginia's membership in the House of Representatives, then Jordan cannot be faulted. His tables are supplemented by a lively presentation of the electoral process drawn from traditional historical sources.

HARRY AMMON  
Southern Illinois University,  
Carbondale

J. C. A. STAGG. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 538. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.50.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY. *The War of 1812: Land Operations*. (Canadian War Museum Historical Publication, number 18.) Toronto: Macmillan of Canada or National Museums of Canada, Ottawa. 1983. Pp. xx, 489. \$24.95.

To the surprise of many, the War of 1812 continues

to attract historians. It seems that hardly a year passes without some book or article attempting to elucidate the causes or course of that odd little conflict. This being the case, it is pleasant to report that the books under consideration in this review are substantial additions to what at times has been an overworked field.

George F. G. Stanley's book is a clear, comprehensive account of the part Canada played in the land campaigns of the war. "My object," he writes in his preface, "has been to write the history of the Canadian war as seen from the standpoint of the inhabitants of British North America" (p. xviii). Stanley has deliberately confined his account to land operations along the United States-Canadian border. He devotes a few pages to the British attack on Washington, but otherwise is not concerned with the southern campaigns in the war. In some respects this is very much a book by a Canadian for Canadians, but it is more than that because Stanley adds to a sound, well-written account of military operations along the Canadian-American border a richness in discussing Canadian logistical problems that is not available in earlier works on the war. He also effectively analyzes why the Canadian fencibles and embodied militia proved more efficient than their American counterparts. Stanley bases his account on a sound use of the basic primary printed sources, particularly on the Canadian side, supplemented where necessary by manuscript materials from the Canadian archives.

Although it is not his main concern, Stanley gives his own view of the causes of the war. He contends that the Madison administration declared war "to satisfy national honour and to acquire control over Canada—in brief, pride and acquisitiveness" (p. 32), and deliberately chose a time when Great Britain was deeply involved in fighting Napoleon. Stanley is not completely convincing in his description of the United States as a decisive power carefully choosing the best moment to wrest Canada from Great Britain. Far more effective is the main body of the book, where Stanley discusses the successful Canadian resistance to the American invasion.

J. C. A. Stagg's *Mr. Madison's War* is a more ambitious work than Stanley's, and it is based on very extensive research in both primary and secondary sources. Stagg has succeeded in the difficult task of taking a fresh approach to both the origins and course of the War of 1812. The short title of the book reveals its thrust better than the dates given in the subtitle. Stagg begins with two chapters on the origins of the war, continues with a chapter on the limitations of the ways in which the United States organized for war between 1783 and 1812, and in the main body of the work examines in detail the ways in which the government attempted to mobilize the nation for war. In this section Stagg fre-



quently delves into the pre-1812 years to explain the limitations of wartime efforts. Finally, in an epilogue, Stagg summarizes the reasons for American ineffectiveness in the war, and tries to indicate the ways in which the issues at stake in the war years were dealt with in the years from 1815 to 1830.

Stagg's arguments on the coming of the war revolve around James Madison. In essence, Stagg argues that Madison tried to press for war and the invasion of Canada because the growing commercial importance of exports from Canada combined with Republican disunity to threaten United States policies of commercial restriction against Great Britain. By conquering Canada the United States would be better able to bring commercial pressure on Great Britain to secure a settlement of the impressment controversy and a favorable definition of blockades. In the course of these arguments Stagg reveals a great deal about Madison's thinking on commercial matters, but as an explanation of the coming of the war his arguments are not completely satisfactory. One problem is that Stagg's method of looking at the prewar years through Madison's eyes minimizes the impact of Congress on the eventual decision for war; another, and more basic problem, is that Stagg never actually demonstrates that in 1811 and 1812 Madison believed that Canada should be invaded to shore up the American policy of commercial restriction. Stagg's arguments are persuasive, but the evidence presented is circumstantial.

After his fresh approach to the problems of causation, Stagg devotes most of the book to a detailed examination of how the nation tried to organize itself for war. Stagg is particularly concerned with the political problems of reforming the militia, raising an army, supplying it, and effecting state-federal cooperation. Although the narrative at times becomes cluttered, the research is extremely thorough and the conclusions supported by the evidence. Stagg argues that whatever strategic goal the administration attempted "its efforts were always handicapped by its inability to mobilize fully the resources of the nation for war" (p. 503). The government departments were too small, the Republicans were factionalized, the cabinet was divided, most of its members were flawed, and Madison was "an inept manager of men" (p. 506). Many of the problems of coherent policy making and administration on the federal level were echoed on the state level, and Stagg examines relevant state as well as federal politics. Stagg concludes that "the entire course of the war was characterized by the inability of the administration, either in victory or in defeat, to conduct the conflict in accordance with its own definition of its priorities" (p. 509).

Both of these books will reward the reader. Stanley has presented the clearest, most balanced account of the land war along the Canadian fron-

tier. Stagg has illuminated the causes of American ineffectiveness in the War of 1812.

REGINALD HORSMAN  
University of Wisconsin,  
Milwaukee

ROBERT S. BROWNING III. *Two If by Sea: The Development of American Coastal Defense Policy*. (Contributions in Military History, number 33.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xii, 210. \$29.95.

Robert S. Browning III's thesis in this brief survey is that despite important changes in method and technology, the object of American coastal defense policy in the nineteenth century remained essentially unchanged: the deterrence of foreign aggression. He sketches early efforts to fortify the American coast before the 1820s in a brief introduction, then details the origins and significance of the recommendations of the board of engineers—later commonly referred to as the Totten board—claiming that it represented the first genuine "system" of coastal fortification. In the process of describing the system thus created, Browning discusses the rivalry between the advocates of the old-fashioned French bastion system and the proponents of the newer casement system, and the controversy about the use of steam-powered floating batteries.

Browning also recounts the advances in military technology that forced reevaluation of the American coastal defense program in mid-century. For example, developments in the gunnery from the Paixhans gun in the 1840s to the Parrott gun in the 1860s made masonry fortifications extremely vulnerable to naval gunfire, as demonstrated by the destruction of several Confederate coastal fortifications by Union squadrons in the Civil War.

Despite these lessons, American coastal defense policy entered what Browning calls a period of "flux" during the two decades after the Civil War. Not until the formation of the Endicott board in 1885, he says, did the United States consider seriously an updated coastal defense system. As a result of the Endicott board recommendations, which received congressional approval in 1890, the United States could boast an impressive coastal defense system by 1900. Although engineers continued to lobby for more (more money and more forts), Browning concludes that at the turn of the century, the system was "fairly impressive." Browning ends his account with a brief discussion of the Taft board that largely confirmed the general conclusions of the Endicott board in 1906.

Those interested in the design and location of the forts themselves will be disappointed. The lack of maps depicting the location of the forts is unfortunate, and the few illustrations are wholly inade-

quate. Moreover, Browning ascribes to American defense policy a consensus and continuity that simply did not exist. To be sure nearly all Americans endorsed the idea of defending the coast, but their disagreement about how, and even why, it should be undertaken was much more than a squabble over methods. The motives of the participants on all sides of the debate derived from divergent views about the nature of the national government and the proper role of the United States in world affairs. Browning makes little effort to tie the issue of coastal defense to these broader questions. There is no reference at all, for example, to any difference in views about coastal defense between Jacksonians and Whigs.

This is a servicable overview of the origins and results of the Totten and Endicott boards and of some of the alternatives to coastal fortification proposed in the nineteenth century, but as an account of American coastal defense policy it is incomplete.

CRAIG L. SYMONDS  
*U.S. Naval Academy*

JEAN V. MATTHEWS. *Rufus Choate: The Law and Civic Virtue*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980. Pp. 328. \$29.95.

Rufus Choate, Boston lawyer and U.S. Senator, once stood among the first rank of American political leaders, recognized as the peer of Webster and Clay. Yet modern historians, even specialists in Jacksonian politics, either ignore him or cast him as a bit player in the drama of the antebellum years. Two reasons exist for this scholarly disregard: Choate was rarely on center stage for any of the great debates of the period; and, unlike Webster and Clay, his prominence rested almost entirely on his magnetic personality and a flair for oratory.

To her credit, Jean V. Matthews acknowledges that Choate left no legacy to his time or ours. Nor does she claim that he achieved such distinction as to warrant a resurrection of his dimmed reputation. Her assessment is more prosaic: "He had had, in conventional terms, a successful career, but it had been a success of the middle range that missed greatness" (p. 216). Yet Choate is important, she argues, because he was spokesman for an emerging set of Whig attitudes and ideas that attempted to reconcile the nation's republican heritage with the forces of trade that would pattern its future. As one who embraced the economic expansion of his age, Choate helped to redefine the conservative vision of the good society from that of commonwealth to one in which competitive individualism created a material basis for republican freedom.

Choate was undisciplined in his thought and correspondence; his speeches offer the primary

clues to his political philosophy. This can be a serious handicap for the biographer, but Matthews constructs a convincing argument for Choate's contribution to the antebellum political process. In graceful prose and with a sure command of secondary literature, she traces the transformation of an American conservative temperament—one can hardly dignify it further—and demonstrates Choate's largely rhetorical role in its political expression through the Whig party. Her chapter on the tenets of early Whiggery, although not original, serves as a primer on the emergence of ideas that gave coherence to that odd group of politicians whose common purpose was to defeat Andrew Jackson.

Somewhat less satisfactory is Matthew's treatment of Choate the lawyer, although the dearth of primary materials available to the author undoubtedly accounts for this result. Renowned for his forensic skills and legal acumen, Choate nonetheless did not participate in any landmark cases, nor did he contribute anything of substance to American law. His practice, moreover, was not the sort that sheds new light on the legal profession in the antebellum United States. Thus, Matthews concentrates on conservative ideas about law and lawyers in a republican society, at least as expressed by Choate. There is no fault with this approach, but it offers little that has not been explored to better effect elsewhere.

In sum, this book is a solid, useful, and well-written work that will long remain the standard work on Rufus Choate and his role in antebellum politics. For this accomplishment, the author deserves praise.

DAVID J. BODENHAMER  
*University of Southern Mississippi*

WALTER STRUVE. *Die Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Auswanderung, Handel und gesellschaftlichem Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert, Mit den Briefen eines deutschen Kaufmans und Landwirts in Texas, 1844–1845*. (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, number 96.) Hildesheim: August Lax. 1983. Pp. xi, 195.

The study under review is a thorough contextual exploration of the commercial activities of three brothers who hailed from Bockenem and Elze, two small towns in the vicinity of Hildesheim in northern Germany. Friedrich or Fritz Giesecke (1809–65) was a merchant in Elze; Anton Karl or Charles A. Giesecke (1811–64) had moved to Texas probably in the mid-1830s and was by the 1840s a planter-merchant in Brazoria, a settlement situated some fifty miles south of Houston where the youngest brother Ernst Eduard or Edward (1815–56) also

managed a country store. Although Walter Struve offers much genealogical data on the Gieseckes and their linkage to the Sander, Basse, and Struve families, his study is thoroughly historical in orientation. Seven extant letters written by Charles to his brother Friedrich in 1844–45 serve as point of departure for an exploration of ties between North Germany and Texas, Bremen and Galveston, the Hildesheim region and Brazoria County, and the towns of Elze and Brazoria.

The first section of the study concentrates on the situation of north German merchants and their trade in the early nineteenth century, with special attention to the city of Bremen and the Hildesheim region. A second part explores the links of Bremen and its surroundings with Mexico, Texas, and particularly Galveston and its environs. The final part focuses on the activities of the Giesecke brothers in Brazoria, but with much attention to general themes such as the rise and decline of the town, the role of slavery, the cultivation and shipment of tobacco, and the establishment of distilleries. Throughout the work the documentation is dense and meticulous and the author is wisely critical of secondary materials.

In the introduction and conclusion the author offers three theses. He holds, first, that the North German and South Texas regions must be understood as "bourgeois [bürgerliche] societies that reveal many basic similarities" (p. 2). Second, he admonishes scholars to "put aside all rigid formulae" (p. 3) concerning emigrants who were supposedly mainly poor, from the laboring classes, escaping from crises, and (at destination) in wholly alien surroundings. Third, the author is convinced that historians must strive far more seriously "to connect the rich sources available on both sides of the Atlantic" (p. 128) in order to grasp the nature of nineteenth-century migrations. Extensive and critical footnotes, twelve illustrations, six maps, and a genealogical chart significantly add to the book's value.

It has, however, three limitations. At times the main themes are nearly lost sight of; occasionally lengthy discussions of source problems, which might better be placed in a note on sources, break the continuity of topical exposition; and finally, the editorial form of the letters makes for difficult reading because of the many explanatory additions that have been placed in quotation marks in the text, which is in my view over edited. Yet these are minor wrinkles. An extensive archival documentation involving regions on two continents, an impressive mastery of a diverse secondary literature in German and English, and a critically alert interpretive stance make Struve's study most valuable, not only for students of German emigration to Texas, but also for historians interested in mid-nineteenth-century

social, economic, and local history. An English version is, therefore, highly desirable.

LEO SCHELBERT  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

VICTOR WESTPHALL. *Mercedes Reales: Hispanic Land Grants of the Upper Rio Grande Region*. (New Mexico Land Grant Series.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 356. \$24.95.

*Mercedes Reales* is the first comprehensive examination of one of the most important and controversial questions in the history of New Mexico and southern Colorado: United States treatment of Spanish and Mexican land grants following the Mexican-American War. American delays and inefficiency in granting patents to Hispanic landowners, author Victor Westphall argues, resulted in profound injustices for Hispanics and retarded the economic growth of New Mexico into the 1890s. Westphall knows the subject well. He has written an earlier study of *The Public Domain in New Mexico* (1965) and a biography of the major figure in New Mexico land litigation, *Thomas Benton Catron* (1973). This judicious, well-organized study should be the starting point for anyone who wants to understand the roots of the poverty of rural Hispanics in today's New Mexico and southern Colorado.

Westphall begins *Mercedes Reales* with an able summary of the scope and nature of land grants made under Spain and Mexico. In these opening chapters, the weakest portion of the book, he relies almost entirely on secondary sources in English. Some of these are poor or out-of-date, and the very title of this book suggests Westphall's unfamiliarity with Spanish. Most of the lands put into private hands in New Mexico and Colorado by Hispanic sovereigns were not granted through *mercedes reales*, or "royal grants," as the book's title implies. Most of the land was granted after Mexico became independent and no longer had a king.

Westphall's strength is in interpreting the laws, litigation, and practices of the American period. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States agreed to protect the property rights of Mexicans living in the conquered region. Much of Westphall's account constitutes a well-reasoned indictment of the United States for failing to live up to its treaty obligations and to abide by international law. In chapters informed by archival as well as published sources, Westphall examines the fate of the lands of Pueblo Indians, of Hispanic communities, of individual owners of small ranches and farms, and of large grants acquired by Anglo-American speculators. Like many writers before him, Westphall finds

that the United States failed to set up a system that would adequately measure, confirm, and patent grants in New Mexico and Colorado. Westphall charges that Congress responded readily to political pressure from Anglo-American speculators who had connections in Washington, confirming their grants while neglecting the claims of poor Hispanics. Westphall also argues that the government committed a profound injustice toward Hispanics by erroneously defining Hispanic common lands as public domain rather than private property.

In contrast to other historians, Westphall concludes that the United States Court of Private Lands Claims, finally established in 1891 to accomplish what a similar agency had done in California forty years before, failed to treat Hispanic claimants fairly. To right some of the wrongs of the past, Westphall endorses an idea apparently first put forth in print by historian Donald C. Cutter, that the United States should set up an Hispanic Land Claims Commission, similar to that which Congress established in 1946 for American Indians.

DAVID J. WEBER  
*Southern Methodist University*

JONATHAN PRUDE. *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 364. \$34.50.

Those who believe there is little more to be said of New England textile operatives are in for a pleasant surprise. Jonathan Prude's study not only makes an important contribution to this genre but also redirects historical inquiry into the behavior of nonunionized wage earners.

*The Coming of Industrial Order* explores the transformation of Dudley and Oxford, Massachusetts, as well as Webster, which was carved out of them in 1832, from sleepy farming villages in 1810 to bustling industrial towns in 1860. Prude envisions industrialization as a process rather than an event that had ramifications throughout society but affected its social groupings unevenly. Farmers thus resisted the urge to innovation and profit maximization even while they produced for mass markets; master craftsmen and their journeymen gradually shed their preindustrial practices, which had distinguished them from textile producers before the 1830s, for more modern ones by the Civil War; textiles owners themselves, the area's largest employers, formed the industrial vanguard before and after the 1830s. In exploring the social relations among these sectors, Prude presses the themes of separate and distinct lines of conflict with their own

actors, rhythms, and intensities: frictions between textile owners and townsfolk, on the one hand, and between the textile employers and their employees, on the other.

The first of these pitted pioneer industrialist Samuel Slater and his colleagues against villagers in the arena of town meeting over riparian rights, road building and maintenance, provisions for schooling local youth. Their demands on the public treasury and public space challenged emergent views of a restricted governmental sphere, and heightened popular anxieties that their enterprises threatened republican freedoms. They faced stiff opposition early on and sometimes found it necessary to circumvent popular will by appealing to the General Court for relief. But resistance flattened out as the novelty of the mills wore off and textile manufacturers gained allies among rising industrialists whose own operations resembled textiles more and more. This analysis is compelling but would have gained more force had Prude developed his passing but tantalizing references to the political implications of religion and ideology. For if local politics approximated larger Bay State patterns, it is likely that the alliance among the "Lords of the Loom," nontextile manufacturers, and their workers, which was reflected in the Republican party, owed in part to the adhesive of what Eric Foner calls the "Free Labor Ideology."

Prude handles the class conflicts within textiles with consummate subtlety and skill. Through a careful reading of worker-employer correspondence and quotidian life, he charts the making of a working class from diverse peoples in the regional countryside and increasingly from Ireland and French Canada. Its members engaged in sabotage and may have resorted to arson, but their most effective tactic was the quieter one of voluntary departure. They would simply leave if capital refused to grant wage increases, relax oppressive rules and regulations, or improve conditions. And as Prude convincingly argues, they succeeded in extracting modest concessions from employers who faced tight labor markets and who had to make their mills more attractive workplaces. The growing supply of labor eventually tilted the balance in capital's favor, but geographic mobility persisted and even picked up after 1840 because it had become a working-class convention.

Prude's inventive analysis of worker resistance without unions or dramatic strikes marks a major breakthrough. His readers will reject the easy equation between a footloose working class and a divided and powerless one that has been the conventional wisdom since the mid-1960s.

BRUCE LAURIE  
*University of Warwick*



STEPHEN E. MAIZLISH. *The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844–1856*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 310. \$25.00.

Almost four decades ago, Roy Franklin Nichols, studying the breakdown of politics on the eve of the Civil War, insisted that there was not one political system in the United States but thirty-three, one in each of the states, all loosely federated on the national level. No understanding of the political disintegration that preceded the war, he maintained, could be achieved without an examination of those state systems. Stephen E. Maizlish's *The Triumph of Sectionalism* is a forceful demonstration of the continuing relevance of Nichols's observation. The course of Ohio's politics from 1844 to 1856, Maizlish argues, not only provides a case study in political change during an important period of transition but also offers a "useful focus for a study of the interrelationship between local, state, and national politics" (p. xi). Indeed, it does more than that, for it advances a needed corrective to the conventional view that the second American party system did not suffer its demise until 1854 and after.

The second party system in Ohio, Maizlish contends in this well-argued and persuasive book, was first crippled in 1844, shattered and collapsed by 1848, and replaced by a "new politics" in 1848–49, when the "assumptions and concerns of the third-party system were already firmly in place" (p. 146). By 1854, he writes, the new system had taken root. Aside from the author's rather careless use of metaphor, he has made clear what had only been suggested in earlier studies, that is, that the causes of the political breakdown in the late 1850s must be sought at least as early as the election of James K. Polk. The banking issue that had given coherence to the second party system during the Jacksonian years lost its viability; the political vacuum that resulted was filled by a new sectional issue, the slavery-extension controversy. By 1848, both Whigs and Democrats in Ohio were dominated in their political considerations by sectionalism. Zachary Taylor's election, which the author dubs "The Revolution of 1848," forced the parties to recognize (and accept) sectionalism as the "new basis of national politics" (p. 117). The old party lines lost their meaning, party battles became irrelevant, and party dialogue disappeared. "The old structures of the Jacksonian political order remained, but they were empty shells, lacking ideological content" (p. 146). The Whig party was the more vulnerable to this turn of affairs. Lacking the organization and discipline of the Democrats and plagued by a persistent antipartyism, the Whigs were driven to the point of dissolution. The Democratic party survived but its members were "dispirited, with little idea of what their

party now represented" (p. 171). Adrift and in disarray, Ohioans searched for "a meaning to their politics" (p. 186), a quest that ended only in 1854 when the Kansas-Nebraska Act offered coherence to their new political system.

Maizlish's story is complex and detailed, and any summary invites oversimplification. The author appears anxious to write the obituary of the second party system, and his eagerness raises questions. Had the system been as dependent on the banking issue for its coherence as he contends? Had ideology played so little a part in Ohio's party battles? Why was the party system in Ohio apparently more susceptible to the pressures of sectional issues than in other northern states? One wonders if the author has not allowed his flair for the dramatic to exaggerate both the suddenness and the totality of the system's collapse. The evidence does not always seem conclusive. Maizlish stresses the uniqueness of Ohio's party conflicts but succumbs nonetheless to the temptation to read Ohio's experience into northern politics generally, without adequate awareness of developments in other states. These questions aside, the student of mid-nineteenth-century American politics will find this study rewarding, full of insight, and provocative. Clearly, it must be taken into serious account in any effort to explain the nation's tortuous course toward disunion and Civil War. Not the least significant of the author's contributions is his demonstration that the slavery issue was, after all, of central importance to the politics of the antebellum North.

ROBERT W. JOHANNSSEN  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

ALAN M. KRAUT, editor. *Crusaders and Compromisers: Essays on the Relationship of the Antislavery Struggle to the Antebellum Party System*. (Contributions in American History, number 104.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xii, 286. \$35.00.

This volume meets a legitimate need. Intentionally narrower in focus than previous anthologies on abolitionism, it addresses the relationship between antislavery reformers and the antebellum party system. Its purpose, according to editor Alan M. Kraut, is to escape the Civil War synthesis that has restricted assessments of the impact of abolitionists to their role in causing the Civil War and instead to explore how abolitionists and political parties influenced each other.

Although the nine essays contained in the volume differ in length, methodology, originality, and persuasiveness, they are all pertinent to its stated theme. James Brewer Stewart analyzes how the northern wing of the Whig party contained political abolition-



ism at the cost of absorbing forces that would eventually disrupt it. After identifying the socioeconomic status of a sample of those who signed abolitionist petitions in four northern communities, Edward Magdol argues that support for antislavery came predominantly from rising entrepreneurs and middle-class skilled artisans who viewed slavery as a variant of the aristocracy and monopoly they abhorred in their own communities. Antislavery, that is, was an aspect of a larger class consciousness. In his own essay, Kraut maintains that Liberty party men did not share the antiparty sentiments some historians have attributed to Whigs. Still, they differed from adherents of the major parties, he contends, because they did not view political power as an end in itself but rather as a means to a larger end—the eradication of slavery. Amplifying a point he made in his admirable *Ballots for Freedom*, Richard H. Sewell insists on the one hand that the Free Soil party retained much of the genuine antislavery zeal and hostility to racial discrimination of its abolitionist predecessors. On the other hand, in an exemplary essay on how New York's Republican party managed the issue of black suffrage in the 1850s, Phyllis F. Field demonstrates how expedient and cautious Republican politicians were when they had a chance to do something concrete for blacks.

In the only essay in the book that explicitly addresses the political opponents of abolitionism, Joel H. Silbey argues that slavery always remained an issue of low priority for northern Democrats, even for those who eventually left the party to join the Republicans. Far more important, he insists, were questions of constitutional interpretation, governmental power, ethnocultural relations, and fealty to party and to the traditional agenda of interparty combat.

The final three essays deal less with the impact of abolitionists on the party system than with the impact of political activity on the abolitionists. John R. McKivigan explores the response of come-outer Protestant sects to political changes between 1840 and 1860. Nancy Hewitt, in an imaginative if not entirely persuasive essay on female abolitionists in Rochester, investigates why some women demanded an equal role with men in abolitionist proselytizing activities while others accepted a role subordinate to the men who were political abolitionists. The answer, she contends, lay largely in a difference in class background and in access to the social and economic power centers of the community. Finally, in an essay freighted with bizarre terminology, Lawrence J. Friedman, focusing on the intriguing case of Elizur Wright, Jr., attempts to explain why immediatist abolitionists were willing to embrace moderate antislavery parties in the late 1840s.

Each of the essays makes points that are debatable. Each raises questions that cannot be addressed

here. Yet each is valuable. Students of antebellum America will profit from reading them.

MICHAEL F. HOLT  
University of Virginia

R. J. M. BLACKETT. *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 237. \$25.00.

Historians of American abolitionism have often slighted the contributions of free blacks to the emancipation of their enslaved brothers and sisters. Following the lead of Benjamin Quarles's sweeping *Black Abolitionists* (1969), R. J. M. Blackett's *Building an Antislavery Wall* undertakes to rectify such neglect by exploring more fully than ever before the achievements of American blacks in the transatlantic struggle against slavery.

Between 1830 and 1860 first a trickle and then a flood of black American visitors reached British shores. Along with students and obscure fugitive slaves came a veritable *Who's Who* of Afro-American leaders: William Wells Brown, Henry Highland Garnet, Charles and Sarah Remond, S. R. Ward, Martin R. Delany, and Frederick Douglass, among others. Although drawn to England for many reasons and from diverse abolitionist camps, they came "as representatives of their people, determined to influence British opinion against American slavery and racial discrimination" (p. 3). In pursuit of this goal, black Americans peddled slave narratives, displayed panoramas depicting slavery's horrors, and crisscrossed the British Isles giving abolition lectures and making personal appeals to people from all walks of life. Wherever they went they were well received. Working-class Britons, no less than middle-class "respectables," Blackett maintains, extended sympathy and support to the black visitors and, with rare exceptions, treated them as equals. "I live a new life," Frederick Douglass wrote from Belfast.

Blackett provides insightful accounts of the successful efforts of such black leaders as Nathaniel Paul and Charles L. Remond to shut off British support for the American Colonization Society, of the slightly less successful attempts of Douglass and others to sever connections between British evangelicals and slaveholding churches in the United States, and of the largely ineffectual labors of H. H. Garnet, J. W. C. Pennington, Alexander Crummell, and W. W. Brown on behalf of the Free Produce movement. He notes that the blacks' unwillingness to let factional squabbles jeopardize British cooperation in the destruction of slavery had by mid-century led to their emergence as a "third alternative" to pro- and anti-Garrisonian abolitionists. This development, Blackett contends, momentarily

brought cohesion but ultimately still further divided an already fragmented movement. The most important contributions of these black sojourners would be felt in the future—in influencing British policy toward the American Civil War and in laying “the foundation and the precedent for black activism in the twentieth century” (p. 208).

The most interesting, and at the same time least satisfactory, parts of this book are those touching on the racial beliefs of the British people. Until mid-century, Blackett insists, when signs of race prejudice and discrimination suddenly appear, black visitors were nearly everywhere lionized and accorded total acceptance. Not only are the reasons for this abrupt shift left largely unexplained, but the author’s own evidence reveals a greater continuity of racial attitudes than he admits. Even some defenders of black rights at times betrayed signs of a “romantic” racism, an inclination to view blacks more as exotic curiosities than as truly equal human beings. The very virulence of the racism propagated after 1849 by the likes of Thomas Carlyle, sundry phrenologists, and *Punch* magazine, makes one skeptical of claims that color blindness was pervasive earlier in the century.

Such doubts aside, students of abolitionism and Afro-American history will welcome this polished, carefully researched monograph for its illumination of a much-neglected aspect of the antislavery crusade.

RICHARD H. SEWELL  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

ERIC FONER. *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy*. (Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 142. \$14.95.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, blacks in the South owned “nothing but freedom,” a former Confederate general remarked. But freedom in a republic where blacks had the suffrage and utilized the power of the state to advance their class interests rendered the black experience of emancipation in the United States different from the experiences of blacks in Haiti and the British Caribbean. So argues Eric Foner in this compact and smartly conceptualized study.

To buttress his claim for American uniqueness, Foner notes how emancipated blacks in Haiti and the British Caribbean had freedom but lacked political resources. Blacks in Haiti became peasants after their successful armed rebellion, but they were unable to gain control of the state and employ its power to bolster their economic situation. Blacks in

the British West Indies and Guiana faced a planter class determined to maintain its political hegemony in order to protect its class interests. Effectively disfranchised, blacks found themselves helpless against the planter-controlled state, which imposed high taxes and vagrancy laws to create a dependent and disciplined black work force.

But, during Radical Reconstruction, blacks in the United States had the possibility of seizing much more than freedom. They enjoyed full political rights and a real measure of political power. Although they were not able to use state power to transfer land from the planters to themselves and thereby to reap the fruit of their own labor under slavery, they repealed the Black Codes designed to reduce them to an impoverished proletariat, and also extracted from the planter class a system of sharecropping, which represented a way station between independent farming and wage labor. They also protected their right to hunt and fish, giving themselves access to food sources, and shifted the tax base from poll taxes to property taxes. More importantly, they possessed power that came out of the barrel of the gun: their elected state officers controlled the legitimate instrument of violence and blacks themselves were members of the armed militia.

This political power enabled blacks in the South, unlike their counterparts in Haiti and the British Caribbean, to engage in class struggles in the workplace—to demand improved working conditions and to strike without state intervention on behalf of capital. Such an exercise of black power occurred in South Carolina. To protest wage cuts, black rice plantation workers struck in 1876, and were able to receive support from the governor who realized he would need black voters to be re-elected. When the planters asked the governor to send troops to break the strike, he refused; when planters organized white rifle clubs to intimidate the strikers, they found themselves facing a formidable black militia. Consequently, planters were forced to make concessions to the striking workers. But the overthrow of Radical Reconstruction returned state power to the planter class, and strikes by black laborers in the 1880s were brutally suppressed by the state militia.

Foner’s fine study has three chapters, gracefully moving the analysis from the international to the national and finally to the local level. Strangely, it does not have a concluding chapter. But perhaps this was done intentionally, for the book’s abrupt ending encourages us to ponder on the historical reality and the future potential of the state as the center of the contested terrain of racial and class struggles in the United States.

RONALD TAKAKI  
University of California,  
Berkeley

CHARLES L. FLYNN, JR. *White Land, Black Labor: Caste and Class in Late Nineteenth-Century Georgia*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 196. \$20.00.

This is a well-written and forcefully argued contribution to the debate over the character of the postwar South. Some interpreters of the period emphasize the centrality of racial oppression, others class exploitation. Charles L. Flynn, Jr. seeks to show that the interplay between race and class explains the retarded economic development of Georgia and by implication the rest of the South.

Flynn is especially skillful in capturing the intensity of white hostility to any manifestation of black autonomy. When blacks in Washington County in 1875 demanded the right to meet at the county courthouse, local white officials reported to the governor their fears that "all most dear to us (our wives and children)" were exposed to "any brutal outrage that their ignorant, savage and brute nature may see fit to visit upon us" (p. 103).

Flynn agrees that the Ku Klux Klan often functioned as an instrument for planter control of black labor. But, he argues, the "incredibly broad support" for klan brutality among "otherwise good and decent people" (pp. 30-31) must be understood as support for a folk movement defending a traditional moral code. He interprets klan violence as similar to the "rough music" found by E. P. Thompson in eighteenth-century England and the charivari found by Natalie Davis in early modern France. In these charivari, men disguised themselves as women to enforce sexual codes. Flynn sees a similarity in klansmen disguising themselves with long robes, and he presents evidence that klan violence was aimed at whites who violated sexual codes. In one particularly striking case, the klan whipped a white store clerk in Gwinnett County because, as a witness told a congressional committee, "he tried to pull decent girls over the counter and screw them" (p. 49).

Flynn challenges the historians who have argued that blacks were denied the freedoms held by workers in a genuinely capitalist labor system. But Flynn's criticism deals only with the most exaggerated version of this interpretation. Planters, he shows, never succeeded at establishing a legal basis for a South African-styled labor system that would legally define blacks as a separate laboring class, even though they tried. As evidence that poor blacks did indeed rise to become property owners, Flynn points to the experience of Nate Shaw, described in Theodore Rosengarten's classic, *All God's Dangers*. But Shaw also served twelve years in Alabama prisons for attempting to defend his property, and ended up losing everything—not a convincing example.

Flynn makes a substantial contribution to the

analysis of the crop lien laws as a key to class relations during this period, but he does not acknowledge the extent to which his work builds on that of others. In a serious scholarly omission, Flynn seems to be unaware of Steven Hahn's recent prize-winning work, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, which analyzes some of the same problems in the same state during the same period. Both examine the postwar conflict over the expansion of property rights to limit hunting, fishing, and foraging of livestock; Hahn's analysis is more sophisticated.

JONATHAN M. WIENER  
University of California,  
Irvine

ROBERT LESLIE JONES. *History of Agriculture in Ohio to 1880*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 416. \$15.00.

Those who know something about the history of Ohio agriculture may well be pleased to be reminded of what happened. Anyone might be pleased to discover new bits of information on the subject. On the one hand, Robert Leslie Jones ignores almost nothing in this comprehensive account of Ohio agriculture up to 1880. On the other hand he does not examine anything in minute detail. The book not only explains methods of farming in the pioneer period, but also treats every aspect of rural life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Transportation, droving, and marketing get enough but not too much attention.

The narrative is easy to read and the statistics, when used, are presented skillfully and with imagination; facts are not inserted simply because they are facts. No new or startling theories or interpretations appear, but the facts are marshaled in orderly array. Overall, what is told needed to be put in one place, and now it is.

Jones devoted about the first third of the book to a chronological view of what happened in Ohio, and devotes the last two-thirds to various kinds of specialized husbandry, such as dairying, beef raising, swine raising, poultry husbandry, livestock droving, and similar enterprises. The commodity sections are presented in chronological form. Other types of organization come to mind, but every approach has some disadvantages and the method chosen here is as good as any.

The sources are conventional and consist almost entirely of printed works, both primary and secondary. Quite a bit of recent scholarly research has been passed over, but much of what the author slighted would not have improved the story appreciably even if used. Here and there he did not select the best secondary material. No matter, the choices did no serious damage to overall accuracy.

For the most part Jones uses his primary sources with care, and even with flashes of humor. The author, for example, expresses scepticism about the census figures for free-ranging poultry. He might also have noted reservations about the counts of the swine running wild in the woods. While holding some reservations regarding his data, like all historians Jones has to use what has survived. For example, he uses the agricultural census of 1840 in spite of all that has been written showing the worthlessness of those documents. Fortunately his narrative does not depend on the census of 1840.

This most satisfying work turned out to be fun to read. In agricultural history that is not invariably the case.

JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER  
*Curator of Agriculture,  
Smithsonian Institution*

JUDITH ANN BENNER. *Sul Ross: Soldier, Statesman, Educator*. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 13.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 259. \$19.50.

This biography of Sul Ross will be of more interest to historians of Texas than to other scholars. Most readers will wish such were not the case, for Ross, if placed in a national historical context, would seem almost a case study in New South politics. He won fame as a frontiersman and as a Confederate brigadier-general. Moreover, after the Civil War, he entered politics, serving in the Redeemer constitutional convention of 1875, as state senator (1880–82) and as governor (1887–91). After he retired from public office, he became president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. His political contacts and acumen garnered for the college a sizable increase in public funding and a consequent growth in enrollment and building construction. As Judith Ann Benner points out, most historians consider this rather illustrious career to be a profoundly conservative one (pp. 195–96).

Benner denies that. Rather, in this uncritical biography, Benner sees Ross as a transitional figure who “symbolized the best of the era that was ending and foreshadowed much of the future” (p. 197). Many historians of Texas will not find her thesis persuasive. Her staunch defense of Ross’s every action will cause most readers to be wary of accepting her conclusions. Moreover, without understanding the history of the state, the casual reader will not perceive the political significance of Ross’s support of a poll tax in the constitutional convention of 1875 (defeated by the Grange-Republican coalition), his opposition to a railroad commission (passed and supported by James Hogg and the Farmers’ Alli-

ance), or the role in his career played by his campaign manager, George Clark, a political conservative and railroad lawyer. Even the casual reader, however, will recognize the significance of the lack of enthusiasm that such organizations as the Grange, the Knights of Labor, and the Farmers’ Alliance had for Ross’s tenure as governor.

The biography adequately describes Ross’s career. In that sense it will be a valuable addition to one’s Texas history library. It is based largely on research in primary sources, including some used for the first time; yet the author ignored others—for example the A. J. Rose and James S. Hogg collections in Austin—that might have tempered her unqualified enthusiasm for Ross. Some statements might mislead an unwary reader. Benner seemingly confuses the poll tax as a suffrage requirement, that failed to be adopted by the constitutional convention of 1875 with a simple head tax of 1882 (p. 146). She also seemingly credits Ross with article 10 of the Texas constitution, which defined railroads as public carriers, when the agrarian wing of the Democratic party is usually considered responsible for it (p. 135). This historical vagueness, although not by itself significant, makes one feel more comfortable with Benner’s descriptions rather than with her analyses of Texas history. Finally one must complain of such designations as Union troops as “bluecoats” (p. 236) and Native Americans as “red men” (p. 12).

ROBERT A. CALVERT  
*Texas A&M University*

JOHN FREDERICK CONE. *First Rival of the Metropolitan Opera*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 257. \$21.95.

New York City takes a lot of odd things seriously. One of them is opera, and it has always been thus. The city has hosted many confrontations between individual and corporate operatic rivals. None was more exciting than the contest for supremacy between the company of “Colonel” James Mapelson and the fledgling Metropolitan Opera, founded in 1883. The Mapelson group served the city’s old elite, while the Met sought to capture the new one. The conflict, which peaked between 1878 and 1885, when Mapelson lost, merits the military terminology that John Frederick Cone employs. The colonel simply could not keep up with the voracious monetary demands of the stars necessary to keep him in the limelight. Nor could he outdo the Met with a broader, more modern repertoire that included the controversial works of Richard Wagner.

Most opera histories are permanent scrapbooks, focusing on famous stars and performances. This book is no exception, but Cone has a broader, if undeveloped, set of theses. He sees the operatic



struggle as one indicator of changing high society in New York. This is correct enough, but in focusing on the wealthy boxholders, historians have skewed opera history. True, the rich paid the bills and got the headlines, but they were a minority of the audience. Why did others come, and who were they, as best we can tell? There is clearly some ethnic tension behind these scenes, as the city's changing population demanded some new works, more German operas, and Italian performances with more current relevance than Mapelson produced. The "modernization" that has fascinated historians is at work on both sides of the footlights. The audiences were also becoming broader in taste and class status. There were more middle-class patrons, and a good many people of all kinds who simply prized the music. As in the other arts, a body of informed newspaper and periodical criticism was emerging that focused on music rather than social activities. Most historians also depict opera as an unrealistic and aristocratic art form that mysteriously manages to survive in our prosaic and realistic society. Can it be that, as in Europe, many otherwise "normal" people found in opera a welcome change from the workaday world and a means of placing their times in a broad span of ongoing history?

Cone has written a previous book on the Oscar Hammerstein company and clearly knows his business. His book rests on thorough research, and he writes well. Finally, in a time when most scholars write in tones of beige and gray it is refreshing to read something done with an occasional touch of purple and gold. The author cheerfully matches his subject with such words as "fanfaronades," "rodomontades," and "plangent." Bravo!

H. WAYNE MORGAN  
University of Oklahoma

ALBERT E. MOYER. *American Physics in Transition: A History of Conceptual Change in the Late Nineteenth Century*. (History of Modern Physics, 1800–1950, number 3.) Los Angeles: Tomash. 1983. Pp. xx, 218. \$30.00.

With the development of quantum theory and relativity theory around 1900, physics underwent fundamental changes. About the same time, academic physics in the United States was drawing level with that in Europe. Albert E. Moyer's book concerns American physics as these turning points were approached. His intent is to study "the shifting intellectual commitments of American physicists during the decades immediately preceding the advent of relativity and quantum theory" (p. xx). His suggestions are that a once-dominant view was losing ground and that this ensured the quantum and relativistic views a more rapid acceptance.

Moyer begins by considering lawyer John Stallo's 1882 criticism of the atomo-mechanical theory, which held that all physical phenomena could be explained in terms of atoms and their motions. His central concern then is to assess the standing of this theory among American physicists during the period 1870–95. He proceeds by considering ten "representative" (p. xx) physicists, although he does not say how he has selected them. On the one hand, Alfred Mayer, Amos Dolbear, John Trowbridge, Henry Rowland, Albert Michelson, and Edwin Hall are all found to have had mechanical leanings, although to differing degrees. On the other hand, Simon Newcomb, J. Willard Gibbs, Samuel Langley, and Francis Nipher are said to have deviated from the conventional belief. Nevertheless, it seems clear from what Moyer presents that Newcomb and Gibbs still had commitments to the mechanical view. As for Langley and Nipher, the most that Moyer claims is that their skepticism was "potentially" (p. 106) erosive of atomo-mechanical orthodoxy. Thus one is led to conclude that Moyer has had difficulty finding American physicists whose outlook was free of atomo-mechanical elements. After 1895, however, beginning with the discovery of x-rays, the mechanical view is found to have given way rapidly to new views.

During this period of transition, the French physicist Henri Poincaré addressed American physicists at St. Louis in 1904. In his view, the atomo-mechanical physics of central forces had given way during the nineteenth century to the physics of principles (for example, the principle of the conservation of energy); Poincaré wondered if the physics of principles was itself yielding to a new phase of physics. If Poincaré's characterization of the history of nineteenth-century physics was correct (and, disappointingly, Moyer makes no comment on it), then American physicists were apparently slow to abandon the atomo-mechanical view and never adopted the physics of principles. But both Poincaré and Moyer oversimplify. During the second half of the nineteenth century neither atomo-mechanical physics nor the physics of principles ruled exclusively; they competed as alternatives. And they did not disappear at the turn of the century but evolved into the thermodynamic and statistical-mechanical alternatives that Moyer groups with the new electromagnetic view. Thus, physical thought in the United States in the late nineteenth century was more complex than Moyer's book suggests, focusing as it does on the atomo-mechanical view.

Those interested in the history of physics in the United States should profit from reading this short book, as I did. It is well written and contains fine portraits of most of its principal subjects.

WILLIAM MCGUCKEN  
University of Akron



HARTMUT KEIL and JOHN B. JENTZ, editors, *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850–1910: A Comparative Perspective*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 252. \$22.50.

The recent explosion in social history in general and working-class history in particular has generated a great deal of data on America's ethnic groups and immigrant workers but, for some reason, has left German-Americans relatively untouched. This collection of essays on German workers in industrial Chicago is, therefore, a welcome addition to scholarship on American workers not only because it deals with one of the two most important immigrant groups in the nineteenth century but because it concentrates on Chicago, an absolutely vital link in the expanding network of cities and a crucial laboratory for viewing the essential relationships between industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Skillfully edited by Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, this account of German workers offers penetrating glimpses of four conceptual areas in particular: the impact of industrialization on the workplace, the relationship between work structures and consciousness, the occupational distribution of immigrants, and the impact of workers' culture on immigrant politics in the nineteenth century.

The connections between industrialization, urban structures, and working-class solidarity are illuminated in several essays, especially those by Keil, Nora Faires, Richard Oestreicher, James Barrett, and Jentz. Keil is able to neatly depict changes in the occupational distribution of Chicago Germans between 1850 and 1900. He shows the negative impact industrialization had on immigrant craftsmen, and suggests how immigrant children recognized which crafts were declining and so looked elsewhere for work. Faires, in an essay which helps put the Chicago experience in perspective, demonstrates how skilled Germans had better opportunities to practice their crafts in commercial cities rather than in cities with a heavy industrial base such as Pittsburgh. Oestreicher and Barrett both examine conditions that fostered working-class solidarity. By looking at three strikes in Detroit in the 1880s, Oestreicher is able to suggest when workers could overcome ethnic cultural differences and when they could not. Barrett, in what may be the best essay in the collection, demonstrates the importance of union leadership in effecting working-class solidarity among meat workers in Chicago and how the drive for solidarity was sparked by the rationalization of work on the shop floor. Finally, Jentz adroitly compares the changes in structures of work in cabinetmaking and the metal trades and reveals how Germans responded to declining and expanding industries. His essay shows how clearly ordinary immigrants knew where opportunities were.

Naturally this collection does not cover all aspects of German workers in Chicago. Almost nothing is said about family life or its ties to the workplace; religion; or Germans who arrived in America with few skills or artisan traditions, a growing contingent by the late nineteenth century. This book, however, is a good beginning to the fuller understanding that historians need of this important immigrant group.

JOHN BODNAR  
Indiana University

MICHAEL NASH. *Conflict and Accommodation: Coal Miners, Steel Workers, and Socialism, 1890–1920*. (Contributions in Labor History, number 11.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1982. Pp. xix, 197. \$27.50.

Yet again a monograph dissects the "failure" of socialism in the United States. Michael Nash, however, in his *Conflict and Accommodation*, does not share the perspective of the current revisionist school that denies the relevance of the Sombartian question of why there is no socialism in this country. He revives that issue through four case studies that explore the dialectic of conflict and accommodation. He concludes that U.S. and even European socialist models do not lead to social revolution because of various safety valves, such as relatively high standards of living, mobility patterns, and entrenched bureaucracies on the left. Nash's distinctive contribution is his focus on an electoral analysis of workers in the two major industries of the first industrial revolution. He studied election returns of six-hundred thousand voters in identifiable steel and coal communities in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and West Virginia between 1874 and 1920. In addition, Nash analyzed behavior patterns of workers and their unions in steel, bituminous and anthracite coal, and also in unorganized West Virginia coal country. Voting returns reveal upsurges in third party support following violent labor-management battles but such voter radicalization proved to be ephemeral as co-option occurred. Either union officials or socialist leaders encouraged labor agreements in the coal industry, and the National Civic Federation leaders in the steel industry offered enhanced wages and welfare capitalism that eviscerated any nascent radical propensities. Although tactics varied on both sides depending on needed worker skills and the organizational strength of labor, both union leaders and management helped to achieve agreements that systematized industry at the expense of the growth of radicalism.

This basic outline is not new but the exploration of voting patterns makes this a welcome monograph. Appendixes on wages, prices, industrial accidents, and demographic statistics, as well as electoral data, are useful. Nash, however, distorts his subject

matter in a few key areas. The work force that he deals with, except in West Virginia, was essentially composed of recently arrived Slavs and Italians. Ethnicity was the fundamental variable that shaped these workers, and Nash chooses almost to bury that fact; only gradually does he reveal that the majority of his bituminous and anthracite miners and steel workers were immigrants. He does demonstrate, building on the work of Victor Greene, the militancy that central and eastern European immigrants displayed as strikers, and he also suggests the hostility that could emerge between them and other workers who were often more conservative in industrial relations. The value of the monograph rests on his proving Slavic and Italian militancy and their support for Eugene V. Debs, which is a corrective to John Laslett's thesis of the radical strain of the United Mine Workers as Anglo-Saxon in origin. But ethnicity should have provided the framework of his analysis of the behavior of his enfranchised workers since the culture, beliefs, values, and very lifestyles of his protagonists all stemmed from that variable.

The author correctly shows major socialist leaders, Debs, Victor Berger, and Adolph Germer, dampening miner militancy during their mission in 1913 to the strife-torn West Virginia mining region. But Nash's general interpretation of the Socialist party is far too simplistic. He sees it as a revisionist organization meekly following the leadership of the so-called American Bernstein, Victor Berger. In fact, Berger was always a controversial figure within a party that had a number of significant leaders but did not blindly follow any one policy maker, and while its direction was revisionist, a lively leftwing constantly offered challenges on tactics and strategies.

SALLY M. MILLER  
*University of the Pacific*

MARGERY W. DAVIES. *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930*. (Class and Culture.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1982. Pp. x, 217. \$24.95.

ELYCE J. ROTELLA. *From Home to Office: U.S. Women at Work, 1870-1930*. (Studies in American History and Culture, number 25.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research. 1981. Pp. xviii, 233. \$39.95.

Today, one in three wage-earning women is a clerical worker. These two books help to explain why.

Set in a neoclassical economic framework, Elyce J. Rotella's *From Home to Office* analyzes data from the U.S. census to explain the economic changes underlying women's increasing participation in the work

force and the expansion of clerical work. On the supply side, Rotella finds that young single women entered the labor force as their unpaid work at home became less important to the family economy; and as rising numbers earned high school diplomas that provided both the credentials and the aspirations for white-collar jobs. Meanwhile, on the demand side, large-scale changes in the American economy transformed business organization. As the volume of paperwork expanded, employers had fresh incentives to routinize and mechanize the work, eventually displacing the pre-Civil War male clerk with women working at jobs that paid less and offered little possibility of advancement. Rotella argues that technological changes in the office were a critical factor in the shift from a male to female work force. With the typewriter and other office machines, the skills required for clerical work became "firm-general" rather than "firm-specific"; employers could shift the cost of training from their own businesses to high school vocational programs or commercial courses, making female workers' anticipated turnover less expensive.

Rotella's carefully drawn and cogent analysis of census data brings new specificity to the history of women's entrance into paid labor. Her argument about the shift from firm-specific to firm-general skills is insightful, although I think her emphasis on the role of office technology is overdrawn: routinization and division of labor can and do take place in the absence of any significant technological innovation. But in the end, Rotella's heavy dependence on the census yields a history that seems static and devoid of human agency. How did employers themselves weigh the costs and benefits that Rotella outlines? Why did young women continue to choose clerical work, even though, as Rotella demonstrates, it compared unfavorably with other white-collar jobs open to women in 1930?

In *Woman's Place Is At the Typewriter*, Margery W. Davies examines the same transformation with the perspective of a very different model, framing her argument with the view of "deskilling" set forth in Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (1974). In an engaging description of the pre-Civil War office, Davies portrays the male clerk as apprentice, groomed for advancement. Her account of the feminization of clerical work emphasizes many of the same factors of supply and demand that Rotella explores. Venturing beyond economic history into the realm of clerical workers' experience and consciousness, Davies enriches the structural account. In "The Ideological Debate," she wryly depicts the malleability of cultural prescriptions for women: once thought disqualified for office work by their gender, women were soon touted as the ideal workers. Her discussion of scientific management in the office provides insight into managerial

calculus and evidence of the early application of the science of efficiency to the office. Her chapter on the private secretary places this kind of clerical work in context: these women, exempted from a growing division of labor and tightening control, were not typical clerical workers but instead comprised the elite of the office work force.

The model of "deskilling" effectively challenges labor historians to consider women's work, but the framework does not always accommodate the issues of gender or the context of service work. In her analysis of proletarianization of office work, Davies may inadvertently undervalue the skills of clerical workers: typing and stenography are not the same as machine-tending. With office reorganization, did the work become less skilled in fact, or was it simply considered less skilled because women did it? She calls female clerical workers "members of the working class," a description that seems to equate class with occupation; this definition is too narrow to encompass the complexities of class and gender in the twentieth century. What were these women's resources and prospects? By 1930, many more white collar jobs were available to women: did the composition of the clerical work force change? She is sometimes too literal in her use of sources; in several places, she treats fiction as case history rather than cultural ideology.

These two books open up critical questions in labor and women's history. Rotella's presentation makes few concessions to the nonspecialist, but readers who persist will find a sharply focused portrait. Davies's book explores a range of intriguing material within a provocative theoretical framework.

BARBARA MELOSH  
Smithsonian Institution and  
George Mason University

JAMES SUMMERVILLE. *Educating Black Doctors: A History of Meharry Medical College*. Foreword by LLOYD C. ELAM. University: University of Alabama Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 279. \$22.50.

*Educating Black Doctors: A History of Meharry Medical College* would have been more aptly titled had the main and subtitles been reversed and expanded. James Summerville virtually ignores the education of black doctors at historically white institutions and at Howard University, the other major black medical school. He asserts that Meharry produced about half the practicing black doctors in the United States; but never provides supporting statistics, nor does he make a comparative analysis of the qualitative impact of Meharry alumni on national, black health care. Although the book is less inclusive than

the title in these areas, it also describes the training of dentists, dental technologists and technicians, pharmacists, nurses and nurse practitioners, as well as doctors at Meharry.

This book is an unofficial study; it is also uncritical. In describing Meharry and its contributions, Summerville presents problems, such as threats to its accreditation, as the result of unrealistic, external standards. Administrators' failings only become apparent at the end of their terms, just before being corrected by the new administration.

Within these noncomparative, uncritical perimeters; Summerville has produced a major contribution to local, social, black, and medical history. He presents Meharry's development, 1876–1976, in terms of its physical plant, administration, faculty, student body, selected alumni, educational philosophy and commitment to community service, and sources of support—church, foundation, local and federal government. He shows how Meharry's graduating class grew from one M.D. trained in a room in Central Tennessee College's main building in 1877 to one hundred and eighty-eight health care specialists who worked and studied in an independent school's medical center complex and branches in 1976.

But *Educating Black Doctors* is more than narrow institutional history. Summerville carefully sets Meharry within its various contexts—Nashville's urban development and Meharry's rural medicine facility in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the black community's internal and external dynamics from the Civil War to the civil rights movement, changing concepts of health care from bedside general practitioner through hospital researcher-specialist to neighborhood center health care coordinator, and developing views of health care delivery from doctor-dominant last resort treatment to doctor-community cooperation in preventive and holistic medicine. He grounds the monograph in extensive research in published and unpublished studies and archives and in personal interviews; then presents these variegated themes of medical education, social relations, and health care theory in a well-organized, smoothly flowing narrative style.

ROBERT G. SHERER  
Wiley College

PAUL W. KEVE. *The McNeil Century: The Life and Times of an Island Prison*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1984. Pp. xi, 331. \$26.95.

This book has many of the virtues of a sound local history. Paul W. Keve has thoroughly researched Department of Justice records, Washington state sources, and published material in constructing this

account of the McNeil Island prison in Puget Sound. Beginning as a federal territorial prison in 1875, the institution survived decades of neglect from the authorities in Washington, D.C., developed into a model penitentiary in the middle third of the twentieth century, and finally came under the control of Washington state in 1981. Thanks to his meticulous scholarship and his numerous interviews with former inmates and staff members, Keve presents a convincing picture of the prison's problems, notably those inseparable from its insular location, and of the often ingenious adaptations devised by officials on the spot. Keve is clearly devoted to his subject as an institution, and he is at his best in dealing with the prison's internal administrative framework and with its place in the changing structure of the Department of Justice. This institutional emphasis, however, in no way diminishes Keve's ability to bring to life the personalities of individual inmates and officials. Among the most vivid passages of the book is a story concerning the suave confidence man, Frederick Emerson Peters. Sentenced to McNeil Island in the 1920s, this swindler quickly ingratiated himself with the impulsive, patriarchal warden, Finch Archer. Discharged in 1931 with fulsome praise from Archer, Peters headed immediately for Seattle, purchased an extensive wardrobe, charged his shopping spree to the warden, and resumed his former career.

Despite its excellent qualities, Keve's work suffers from a defect common enough in local histories: a failure to place the subject in a broader context. This is not an altogether fair criticism, for Keve always has a sound grasp of McNeil Island's place in the federal bureaucratic structure, and he conveys a clear understanding of the role that physical geography played in shaping the character of the prison. What is missing is a well-developed sense of a broader social context. For what sorts of offenses were people sent to this prison, and how did the nature of those offenses change over a hundred-year period? What were the geographic, occupational, ethnic, and racial origins of the inmate population, and how did that population change over time? What social (rather than bureaucratic) functions did McNeil Island serve during its century as a federal prison? To the extent that these and similar questions are raised at all, the answers tend to be sketchy and anecdotal.

Despite such shortcomings, *The McNeil Century* will be essential reading for anyone seriously interested in the history of penology and corrections. Keve writes with a graceful ease, and, if he slides over some important questions, he addresses other significant issues with a style that cannot fail to engage and to hold the reader's attention.

DAVID YOUNG

Central Missouri State University

GERALD N. GROB. *Mental Illness and American Society, 1875-1940*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 428. \$25.00.

Gerald N. Grob has been exploring the history of American mental hospitals for nearly twenty years, with emphasis on public policy. This book, which brings the story up to the Second World War, has a broader compass than his previous work in being more deeply concerned with public attitudes and the evolution of the psychiatric profession. It is also a counter-revisionist work, a careful scholar's answer to Michel Foucault, David Rothman, Andrew Scull, and other historians who are united, Grob says, in having "a critical if not hostile view of psychiatry and mental hospitals" (p. x). Although, as he rightly points out, the burden of this criticism was directed at the liberal, progressive school of social history, exemplified by Albert Deutsch's classic, *The Mentally Ill in America*, published in 1937, refutations of the linear, progressive model had appeared in the writings of historians of psychiatry in the 1950s and 1960s. The significance of the later revisionists—Foucault and Rothman, among others—was therefore not so much their critique of the idea of progress. It lay rather in their debunking the motives of reformers, their assumption that the source of most mental illness was capitalism, and their conviction that psychiatrists and mental hospitals were in effect part of a conspiracy whose primary purpose was the control of deviants in the interest of preserving the social order.

To attack these revisionists today as one-sided is easy, not only because it has become apparent that their generalizations often lack significant supporting data, but also because experience has shown that their analyses, although not entirely wrong, are incomplete. The trick is to come up with an alternative thesis backed by strong evidence and thorough analysis. Grob has tried to do just that—but with a difference. He is skeptical of overarching theses and all-inclusive theories. Instead he postulates complexity and the tragic human condition as major themes, and he believes that our predecessors, struggling with intractable problems, must be approached with sympathetic understanding. Steeped in the sources, he aimed to "describe and analyze the experiences of American society in seeking to deal effectively with mental illness as both a social and medical problem" (p. 5). This formidable task was eased by use of the research of many scholars, but even where he builds on others' work Grob usually adds insights of his own. The outcome is the best comprehensive survey of the subject to date.

Grob maintains that American mental hospitals were shaped by the nature and behavior of patients and the interaction between patients and staff as well as by psychiatrists and other external profes-



sional and social elements. At the turn of the century, when American psychiatry, hospital based, sought to become more scientific and therapeutic, mental hospitals were forced to accept masses of untreatable, senile, aged patients with nowhere else to go. Psychiatrists, unable to come to terms with this reality, which would make their institutions almost entirely custodial, left the hospitals in search of patients whom they could treat in the community. Psychiatry became split between hospital practitioners and the more prestigious private practitioners. The growing power of state agencies over the state hospitals weakened the authority and effectiveness of the hospital psychiatrists and kept funding low. The end result, product of various forces and no one group's fault, was neglect of the needs of the hospitalized patients and a bad reputation for the state hospitals. Grob, sympathetic to the difficulties experienced by the hospitals, concludes that despite their failings and in the absence of any recourse out in the community, they did manage to supply minimum, basic care for individuals unable to survive on their own. This is a defensible but not really provable position: the question remains, might some or many hospital inmates have fared better outside the hospitals, free of the authoritarian control of institutional psychiatrists? And although the social environment does seem to be crucial in the management of mental illness, the biological factor has also to be considered. We still do not know the cause of schizophrenia or manic-depressive psychosis, much less have cures for them, and biochemistry and genetics may yet be shown to be primary.

Because the problems are so complex, historians' conclusions very much depend on the questions they ask. Grob's eclecticism seems at this point to be more appropriate than the doctrinaire approach of historians who construct theoretical schemes and ignore the extensive data that do not fit into them. At the same time, Grob has learned much from the revisionists. Their ideas, stimulating, irritating, and suggestive, must be taken into account by any historian in the field, and Grob's work has profited from them. Perhaps it is time for the revisionists to reciprocate by recognizing that we are not yet surfeited with facts, but that, as Grob shows so well, we still have more to learn and that theory and ideology must utilize evidence rather than substitute for it.

NORMAN DAIN  
Rutgers University,  
Newark

DONALD J. MROZEK. *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 284. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$12.95.

Although it may still be fashionable it is no longer

true to say that historians have left the history of sport to the journalists and the teachers of physical education. American historians are now almost as likely as their European counterparts to assume that what men choose to do with their leisure may be as important as what they must do at their work. As the title indicates, with what I take to be its allusion to French historiography, Donald J. Mrozek's *Sport and American Mentality* is a fine example of the social history of sport. The basic argument is that Americans approached their leisure with the same values that they brought to the rest of their concerns. There was at the end of the nineteenth century a new sense of experience as restless energy. For a generation worried about physical degeneration in an industrial environment, sports were seen as a socially responsible form of regeneration through muscular activity. To a remarkable degree, the routines of modern sports began to supplement if not to replace the rituals of traditional religion. Organizations like the YMCA made the transition easier. A cynic might even argue, although Mrozek does not, that the sports-minded young ministers helped to bring about a secular society in which Christianity is valued largely for what it can contribute to athletic victory.

Defining sport very broadly to include much more than physical contests, Mrozek discusses not only the rise of modern sports, with their extremes of rationality and their obsession with records, but also the creation of national parks and the movement for urban playgrounds, the vogue for calisthenics and the fame of Eugene Sandow (photographed, nearly nude, in his masculine splendor). Mrozek has an eye for the conspicuous leisure of a Newport regatta and for the quantified physical data gathered by Harvard's Dudley Sargent. There are also discussions of the transition from "swooning damsel" to sportswoman and of the role of sport as a mediator between man and nature and between man and machine.

Mrozek's argument about sport as a form of increasingly secular regeneration through physical activity is persuasive. His characterizations are deft: Duncan Curry insisted that yachting was for "practically everyone," England's Sir Thomas Lipton was snubbed at Newport and J. P. Morgan grandly announced, "You can do business with anyone, but you can go sailing only with a gentleman." Mrozek's comments on the *Turnbewegung* in America and its relation to Swedish gymnastics are somewhat misleading (Ling's "scientific" exercises were an alternative to and not simply a variation on German gymnastics), but minor errors of this sort are inevitable in a book as ambitious as *Sport and American Mentality*.

ALLEN GUTTMANN  
Amherst College



BARBARA M. BRENZEL. *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856–1905*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 206.

As students of the subject know, American social welfare history has come a long way in the last few years. Still, commentators rightly bemoan some remaining shortcomings in the field, including continued focus on the providers of assistance and the agencies and institutions they constructed to do things for, or perhaps to, the poor, and the failure to place those individuals and their creations into the broad social and intellectual context in which they emerged and operated. This slender monograph overcomes both of these deficiencies.

*Daughters of the State* is a study of the first fifty years of the continent's first female reform school, the State Industrial School for Girls in Lancaster, Massachusetts. It is not, however, merely an internal history of the institution, or an account of its founders and administrators. It also explores the lives of many of the girls sent to the institution, and those of their parents as well, and it treats (well, I might add) the historical and ideological currents from which the school emerged and those which had a profound impact on its subsequent development.

Several major points emerge from the study. Briefly, those who founded and operated the institution were sincere, kind, and caring people who really believed that their charges could be loved and guided into virtuous citizens. In addition, a large percentage of the girls in the institution were sent there by their parents, suggesting that many poor families used it for their own ends, primarily to secure food, shelter, training, and hopefully, future employment for their offspring. The institution, then, was not a malevolent plot by the state, or the corporate elite, to "regulate the poor." On the contrary, it was designed by its founders, and perceived by its users, as a means of escaping the squalid life to which its "students" seemingly were headed.

Unfortunately, it did not work, at least for long; within a short time, the reformers' hopes were dashed and the institution turned from rehabilitation to custodial care. Lancaster's failure, however, was not inevitable, according to Barbara M. Brenzel. It did not result from inherent shortcomings but rather from external forces. Chief among these were the development of hereditarian ideas, which greatly diminished faith in the salvability of the institution's wards, and political meddling, especially by the state legislature, which decided to send only older, "tougher" girls to the institution, thereby altering both its philosophy and its structure, turning it from a rehabilitative shelter to a place of

punitive detention, from a reformatory to a dumping bin.

Substantively, then, the work does not provide readers with startling new conclusions. Rather, it contributes to the literature on institutions by furnishing new evidence to support the contentions of David Rothman, Gerald Grob, and Michael Katz, among others—and concomitantly, to call into question the views of such other scholars of the subject as Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault.

More important, however, by tying her analysis of the origin of the institution and its devolution from reform to social control to prevailing notions about education, science, gender, class, and work, the author has shown how social welfare history can be, and indeed needs to be, linked to other aspects of social and intellectual history, including the history of education and science, woman's history, and labor history. It is hoped that other such studies will follow.

WALTER I. TRATTNER  
University of Wisconsin,  
Milwaukee

DAVID I. MACLEOD. *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870–1920*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 404. \$27.50.

Despite the book's broad title and the time span indicated in the subtitle, *Building Character in the American Boy* concentrates on agencies serving middle-class boys and on the period 1900–20, particularly on the years 1910–20. The narrow focus of the study does not preclude David I. Macleod from passing judgment on a variety of subjects—social control, the middle class, Progressivism, juvenile courts, and philanthropy—on which he seems to have strong opinions. The thesis is that "character building agencies arose in response to middle-class men's concern about boys of their own social class and that those agencies prospered which organized most efficiently and most faithfully expressed middle-class values and concerns" (p. xiv). The two agencies given most attention, the junior or boys' department of the YMCA and the Boy Scouts of America, shared certain ideas and interests but differed in organization, program, and style. As with the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission in the Civil War, the YMCA and Boy Scouts sought similar objectives but approached the task in divergent ways and often in a spirit of competition. At least in the period 1910–20 the standardized program of the Boy Scouts outdid the boys' work of the YMCA in winning popular favor.

Historians of philanthropy and nonprofit agencies will find much to ponder, profit from, and, no

doubt, dispute in Macleod's examination of the attempted professionalization of the YMCA boys' work, the organization and growth of the Boy Scouts of America, and in his comparison of the efforts of the two agencies not only to attract boys but to win the support of adults. The author's emphasis on the importance of voluntarism in the rise of the Boy Scouts is particularly worth noting.

To both the YMCA and Boy Scouts character building meant fostering the improvement of boys morally, physically, mentally, and socially. "The main change over time," Macleod declares, "was an almost endless extension of the capacities—moral, muscular, and social as well as intellectual—which character builders hoped to strengthen" (pp. 30–31). Both organizations were more successful in recruiting than in retaining boys as members; viewed as institutions for social control they were remarkably lenient. Macleod concedes that "to the right ages" they offered fun, friendship, and personal achievement but concludes that because of high turnover and since "most recruits probably were fairly decent before they joined" it is doubtful whether either agency actually built character (p. 305).

About 25 percent of the book is devoted to notes citing association records and publications, unpublished Ph.D. dissertations, monographs old and new, and articles from a wide variety of periodicals. Although the range of sources is impressive, I missed references to Charles Loring Brace's *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, Jane Addams's *The Spirit of Youth and City Streets*, H. L. Mencken's "Adventures of a Y.M.C.A. Lad," and Paul Fussell's "The Boy Scout Handbook." Because of the number and variety of works cited a bibliographic essay or note on sources would have been useful.

ROBERT H. BREMNER  
*Ohio State University*

JOHN MILTON COOPER, JR. *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 442. \$20.00.

John Milton Cooper, Jr. has written a fascinating joint biography of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. It is his hope that by alternating chapters on Roosevelt and Wilson, both the similarities and differences between the two men will come into sharper focus. And to a large extent this does occur. He compares the cultural and family environments into which they were born and the personalities that developed within those contexts. Both were exceptional in comparison to their siblings and peers as they overcame serious physical difficulties and developed a self-consciousness that they were

destined to become major national political leaders. Although Roosevelt was gregarious and flamboyant, while Wilson was aloof and restrained, Wilson, as Cooper points out, was as ambitious for high political office as Roosevelt and had an equal number of rhetorical and organizational skills. Members of nineteenth-century establishments, they nevertheless had a sense of marginality that inspired them to be artists in creating their own careers and in aspiring to reconstruct the nation. But, for Cooper, their concepts of national reconstruction, their Progressivism, always remained rooted in the particular cultural environments of their childhoods. Roosevelt came from an old, wealthy New York family. His Progressivism, his political solution to the threat that the future was one of class conflict between a plutocracy and a proletariat, was one of noblesse oblige. Men like himself would teach the rich and the poor to place national interest above self-interest. Wilson, however, came from the South, a region that had lost national leadership to the Northeast. And he was part of the first generation of academic professionals. The ambition and self-interest of this rising meritocracy, like that of other groups in American society, could be channeled to serve the national interest; self-interest and national interest were not at odds as Roosevelt believed. These early regional and social differences, for Cooper, do much to explain the differences between Roosevelt's New Nationalism and Wilson's New Freedom in 1912. Wilson could agree with Roosevelt about the need for a much more active government role in society and the economy but his enthusiasm for unleashing the energy of a variety of interest groups pointed more toward the expanding role of the "broker state" in subsequent decades of the twentieth century than did Roosevelt's deep-lying fear of such groups.

Since Roosevelt felt that selfish interest gave way to national interest most fully in moments of total war, he feared that he would not win a heroic place in American history, comparable to Washington and Lincoln, because he had been a peacetime president. Cooper evokes the irony of 1909 when Roosevelt retired from the presidency, hearing the praises of a public that admired him, but unhappy that he had not truly fulfilled his destiny; while Wilson in 1909 was a defeated figure, with his dreams of making Princeton University the equal of Harvard shattered. But in 1912, it was Roosevelt who was defeated politically by Wilson. Their mutual admiration in 1900 had, by 1904, given way to increasing bitterness that reached a climax after 1914 over foreign policy issues. Cooper stresses that Roosevelt was more idealistic than Wilson on domestic issues because he wanted the complete transcendence of self-interest and also was more idealistic on the issue of war because he wanted the United

States to participate from a sense of honor without considering, as Wilson did, the consequences for the kind of international order that ought to follow the war.

There is an irony in Cooper's contention that Roosevelt and Wilson shaped "the major ideological dimensions of twentieth-century politics" (p. xii). Focusing on the political biographies of the two men, he does not ask how the drama of these lives interrelated with the drama of a larger American history. Cooper points to the election of 1912 as "one of the most exciting campaigns in American history, fought between the two most attractive available candidates and over important, hotly debated issues," but one that "failed to change many votes. The biggest winner in 1912 was politics as usual. The question," he writes, "remains why?" (p. 205). Fascinating as it is, biography evidently cannot tell us why voting participation fell off during the presidencies of these two charismatic men. Seeing the world through the eyes of Roosevelt and Wilson, we do not see what caused half the adult population to become alienated from "the major ideological dimensions of twentieth-century politics."

DAVID W. NOBLE  
University of Minnesota

LEWIS BAKER. *The Percys of Mississippi: Politics and Literature in the New South*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. 237. \$20.00.

It was a sound notion to assess the Percys of Mississippi, collectively and individually, although this is less than a family portrait as the earliest of them are dismissed in a few pages, but rather a consideration of LeRoy Percy (1860–1929), planter, lawyer, and accidental senator, and of William Alexander Percy (1885–1942), planter, lawyer, poet, and autobiographer, with commentary from and a concluding judgment of Walker Percy (b. 1916), doctor and novelist. Lewis Baker's thesis is Catonist, the same developed by the Percys themselves: the family like their society has seen both a growth in irony and doubt and a decline in moral will and coherence.

This study is based, almost too exclusively, on the Percy family papers, recently moved from a Greenville warehouse to Louisiana State University. These provide new information and shed light, mostly on our understanding of LeRoy Percy, previously seen through the loyal haze of his son's memoir. It seems still true that the father was strict, bold, and paternalistic, but also hard, ruthless, and unpleasant. His obsession with the levee problem, his tough management of the cheap labor supply essential to his

own evident prosperity (he put up with blacks but preferred Italian immigrants, who largely had the good sense to avoid him), is distilled in his refusal to allow blacks to be evacuated during the 1927 flood, in case, once gone, they would not wish to return. The younger Percy inherited a tender-hearted version of LeRoy's paternalism, and almost all his political and social views, whose reiteration in *Lanterns on the Levee* has made that book indigestible to many readers, otherwise drawn by its grace. Liberation was confined to aesthetics, for LeRoy Percy was a Philistine; his son developed an elegant and evasively sensual fastidiousness that worked indifferently in verse, though well in memoir.

This book confessedly mingles politics and literature, but is weaker on the first. Mississippi politics are unimaginatively drawn and Baker nowhere breaks free from the perspectives of the Percys themselves, such that James K. Vardaman and the Ku Klux Klan appear only as the occasions of encroaching villainy and family heroism. Likewise the family's economics is slighted, so we cannot judge whether their defense of sharecropping was exemplified by their own practice. Yet Baker has sensible criticism of the writings of the later Percys and, although he is usually benign, resists the temptation to inflate their claims. But one wishes he had taken his cue more from the candor of Walker Percy, and less from the sentimental gentility of William Alexander, for his are timid psychological portraits. This is most evident, though not necessarily most important, in his neglect of the strain of homoeroticism that steams up the final pages of *Lanterns on the Levee*. Baker says that William Alexander Percy just could not find the right girl, yet surely it was not girls that he sought and found on Greek and Anatolian hillsides.

MICHAEL O'BRIEN  
University of Arkansas

WILLIAM H. CUMBERLAND. *Wallace M. Short: Iowa Rebel*. (Replica Edition.) Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 177. \$14.95.

In this slim volume, William H. Cumberland traces the life and contributions of Wallace M. Short, a giant in the history of twentieth-century Iowa. Short was a Congregationalist minister from 1896 to 1918, who promoted the Social Gospel movement while serving congregations in Wisconsin, Missouri, and finally Sioux City, Iowa. From 1918 to 1924, Short was Republican mayor of Sioux City, promoting Progressivism along the lines of Robert M. La Follette. After 1924, he had a third career as editor of *The Unionist and Public Forum*, which espoused the cause of farmers and workers. Short engaged in third party farmer-labor action during the 1930s,

gaining a reputation in many circles as a maverick, a radical, and an outcast.

Short dealt with many controversial issues during his varied career. He promoted the cause of organized labor when it was still unpopular. He became enmeshed in the temperance controversy and found himself defrocked as a minister because of his opposition to prohibition. He promoted the free speech and free assembly rights of the Industrial Workers of the World and bitterly denounced the Ku Klux Klan. He championed Progressive causes during the conservative 1920s, but later opposed much of the New Deal, expressing old Populist rhetoric and nostalgia for the past. He was associated for a time with Father Charles Coughlin, Dr. Francis Townsend, and Huey Long, a serious mistake on his part in the author's view. He was also a supporter of radical farm spokesman Milo Reno and his Farm Holiday Association.

In foreign policy, Short was a backer of the League of Nations, critical of anti-Semitism and racial discrimination, and a strong opponent of fascism, who yet hoped to keep America out of war. But he became a strong Roosevelt supporter during World War II. He later promoted Henry Wallace's policy of continued cooperation with the Soviet Union. His final struggle was against loyalty oaths and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A constant agitator for social, political, and economic justice, Short became more radical as he grew older, and the author believes his views on foreign policy would have placed him in the New Left had he lived through the Vietnam War. Cumberland has made good use of available source materials. Regrettably, Short's papers on the Depression years no longer exist. Cumberland has done well in fixing the historical role of this fascinating, if minor, figure.

RONALD L. FEINMAN  
New York Institute of Technology,  
Old Westbury

RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX and T. J. JACKSON LEARS, editors. *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*. New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. xvii, 236. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$9.95.

The rise and expansion of a modern consumer culture in America forms a tantalizing subject. Although its manifestations are everywhere apparent, its nature and dynamics remain elusive. In *The Culture of Consumption* six young scholars join in an effort to tighten our historical and conceptual grasp on this subject as they seek to discover how consumption became both "a cultural ideal" and "a hegemonic 'way of seeing'" in twentieth-century America (p. x). All of the contributors were either graduate students or assistant professors in history

and American studies at Yale, and out of a common intellectual community they have produced a remarkably unified and consistently distinguished book, rich both in its range and depth, its trenchant criticism, and subtle intelligence.

A brief review can only touch on the topics they pursue and urge the interested reader to seek out the volume. After an admirably comprehensive and succinct introduction by the editors, T. J. Jackson Lears suggestively explores the conjunction of the rise of modern advertising and the secularized Christian therapeutic ethos of self-realization, focusing on Bruce Barton, the advertising executive who wrote the inspirational best seller, *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925). In a related and insightful investigation, Christopher Wilson traces the rise of a new generation of magazine publishers at the turn of the century, such as Edward Bok, Walter Hines Page, and S. S. McClure, who helped to convert the critical-minded "gentle reader" of earlier years into the anxious and "informed" consumer of modern times. Jean-Christophe Agnew makes subtle and penetrating connections between the acquisitive vision stimulated by advertisements and entrepreneurs and the celebrated powers of imaginative vision of one of the culture's most prominent early critics, Henry James. Richard Wightman Fox uncovers a related pattern of mixed resistance and capitulation to the categories of the consumer culture in his illuminating essay on the surprisingly neglected career of the sociologist Robert S. Lynd, coauthor of the famous "Middletown" studies of Muncie, Indiana.

The final two essays treat more recent and contemporary aspects of the consumer culture. Writing on "Politics as Consumption," Robert Westbrook brilliantly analyzes how the electoral process itself has been reduced to the level of commodities and markets. Michael L. Smith's incisive discussion of the U.S. manned space program in the 1960s convincingly traces the degree to which the self-mystifying characteristics of the consumer culture, easily recognizable in advertising, have become endemic in key federally sponsored military and scientific programs.

Throughout, the essays underline the false promises of the modern consumer culture without succumbing to empty sloganeering or easy alternatives. The result is a powerful and enormously stimulating work both of cultural history and cultural criticism.

JOHN F. KASSON  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

PAUL BARRETT. *The Automobile and Urban Transit: The Formation of Public Policy in Chicago, 1900-1930*.



(Technology and Urban Growth.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 295. \$34.95.

This first case study of the triumph of the automobile over the streetcar begins with Paul Barrett's disclaimer (p. 3) that "Public policy did not cause the triumph of the automobile in Chicago or anywhere else. Yet, by placing the auto and mass transit in artificially separated categories, public policy [in Chicago] *did* cripple mass transit and confuse public thinking on local transportation." He then goes on to demonstrate that transportation policy making, influenced in particular by downtown businessmen, was far more determinative than either technology or economics in the decline of mass transit in Chicago 1910–30. Barrett concludes (p. 215) that "Certainly a different local transit policy in Chicago would not have prevented the rise of the automobile. It might, however, have provided alternatives for the urban commuter. Nor was it economics which prevented the city from dealing as constructively with mass transit as it did with the automobile. Rather tradition, and the structure of power within the city, determined how Chicago's limited resources would be allocated."

Eschewing both unregulated free enterprise and municipal ownership, Chicago in 1907 adopted municipal ordinances defining mass transit as a regulated, privately owned business, which was expected to make a profit on its operations and to pay taxes. The transit companies were guaranteed a 5 percent return on gross capital investment, encouraging overcapitalization through the retention of worthless securities and keeping outdated equipment on the books. The city received 55 percent of the transit companies' net profits. This resulted by 1935 in a cost exceeding \$188 million to Chicago streetcar riders paying five cent fares. This amount was greater than the entire inflated value of the Chicago Surface Lines in 1930, and in excess of \$155 million of it was diverted to nontransit purposes by the business-political policy-making community. The Board of Supervising Engineers empowered to regulate the transit companies proved ineffective, and the system of mixed controls served only to retard the adoption of transit innovations, including even the replacement of streetcars with motor buses. Furthermore, mass transit planning was effectively divorced from overall city planning with the implementation after 1909 of Daniel Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* by the business-dominated Chicago Plan Commission.

As the prospects for direct profits from fares diminished in the 1920s, private investors became reluctant to provide capital for improvements in transit service. By 1917, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were subsidizing mass transit; but like most American cities, Chicago failed to follow their

lead. Consequently, the financial community, which passed judgment on the viability of traction securities, came to set the terms for transit policy in Chicago. The hegemony of the bankers was confirmed when the Chicago Surface Lines went into receivership in 1927. A committee of bankers, organized by the utility magnate Samuel Insull, worked out an arrangement to refinance the company. Ratified by Chicago's voters in a "traction referendum" of July 1, 1930, this arrangement gave the company a permanent franchise, failed to provide for effective regulation, and ended the fixed fare and compensation provisions of the 1907 ordinances. Barrett believes (p. 165) that, because "municipal ownership in any meaningful sense had been ruled out, the 1930 agreement was probably the best the city could have obtained. It at least freed transit to operate like other businesses—adjusting fares to costs and making, if it could, an attractive return. If mass transit could not become, like the street, a genuine public responsibility, it might at least attract needed investment as a genuine private enterprise."

In sharp contrast to mass transit, and paradoxically, the private passenger car was subsidized by improving streets to accommodate automobile traffic at public expense. Unlike mass transit, public policy toward the automobile was directed toward solving practical problems of traffic congestion and public safety. And whereas the regulation of mass transit was often destructive, "Traffic regulation, initially negative, soon became positive and accommodative, because it dealt directly with a large and growing group of citizens, and because the mutual adjustment of the city and the automobile presented the city with an urgent problem of pressing concern to important interest groups" (p. 6).

Barrett's main argument is in accord with interpretations of the decline of the railroads by Albro Martin and of differences between European and American transportation policy paradigms by James A. Dunn, Jr. Nothing in print, however, so thoroughly challenges the conventional wisdom that automotive transportation succeeded over rail transportation because of inherent technological superiority, superior economies, and consumer preference expressed in a free market. As bonuses, the discussions of the social impact of the streetcar and of early regulation of the automobile both contain a superabundance of new information and fresh insights. There are some eight hundred and thirty notes for a 217-page text, most to hitherto neglected primary sources. An epilogue brings the history of transportation in Chicago up to date and makes some cogent critical comments on urban transportation in contemporary American society.

*The Automobile and Urban Transit* is an extremely important book—a major contribution to transportation history, urban history, and public policy plan-



ning. Its publisher, I hope, will see fit to bring out a cheaper paperback edition, for the present hard-back price is inimical to the book receiving the wide attention that it deserves.

JAMES J. FLINK  
University of California,  
Irvine

JOHN R. STILGOE. *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 397. \$29.95.

*Metropolitan Corridor* is an adventurous address to American railroads that skirts conventional historical contexts such as corporate genealogy and engineering. John R. Stilgoe, a professor of landscape architecture at Harvard, is a writer of genuine distinction (recipient of the 1982 Francis Parkman Prize), who has an inspired sense of setting—in this instance, the compelling characteristics of “the portion of the American built environment that evolved along railroad rights-of-way” (p. 3). Nominal form is attained in a staccato sequence of chapters titled “Gateway,” “Elegance,” “Zone,” “Generator,” “High Iron,” “Crossing,” “Depot,” “Garden,” “Cinema,” “Villa,” “Trolley,” “Beyond,” and “Ruins.” On balance, my assessment of the book is positive—which may be taken as strong testimony to its virtues, for there are substantial liabilities. At least they are substantial if one measures it against the usual methodological precepts rather than as a flight of literary impressionism (for as such it is quite extraordinary).

Even though Stilgoe provides a coherent definition of the Metropolitan Corridor, his chronology is errant and the narrative tends to stray into poorly integrated peripheries. Toward the end, he barely has his material under control, the chapter titled “Trolley” (essentially irrelevant anyway) being a mix of misconceived generalities and careless specifics. Directly indicative of a problem with structure and discipline is the bibliography, which is striking both for its lack of discrimination and for its lacunae. Although it is no doubt appropriate to have drawn on a range of ephemera as well as on Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, and Thomas Wolfe, on *Collier's* and *McClure's*, on *Railroad Man's Magazine* and “boy's books”—as Stilgoe has—as a whole the bibliography betrays a deficient mastery of the range of apposite sources, despite comprehending nearly a thousand entries. Likewise profuse are the illustrations, but identification is frequently inadequate and captions inane, for example, “So important was Manhattan Transfer that in 1915 it merited a postcard view of its own” (p. 22).

Finally, Stilgoe plays loose with rules of evidence. Judgmental assertions are followed by specifics that

are not even indicative, much less evidentiary. Hence a statement about the literature that “extolled the magic” of railroading predominating over the work of muckrakers (p. 4) is followed, as a “for example,” by a digression on three adventure stories published in 1900. It is hard to feel confident about Stilgoe's perceptions of what is representative or typical, as in a declaration that “perhaps *The Overland Limited* best represented the typical first-class train” (p. 61), and when he observes that although H. L. Mencken disparaged dining-car food, “most passengers disagreed” (p. 55), we have no idea of how he might have ascertained this. Or, rather, we do have an idea—for ultimately one senses that he is divulging his private images of the past. Even the evocative “small boy grasping his father's hand as the crack express thundered by” (p. ix) is not in fact a first-hand impression (Stilgoe could not personally have experienced the Metropolitan Corridor in a state of ringing vitality), but merely a romantic vision.

Having said all that, I can still conclude that this is a powerful and significant book. For all its flaws as analytical history—and it must be noted that Stilgoe claims only to have made “an addition to the vocabulary of visual analysis of the built environment” (p. xii)—it certainly succeeds admirably in its allusive spirit. It succeeds in a wealth of elegant insights. It succeeds as a literary tour de force. And it succeeds as a synthesis of technology and culture. For that alone it should be hailed above all for its imaginative sweep, and only secondarily criticized for its want of perfection.

ROBERT C. POST  
Smithsonian Institution

MARK NAISON. *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 355. \$22.95.

Mark Naison's study of communism in Harlem between the twenties and World War II effectively challenges the traditional views of such scholars as Wilson Record that the relationship between Communists and blacks was dominated by “manipulation, disillusionment, and betrayal,” (p. xx), instead it demonstrates the subtle interplays between Comintern directives, CPUSA reactions and initiatives, and black communist interests.

Naison argues that the Harlem party rose to prominence in the first years of the Great Depression through a de facto Popular Front strategy that emphasized mass mobilizations around such issues as public relief, discriminatory hiring, and tenant rights, thereby challenging both the nationalism of

Garveyites and the middle-class liberalism of the NAACP. But Naison suggests that a price was sometimes paid insofar as communists subordinated Harlem issues, like hiring blacks in segregated local stores, to organizational and strategic considerations, for example, the desire not to alienate white workers. Naison skillfully describes the ways in which the party built its influence under the Popular Front through the Scottsboro case and through its growing institutional power in party-dominated unions, the local W.P.A. offices, and the American Labor party, despite the rising internal rigidities that reduced the influence of less pliable and more race-conscious leaders like Cyril Briggs and Richard B. Moore. But in what Naison calls the second phase of the Popular Front, beginning in 1938, the party, in its drive to maintain its labor and liberal allies, began to substitute legislative lobbying for mass mobilization, losing some of its key grass-roots cadre and support.

Therefore, although the Nazi-Soviet Pact damaged party fortunes in Harlem, Naison argues that it had already "lost touch with the spirit of popular militancy" (p. 273). Moreover, he argues that to the extent that the CPUSA could not adapt itself to Afro-Christian religious imagery and to some recognition of an autonomous black identity, it was bound to lose out to the ethnic politics of the Democrats, and to grass-roots mobilizations such as A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington movement, which, finally, could better secure reforms. One only wishes that Naison carried his monograph through to the demise of party influence in the late forties and fifties.

One notable weakness in Naison's study is the absence of a systematic investigation of the relations between Jews and blacks in the Harlem party. Naison seems timid and halting in his appendix on this obviously touchy subject, suggesting that the literature does not support the argument, associated with Harold Cruse, that the Jewishness of the party was a central issue in black Harlem. He suggests that only when Jews became more ethnically conscious under the threat of Nazism and more affluent relative to most blacks did conflicting ethnic claims generate strain. Naison does not explore sufficiently the issue of how assimilationist Jewish communists experienced black Harlem.

Other than this uncommon obtuseness, Naison merits our gratitude for producing a balanced and well-written account of the Communist party's contributions to the struggle for racial justice and its limitations in creating a place for itself in black America. His use of primary sources, secondary literature, and extensive interviews is a measure of this scrupulously fair-minded, political history.

PAUL LYONS  
Stockton State College

JOHN H. MOLLENKOPF. *The Contested City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 328. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$6.95.

John H. Mollenkopf, a political scientist specializing in policy analysis, seeks to structure nearly fifty years of federal urban legislation, metropolitan economic and geographical changes, and local political patterns into a theory explaining the construction of the modern party system. It is certainly an ambitious undertaking, filled with many insights, but one that asks historians to accept much on faith alone.

The key to Mollenkopf's argument is his concept of the "political entrepreneur." Rejecting both the "power elite" and "pluralistic" interpretations, he contends that federal and local political leaders took the initiative in forging new coalitions that not only greatly influenced urban development, but also, and more importantly in the eyes of their creators, returned vast benefits at the ballot box. "Government intervention," he writes, "follows its own logic rather than that of private interests" (p. 9).

Operating on this premise, Mollenkopf recounts the by now familiar story of federal urban programs from the New Deal through the New Federalism—but with a new twist. If previous studies have stressed the haphazard, almost offhand, manner in which the executive and legislative branches dealt, at least until the early 1960s, with matters concerning the nation's cities, Mollenkopf sees conscious policy making and coalition-building by the important political actors. Roosevelt and Truman constructed the contemporary Democratic party by fostering progrowth urban programs; Eisenhower altered these endeavors to favor the suburbs and private interests, which the Republicans saw as their electoral base. Kennedy and Johnson substantially increased the federal commitment to the older central cities in order to revitalize the New Deal coalition; Nixon, to a substantial degree, undid these efforts by channeling more aid to the Republican strongholds in the suburbs and the South and West, and by cutting out other programs altogether.

Shifting his focus to the local level, Mollenkopf examines urban renewal in Boston and San Francisco to demonstrate how: (1) dynamic mayors worked with powerful business interests to restore the central business district to health; and (2) the emergence of organized lower-class neighborhood resistance brought a virtual halt to Robert Moses-like community rehabilitation projects by the early 1970s. This activism not only threatened to splinter the Democratic coalition, but also hastened the movement of business to the more tranquil Southwest.

Mollenkopf believes that neither Carter nor Reagan developed workable strategies to fill the political vacuum left by the unraveling of traditional Demo-

cratic programs and alliances. The Georgian ignored the growing importance of accountability in our political system; too much the engineer, Carter failed to appreciate the distaste neighborhoods, both lower- and middle-class, felt for unresponsive bureaucracies. His successor scores well with his attacks on bureaucracy, but Reagan's efforts to rein government in, although popular in the short run, cannot succeed over the long haul. Until someone comes up with a coherent approach, concludes Mollenkopf, our cities and politics will remain in disarray.

For the historian this book presents both a problem and a challenge. The problem lies in the absence of any hard evidence to support the critical role assigned the "political entrepreneur." Mollenkopf has not consulted any archival sources; he has relied entirely on secondary materials, in most instances works as impressionistic as his own. There is still plenty of life left in the power elite and pluralistic approaches, if for no other reason than that they allow politicians to have more than a single dimension. In Mollenkopf's portrayal, these political entrepreneurs possess no values or beliefs apart from their pursuit of power. It is a chilling thought, but one historians will have to consider as they dig deeper into the primary records of the subject and era this book has painted with such broad strokes.

MARK I. GELFAND  
*Boston College*

RONALD K. GOODENOW and DIANE RAVITCH, editors.  
*Schools in Cities: Consensus and Conflict in American Educational History*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1983. Pp. x, 326. \$39.50.

This is a fine collection of essays focusing on the relationships of communities to schools in American cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In their introduction, Ronald K. Goodenow and Diane Ravitch argue that historians need to take the concept of community more seriously, consider the many definitions of community, and be more precise about what they are referring to when they use the concept. Such an approach points, they argue, "to an overriding need to blend the nature of community into historical analysis that integrates appropriately issues of power, control, gender, class, and race with the more personal and cultural" (p. ix).

Most of the authors attempt to do that. Essays are included on the youth labor market in Providence, R.I., at the turn of the century; industrial education in Fitchburg, Massachusetts; public school segregation in twentieth century New York City, New Rochelle, and New Haven; the relationship of Columbia Teachers College to three New Jersey school

systems; school governance in nineteenth-century Buffalo; community support of common schools in antebellum Detroit; the shift from ethnocultural to class politics over schooling; parental support for public schools in nineteenth-century Atlanta; and the impact of World War II on Gary, Indiana, schools. Two thoughtful summary essays by Maris Vinovskis and Barbara Finkelstein on approaches to urban educational history are also included.

As is usually true of such collections, the essays vary in approach and quality. The outstanding essay is Joel Perlmann's careful and provocative discussion of the jobs young people held in Providence between 1880 and 1915. But almost all the essays are worth reading. Some common themes also tie a number of the essays together. For example, David Angus, Paul Peterson, and Charles Strickland all suggest that the movement to found and expand nineteenth-century public schooling was driven less by class conflict than by either ethnocultural competition or by a consensus among groups—a kind of boosterism—whose proponents believed that schools were important to themselves or their communities. This argument, when accompanied by overlapping arguments by other authors, sets up intriguing ways to approach conflict and consensus models in American history. Indeed, the entire collection suggests some of the ways both consensus and conflict have extended educational opportunity.

There is a tendency among some of the authors, however, to drag the reader through the by now mundane and dreary process of rooting out the villains of recent American educational historiography, those naughty revisionists who gave us social-class dominance, imposition, and conflict as the sources of educational reform. The findings in these essays are interesting in themselves. They gain little from pot shots at Michael Katz's early works (few in this collection are interested in acknowledging his outstanding recent achievements), Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, and Colin Greer. The best essays treat their material on its own terms, and they come together to create an interesting and important new collection in American educational history.

MARVIN LAZERSON  
*University of British Columbia*

M. CHRISTINE BOYER. *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT. Pp. xii, 331. \$27.50.

M. Christine Boyer offers us a history of the "planning mentality": what planners thought about the city, about planning, and about what they were doing. The book does not focus on just a few major figures, and it is definitely not a history of what

planners did. It is, rather, a strenuous, caustic critique of planning and planners. Her overall thesis is that planners have continuously served the needs of the dominant capitalist economy. This is hardly shocking news, and I am not sure that it gets us very far. However, if we can get past the rhetoric, the analysis does make some telling points. If the book is read in conjunction with other studies of city planning, it provides a more complete picture of why city planning, which had so much promise at the outset for making cities more rational and liveable, largely failed.

Boyer argues that city planning emerged from the confluence of concerns among tenement reformers, charity and settlement house workers, and architects that the city and its inhabitants required both discipline and order. They had a simplistic environmental determinism that led them to focus on parks, playgrounds, tenements, and city plans rather than low wages, unsafe working conditions and unemployment. There was admittedly a large dose of social control in their programs, but Boyer denies these "improvers" virtually any genuine humanitarian motivation. The "planning mentality" as it developed shortly before World War I was a belief that by using state power and rational planning, discipline and order would come to the city. Boyer argues this way of thinking enabled planners to "speak for the general interest of capital" (p. 68), which was to maintain business confidence and encourage urban investment. Planners increasingly preoccupied themselves with the details of land values, land uses, tenements, and traffic while "allowing the exploitative processes of capitalism to occur behind their backs" (p. 69). This is a rather harsh assessment, since planning emerged out of middle-class reformist impulses and from the firms of the leading architects.

Boyer does point out how planning became deflected in the teens and twenties by zoning and traffic. Zoning protected property values and became a tool for class and racial segregation; it also was a substitute for planning. The planners solution to urban congestion shifted from tenement restriction to promoting new peripheral growth with streetcar, subway, and automobile suburbs. She argues, however, that before the first world war "a majority of urban residents had preferred to be tenants" (p. 148). Although most urban families did rent in that period, this is hardly proof that it was their preference. Rather, there is overwhelming evidence that working-class, particularly immigrant, families sacrificed greatly to become homeowners. Although Boyer may see this as just a bourgeois trap and an unwise allocation of limited resources, to suggest that real estate agents and planners "lured" (p. 142) an unwilling public to the suburbs in the 1920s is dubious and unsupported.

In tracing planning thought through the 1930s and 1940s Boyer demonstrates the further deflection of planning interest from the older, central core of the city, and she shows how a movement that started with a comprehensive view of the physical city could abandon that perspective and administer the destructive urban renewal program of the 1950s and 1960s. Her analysis of Hoover's Home Building Conference of 1931 and the PWA slum clearance program reveal the earliest efforts to widen the concept of eminent domain and to marshal federal subsidies for large-scale development. The great promise of regionalism and national resource planning in the 1930s collapsed under the pressure of local and vested interests, leaving only state intervention with federal subsidies.

Most of Boyer's points were made fifteen years ago in Roy Lubove's case study of planning, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh*. Lubove demonstrated that restrictive tenement legislation did nothing for the housing supply (except to reduce it), that zoning was "form without substance," that a city planning agency was often just an "administrative eunuch," and that postwar downtown renewal constituted a "reverse welfare state."

Mark Foster's recent *From Streetcar to Superhighway—American City Planners and Urban Transportation* also makes some of the same points on that aspect of the topic. Boyer's primary contribution is to provide a national overview that complements these and other case studies, but her argument is less original than she would like us to think.

ROGER D. SIMON  
Lehigh University

SERGE GUILBAUT. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983. Pp. x, 277.

Serge Guilbaut reinterprets why abstract expressionism took the form that it did as it emerged in the 1940s, and why abstract expressionists achieved greater international acclaim than any previous group of American artists. His central thesis is that the movement's success was due, most importantly, to its "ideological resonance" (p. 2). New York artists, disenchanted with propagandistic artistic traditions of 1930s radicalism, but wishing to preserve a "sense of social 'commitment'" (p. 2), found in abstract expressionism a way of creating art that made weighty statements about the human condition without becoming entangled with specific political positions. Although President Truman and many other Americans disliked modernist art, during his administration abstract expressionism became a useful cold war weapon. With some government agen-



cies as well as the Museum of Modern Art, promoting it, this art helped counter America's damaging reputation as culturally backward. Preeminence in the arts reinforced United States' claims to geopolitical leadership.

This argument deserves serious discussion. Guilbaut, however, does not build a credible defense for his position. He sharply contrasts the ideological and economic conditions under which American artists worked before and after World War II, yet he has not studied thoroughly either period. Had he made use of essential sources such as the *American Magazine of Art*, *Art News*, and the *New York Times* for the pre-1939 period he would have discovered precedents for post-1939 developments. Consider this unqualified statement concerning a controversy surrounding the 1943 Federation of American Painters and Sculptors show: "For the first time in American art history the mass media were creating an artistic event" (p. 75). The 1913 Armory Show and the 1936 traveling Van Gogh exhibition are examples of earlier artistic events created in good part by press attention that greatly exceeded that given to the 1943 controversy. A review of popular and trade journals from earlier decades would have saved Guilbaut from the following erroneous statement: "The enthusiasm of businessmen for art and its use in advertising began around 1940" (p. 89). To give one of many examples, in the October 1929 issue of *The Arts* (p. 71) Guilbaut would have found an article describing ways in which "industry is making violent love to art."

Guilbaut's account of the Advancing American Art exhibit sent abroad by the State Department in 1946 provides an example of the thinness of his research on the postwar period. Despite its pertinence to issues raised in the book Guilbaut devotes only several sentences to this exhibition (pp. 118, 150). Guilbaut attributes its failure to "domestic political reasons" and explains in a footnote that the show "was halted after Senator Dondero attacked the work of painters affiliated at one time with the Communist party" (pp. 118, 231). In fact Dondero was in the House of Representatives, not the Senate, and the attack directed against the exhibition came from politicians not only suspicious of the artists' political sympathies, but also outraged at expenditure of government funds for promotion of modernist art.

Many historians believe that writers habitually relax their standards of intellectual rigor and accuracy when they approach the topic of modern art. Guilbaut's book gives too much comfort to those who make such unfair assumptions.

GEORGE H. ROEDER, JR.  
School of the Art Institute of Chicago,  
Northwestern University

ARNOLD M. EISEN. *The Chosen People in America: A Study in Jewish Religious Ideology*. (Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 237. \$17.50.

Scholars have long debated whether the writings of intellectuals or the sermons of the clergy are a true reflection of the history of a given period. Perry Miller in *The New England Mind* alluded to the pitfall of relying solely on such sources. He pointed out that the sermons of Puritan clergy of the early half of the seventeenth century, whose major themes were sobriety and self-control, gave the impression that Puritanism lacked inner feeling. But these sermons were preached to a Puritan laity overflowing with religious enthusiasm. The preachers' warnings were intended to curb this zeal lest it pass the boundaries of orthodoxy. The seminal ideas, however, that provide the motivation and the cultural coloration of an era are generally found in tracts and sermons and thus are indispensable to the general historian and particularly to the historian of ideas. To avoid the danger of distortion resulting from overdependence on such materials the historian must correlate them with social, economic, and political data derived from a wide variety of sources.

In Jewish studies one of the fine models for the use of sermons, commentaries, and intellectual tracts correlated with data from other sources to paint a historical portrait is Haim Hillel Ben Sasson's pioneering study of the social and economic views of East European Jewry, *Hagut V'Hanhagah*. Arnold M. Eisen skillfully utilizes this methodology to examine the impact of the idea of Jewish chosenness on American Jewry from 1930 to 1980, a period in which this concept received renewed emphasis as a result of the Holocaust; the birth and the struggles of the State of Israel, and the deep-felt need of American-Jews to integrate their American and Jewish experiences.

The writings of the "second generation" of rabbis, theologians, and men of letters is analyzed within the double framework of the development of the idea of chosenness from its expression in traditional texts through the reformulations of the modern era and in the context of social, economic, and political changes in American Jewry. Particularly good are the chapters on Mordecai Kaplan and Reconstructionism. Although carefully delineating the explicit and implicit sources of Kaplan's thought, the author never loses sight of how these ideas were molded by the needs and the realities of American-Jewish life during this period. Similarly, the writings of the "third generation" (1955-80) in which rabbinic sermons gave way to more formal theological pronouncements on chosenness by Jewish intellectuals and theologians (indicative of the eclipse of the rabbinate by seminary and university based schol-



ars) is carefully correlated with sociological data such as the Lakeville studies and the fictional works of American-Jewish authors whose literary prominence is one of the hallmarks of this period. Eisen exhibits much prudence in giving the proper weight to these various elements.

In summing up the failure of the third generation to deliver on its promise of a theologically precise and relevant interpretation of chosenness, Eisen rightly points out that the problem is not loss of belief but the loss of sustaining Jewish experiences rooted in a vibrant Jewish life. It may very well be that in America we are entering an era in which interest in chosenness (prized more for its value in insuring group survival than for anything else) will give way to greater concern for the dynamics and problematics of individual faith and relationship to God. It is on this universal turf that Jews and non-Jews must wrestle with similar dilemmas, and it is in this struggle that Judaism has so much to teach. It was because he realized that this issue, more than chosenness, would increasingly engage this generation that the late Abraham Joshua Heschel spent so much time on evoking awe and wonder, which is the prerequisite of personal faith. After all, without this element, discussions of Jewish chosenness and group survival carry an echo of tribalism, a danger of which Eisen's rabbis and intellectuals of the second and third generation in twentieth-century America were well aware.

JOSEPH P. SCHULTZ  
University of Missouri,  
Kansas City

JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELIT. *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940*. (Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 209. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$9.95.

One of the most sensitive of all accusations hurled against any immigrant group is the charge of criminality. Usually these insinuations are grounded in nativism devoid of substantiation and elicit a response in kind from defenders of the particular minority. The thesis presented by Jenna Weissman Joselit in *Our Gang*, however, merits serious consideration and cannot be dismissed with a wave of a filiopietistic wand.

The findings Joselit amassed are based on a perusal of court records, with literary sources used to buttress or supplement the primary sources. Considering the Jewish ethnic experience in New York City during a forty-year period, the author has established a relationship between immigration and criminality. What is so unique about her findings is that she dispels with compassion but with a desire

for the truth the notion that the Jewish immigrant was immune from the taint of criminality. She has demonstrated that for some Jewish immigrants, crime became the key to social mobility and the backsliding ascribed to certain members of the Jewish community occurred within the ghetto in relation to specific immigrant economic pursuits. Jewish crime progressed from arson in the early years, to Prohibition-oriented offenses in the 1920s, and eventually to racketeering in Jewish dominated endeavors such as the clothing industry in the 1930s. Nevertheless, just as criminality had been an unknown characteristic of the Jew in the Old World, the incidence of Jewish crime faded into insignificance at the end of the period under consideration. What is of particular interest to immigration historians is the author's discussion of the linkage between Italians and Jews as well as their relationship to criminality.

To students of American-Jewish history, the issues raised in *Our Gang* are not unfamiliar. The report of the Lexow committee in 1894 concerning corruption in New York State and the controversy surrounding the assertion in 1908 by New York Police Commissioner Theodore A. Bingham about the incidence of Jewish criminality are part of the record. Moreover, recent works like Rudolf Glanz's *Jew and Italian* as well as Albert Fried's *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Gangster in America* should also be consulted by those interested in the field.

But *Our Gang* is a noteworthy contribution to immigration history because it supplies the documentation largely absent from prior studies. The nexus between immigration and crime is quite complex involving certain immigrants, native-born Americans seeking to profit from the situation, and the sociological conditions encountered by immigrants on their arrival in America.

A major issue raised in *Our Gang*, however, is still left unanswered: Why did criminality soon disappear from the Jewish immigrant community? Was it because of the assistance rendered to the immigrants by their more well-established coreligionists or because of the efforts of the immigrants themselves? Some of the more serious crimes notwithstanding, did not the question of immigrant malfeasance relate to a large extent to minor issues such as peddling and other misdemeanors? Finally, one would question the accuracy of the author's assertion that Jewish crime disappeared with the diminution of the flow of immigration. There was no rise in the rate of Jewish crime during the German-Jewish immigration of the 1930s and that of the East European Jews in the post-World War II era.

Nevertheless, social scientists will consider *Our Gang* pivotal reading as we consider the problems of adjustment faced by America's most recent immigrants and for that matter, the crime generated in

inner-city ghettos. Neither alarmist accusations nor well-intentioned evasions can obscure the reality of the problem. That a minority group can bring a skeleton out of the closet and focus on it the light of both scholarship, publicity, and possible repercussion as we observe from *Our Gang* is a sign of that group's acculturation and maturity.

MYRON BERMAN  
Temple Beth-El,  
Richmond, Virginia

NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER. *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950*. (Contemporary American History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 396. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.00.

This is a very fine book in the Dorothy Borg tradition. Reading it reminds one of Borg's pioneering study, *The United States and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-1928* (1948), which has inspired many works in the history of American-Chinese relations. Like Borg's book, Nancy Bernkopf Tucker's examines in great detail the contours of American policy and opinion toward a revolutionary China, and discusses the making of policy with regard to diplomatic recognition of the communists who emerged victorious in 1949. The result is a highly reliable account, one that is likely to remain as definitive as Borg's has been.

Tucker's main argument is that, despite the confusing picture emerging out of China, Chinese communists' often irritating behavior toward American residents, or intense pressures exerted by the China lobby at home, the Truman administration on the whole stuck to a realistic policy; President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, and most senior officials resisted the idea of rendering assistance to the Nationalists, and in fact were willing to consider recognizing the Peking regime as soon as the communists unified the whole of China by defeating Chiang Kai-shek's forces on the island of Taiwan.

Although this thesis is not entirely original—Warren Cohen and others have suggested it—Tucker fortifies it by massive documentation. Two hundred and seven pages of the main text are followed by 123 pages of notes and an almost endless bibliography. She seems to have read virtually every available document in American and British archives and libraries. Although this results in a tendency to delight in citing minor episodes or obscure memoranda and in repetitiveness—for instance, the 1949 China White Paper is mentioned in several different places—the book clearly shows that during 1949-50, America's policy toward the Chinese revolution was put in the framework of its strategy for the

Soviet Union. Truman, Acheson, and others judged that in preparing for an anticipated confrontation with Russia, China was of low strategic priority, and that it would be folly to commit American resources to the support of the Nationalists in Taiwan when they were needed elsewhere. (By 1949, of course, Washington had redefined its Asian policy so that it was shifting its emphasis from China to Japan, a fact that tends to be lost sight of in this book.)

By far the most interesting portions of the book deal with nonofficial or semiofficial activities and opinions. Tucker offers an excellent, comprehensive picture of American merchants, missionaries, and journalists in China, as well as lobbyists, politicians, and academics at home as they sought to influence policy toward the communist regime. After a careful analysis, the author concludes, "American public opinion did not prevent United States recognition of the Chinese Communist regime" (p. 161). In this regard, too, her interpretations have a striking resemblance to those in Borg's study of an earlier Chinese revolution.

In one important respect, however, Tucker goes beyond Borg. This is in her use of Chinese sources. Although scarcer than American or British materials, there exist Chinese newspapers, journals, and other writings that need to be examined to put American policy in perspective. This Tucker does quite well. Although few surprises emerge, it is nevertheless good to have fully documented accounts of such matters as Chiang's financing of lobbying activities in America, and the communists' often contradictory views of the United States, reflecting their internal division as well as the tension between nationalistic and pragmatic considerations.

The book concludes with a brief survey of developments after June 25, 1950, when the outbreak of the Korean War completely undermined the Truman-Acheson approach and ushered in a period of nonrecognition that was to last for more than twenty years. Since the origins of the Korean War cannot be understood without a detailed discussion of Soviet strategy, one hopes that some day as full a story of Soviet-Chinese relations will be written to complement this excellent volume.

AKIRA IRIYE  
University of Chicago

ROBIN W. DOUGHTY. *Wildlife and Man in Texas: Environmental Change and Conservation*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 246. \$16.95.

Anglo-American explorers, travelers, and settlers came to Texas as they came to other regions, bringing with them hopes and fears, expectations and ambitions. They brought, too, attitudes toward

the natural environment—an environment that would both aid and undermine their efforts to increase the human carrying capacity of the land. Wildlife was the resource perhaps most widely drawn on in the initial phases of settlement. Useful species were eaten, worn, and traded; species that competed with other uses of the land were simply cleared away. A perceived inexhaustibility, combined with the absence of private rights in wild animals, made husbandry unprofitable. The natural environment was seen to be untidy, and, although it held an abundance of interesting and useful species, they were not the ones that would populate the “Mediterranean garden” that Texas was destined to become. The continued decline of wildlife and natural environments, combined with rising standards of living that seemed to depend on those very declines, brought forth in Texas, as elsewhere, a growing movement to preserve and enhance remaining populations and their critical habitats.

In *Wildlife and Man in Texas*, Robin W. Doughty explores this broad sweep of history. The first two-thirds of his presentation, detailing the abundance, variety, and decline of wildlife, is primarily a compilation of anecdotal materials from letters, journals, guidebooks, and other records of early settlers and travelers. Much of this material, in tone and content, confirms experiences in other states and regions: the “solid mass of buffalo,” the venison available at half the price of beef, the “most perfect garden of nature.” But Doughty has cast a wide net, and he shares with the reader tales not only of deer, geese, and wolves, but of prairie dogs, horned toads, and mosquitos. Although Doughty attends unevenly to this wider variety of species, his breadth of coverage is refreshing.

The final third of the book, addressing the responses to wildlife scarcity, is a narrative history that relies primarily on government documents and on the publications of the sporting and environmental movements. Doughty’s treatment here is much narrower and more conventional, as he relates the evolution of state game laws, bird protection, fish culture, predator control, and the growth of federal involvement in state wildlife management.

Underlying this history is the basic premise that habitat is the ultimate determinant of the variety and abundance of flora and fauna, wild and domestic. Doughty devotes the introductory and concluding chapters to Texas biogeography, describing first the regions that settlers came on and finally the twentieth-century fate of those regions. The thematic link between past and present is the “Mediterranean Metaphor” (chapter 5). Doughty has assembled references that liken Texas to Mediterranean regions, but most of the discussion is given over to a series of short essays on a variety of commercial crops and livestock, successes and failures, that can

be traced more easily to expected profits than to the emulation of other regions.

The skeleton of Doughty’s plan is sound. Similarly, the anecdotal meat is interesting and important. It is the connective tissue that is missing. Rather than deriving intermediate statements to be proven in support of major structural themes, the author seems to have begun with the anecdotes, permitting their content to determine the structure of the whole. The result is a choppy, often discontinuous treatment that jumps from species to species and law to law. The details do not build toward a more conceptual understanding of the events described. The interpretive passages, while often insightful, do not always follow in obvious ways from the description that precedes them. Finally, although Doughty has thoroughly mined the primary source materials, he has not drawn very widely on the growing literature on wildlife history which, while perhaps focused on other times and places, explores many of the themes that have played themselves out in Texas.

JAMES A. TOBER  
Marlboro College

BEN W. TWIGHT. *Organizational Values and Political Power: The Forest Service versus the Olympic National Park*. (Pennsylvania State University Studies, number 48.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 139. \$5.95.

A social scientist, Ben W. Twight examines the history of the creation of the Olympic National Park from the perspective of theories of organizational behavior. He brings to the study a thorough knowledge of both the theoretical literature and the important body of works on the Forest Service and the conservation and preservation movements.

He hypothesizes that the ideology of the Forest Service was essentially a closed value system based on “eighteenth-century mercantilistic and utilitarian premises of stability, land scarcity, certainty, a closed economy, timber primacy, telic forestry, scientific elitism, and technocracy.” This frame of reference, he hypothesizes, “precluded the influence of new public demands for allocating public forest lands for wildlife and recreational uses” (p. 27). From the history leading toward the creation of the park in 1938, Twight examines the events that demonstrate the consistency of the Forest Service in its commitment to those ideals. He emphasizes especially support for telic forestry and the conflict between that ideal and the demands for a national park.

In examining Twight’s argument, there is no question that officials exhibited ineptitude in taking their case to the public. The constituency at which it was aimed—those needing forest resources for eco-

conomic development—became increasingly irrelevant. Extraregional pressure for the preservation of wildlife and the natural environment became the deciding factor. While local foresters lobbied for continued Forest Service administration, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace and Chief Forester F. A. Silcox refused to work actively for Forest Service control in the face of park support from President Franklin Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that Twilight's value-stagnation thesis fails to account for the considerable change in Forest Service programs between 1906 and 1938. Twilight cites those facts from the Olympic and other forests (pp. 45, 112–13) that support his case for stagnation. He does not, however, cite the negative examples. The Forest Service created and administered a number of wildlife refuges beginning with the Kaibab Forest in 1906. It learned from experience in those refuges the need to maintain control over the number of animals to prevent starvation. Contrary to Twilight's assertion of the service's indifference to recreation values, from at least the early 1920s foresters recognized their importance. Moreover, the Forest Service set aside primitive areas and spent considerable sums to support the development of recreational facilities.

It seems to me that an alternative hypothesis positing a partially open system better fits the available data, since it accounts for changes in programs over time. The Forest Service began operating under the ideals of German forestry, but it modified those values under user demand and tried to respond in the case of the Olympic Forest. The problem was that while the Forest Service responded well to the needs of forest users whether they were lumber interests, graziers, or recreationists, it failed at least by 1938 to create mechanisms for responding to interests not immediately using a particular forest. Moreover, the Forest Service failed to develop a consistent policy for administering single-use facilities or for responding to National Park Service arguments that it could do a better job with such areas.

In spite of Twilight's failure to consider and account for change over time, his is an important study. It expands the application of interpretive models drawn from the social and behavioral sciences in examining the history of the Forest Service and ought to challenge other scholars to consider such models in their future work.

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER  
Brigham Young University

ELMO RICHARDSON. *David T. Mason, Forestry Advocate: His Role in the Application of Sustained Yield Manage-*

*ment to Private and Public Forest Lands.* Santa Cruz: Forest History Society. 1983. Pp. xii, 125. \$5.00.

In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries the timber industry in the United States suffered the overproduction and chronic low prices that accompany a high level of competition. From the 1920s through the 1940s, American foresters weighed three solutions: federal regulation of private forestry as championed by Gifford Pinchot; cooperative fire protection represented by William Greeley; and sustained-yield forest management advanced by David T. Mason. As Elmo Richardson ably demonstrates, Mason vigorously argued throughout his long life (1883–1973) that if all forests were harvested at a sufficiently moderate annual rate and new growth encouraged to replace that which had been cut, the cause of conservation would be served and overproduction cured. Mason tried to convince western timbermen that this equation of yields with growth could be mathematically calculated.

In 1921 Mason, a one-time U.S. Forest Service employee and ex-professor of forestry at the University of California, became a consulting forester for the West Coast Douglas-fir and redwood regions. From then until he eased out of his career in the 1960s, he designed multiphased forest property management plans for client companies. During the interwar and World War II years, however, Mason also influenced state and federal forest policies, and it is on these activities that Richardson focuses. As manager of the Western Pine Association when the Depression struck, Mason worked for self-governing implementation of market price controls and lobbied for sustained-yield management through cooperative forestry, or the pooling of timber supplies on private and public lands to ensure continuous production. Mason found the Hoover administration receptive to the example of the WPA. Richardson details how Mason helped to frame article 10 of the New Deal's Lumber Code Authority and struggled, as the authority's executive officer, to maintain the code structure. The WPA and LCA experiences gave Mason an opportunity to implement his life-long belief that all forest management including sustained-yield policies could and should be realized only through industrial self-government. Returning to the Western Pine Association, Mason helped frame, lobby for, and implement the Oregon and California Revested Lands Act (1937) and the Sustained-Yield Forest Management Act (1944), culminating his crusade for sustained yield through cooperative management.

Mason blamed the limited success of industrial self-government and cooperative forestry on the federal bureaucracy. He was indulgent of the industry's halting response, yet *David T. Mason* does not



prove that the voluntary implementation of conservation was realistic while old growth remained plentiful. Richardson portrays Mason as an "honest broker," yet Mason was an industrial spokesman, albeit an independent and high-minded one. Richardson may also have given Mason too exclusive credit as "the father of sustained yield." These are minor criticisms, however, occasioned by the sympathy Richardson obviously developed for his subject. Richardson has written a sound study based on extensive research in Mason's diaries, oral history, and correspondence. The book improves our understanding of interwar public policy, if not in broad outline, in fine detail. Technical in nature and tersely written, *David T. Mason* is not a book for the casual reader, but it should be of interest to historians of American business and essential reading for those in forest history.

SUSAN R. SCHREFFER  
Rutgers University

DAVID E. WHISNANT. *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*. (Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 340. \$24.00.

In *Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, Power, and Planning in Appalachia* (1981), David E. Whisnant explored the emergence and consequences of the ideology of modernization as it affected development efforts in the southern mountain region of the United States. Noting that "the business community's economic need for the wealth of the region" was "matched by the larger public's manipulated psychic 'need' for Appalachia as a reassuring norm against which to gauge its own well-being and self-esteem" (p. xxi), he examined the manner in which both public and private programs for the "improvement" of mountain life served each of these needs simultaneously. Here he takes the next step, projected at the end of that excellent study, and attempts to examine the tensions inherent in the modernization effort as they manifested themselves in the actions (and to the degree that the evidence permits, in the personal feelings and attitudes) of the most well-intentioned of the modernizers.

As in his earlier book, Whisnant uses a case-study approach and in the process provides us with close readings of the history and activities of the Hindman Settlement School, of the John C. Campbell Folk School, and of the White Top Folk Festival. But he sees these institutions also as manifestations of the concerns and interests of their founders, and through his discussion of them he begins to limn the changing dynamic of "the politics of culture and of cultural intervention" in the United States. Thus the

career of Katherine Pettit, the founder of Hindman, illuminates the sense of personal obligation and the practice of good works characteristic of the first generation of social workers at the turn of the century; the career of Olive Dame Campbell, who worked closely with her husband John during his tenure as secretary of the Southern Highland Division of the Russell Sage Foundation and who founded the Folk School in his memory, illuminates the new usages of "scientific sociology" as developed by the foundations and the universities before and after the First World War; and the careers of Annabel Morris Buchanan and John Powell, who shared a commitment to the development of "native" sources for American culture—in Powell's case, from a "nativist" perspective—illuminate themes characteristic of the search for American culture during the 1920s and 1930s.

All of them believed that the modernization of Appalachia was at once inevitable and desirable, but they also recognized that modernization would mean the disruption of current patterns of society, culture, and economy in the region, which they defined as "traditional." As a result, they all sought in different ways to preserve aspects of that traditional culture and to use it as the basis for creating a new culture for Appalachia that would combine the best of the old with the best of the new, or would at least serve as a buffer against the worst aspects of the machine-made civilization that was coming—chewing gum and banjo-playing, rowdiness, and perhaps even collectivism. Or so they said. In fact, Whisnant finds, the elements of Appalachian life and culture that these reluctant modernizers "preserved" were barely Appalachian at all, but involved at least a rigorous filtering (by which the dulcimer was accepted and the banjo rejected); more frequently a grafting of "analogous" cultural patterns onto a receptive stock (the introduction of English Morris dances and the Danish "Anders Hop"); and in all cases, the establishment of "authenticity" by outsiders to the region, who determined—for Appalachia and America both—what was "native and fine" in mountain life.

HENRY D. SHAPIRO  
University of Cincinnati

ROBERT FRIEDEL. *Pioneer Plastic: The Making and Selling of Celluloid*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 153.

How does a trademark name like Celluloid come to represent a technological era? The history of *The Making and Selling of Celluloid*, as Robert Friedel has written it, answers that question and illustrates how a technological innovation is produced. Celluloid, the first artificial plastic, began as an imitator and



became a true innovation when inventors began to imitate it. Because of its imitators it was indeed the *Pioneer Plastic*, since imitation made Celluloid the forerunner of a whole line of products that established the age of plastics.

"The way we think about our technologies determines how we use them" (p. xix). It is the role of the entrepreneur, as this book shows, to make the public think about a new technology in new ways. The first step is imitation and, once established, the new technology itself is imitated. In the case of Celluloid, its characteristics were dictated by the efforts of inventors to imitate ivory. The market for ivory and its cost were increasing in the mid-nineteenth century, due to the demand for ivory billiard balls to supply that most popular of nineteenth-century indoor pastimes, billiards. By 1864, England was importing one million pounds of ivory per annum, which was the cause of the killing of 8,333 male elephants for their tusks. Only a small percentage of the ivory was of a high enough quality to be used in billiard balls, and only ivory was suitable. With rising prices as well as the inducement of a \$10,000 prize for an acceptable substitute, the search was on.

It was hoped that Celluloid would take ivory's place, but the synthetic substance never became a replacement, because it bore no resemblance to ivory in its characteristics. Celluloid remained a "cheap imitation."

Celluloid was patented in 1870 and entrepreneurs immediately began to think about uses and markets for the new substance. Imitation was the guiding principle and experiment was the means of finding a market for the new artificial substance. Celluloid was thought to be a good substitute for hard rubber as a material for dental plates, but it proved unsatisfactory. By 1895, a catalogue of products was being made from Celluloid, everything from brushes and combs to collars and cuffs, knife handles, hand mirrors, piano keys, and corset-clasps. But substitution limited the concept of Celluloid as a artificial material that might be used as a model for the development of other plastics until George Eastman recognized its unique qualities for roll film in his new Kodak camera. In 1889 Eastman applied for a patent and from that moment Celluloid became associated with photography; the imitator became the imitated.

*Pioneer Plastic* is a brief, perhaps too brief, history of the dawn of the plastic age. The author suggests that "even without making a great economic impact or displacing traditional materials to a large extent, Celluloid firmly established the versatile, moldable, colorful plastic as an integral part of the world of material possibilities" (p. 114). Friedel offers reasons for the basis of that statement but falls short of convincing the reader. Unless the reader has a

familiarity with technological innovation, this book may lead him or her to the conclusion that much in the Celluloid innovation story was a matter of chance or "felt need." This history, however, is an important one and, although the book suggests more than it reveals, it serves a useful purpose.

HAROLD ISSADORE SHARLIN  
HIS Associates  
Washington, D.C.

EDWARD H. BERMAN. *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 227.

This book demonstrates how the history of an ideology can fall victim to an ideology of history.

According to Edward H. Berman's Gramscian formula, philanthropic foundations are "integral cogs in the capitalist system" (p. 136) whose primary function is to maintain the hegemony of the ruling class by means of "the control of culture" (p. 29). Since 1945 the programs of technocratically minded philanthropists, who have been "ubiquitous in official policy positions" (p. 37), have become an integral part of the Cold War drive to capture the hearts, minds—and mineral riches—of underdeveloped nations. Cultural hegemony has been achieved by foundation support for Third World universities and teacher training, promotion of the social sciences and developmental theory, and the construction of an elaborate institutional network of satellite organizations. All this activity, Berman argues, has been rooted less in benevolence than in disguised self-interest, its object being the furtherance of liberal capitalist domination through the replication of American "cultural capital" abroad. The foundations are thus unmasked as a self-appointed, self-perpetuating elite whose disingenuousness and patronizing noblesse oblige make "a mockery of the democratic ethos" (p. 177).

Notwithstanding the author's promise to deal with "particular historical circumstances" (p. 3) on the basis of original research in foundation records, the facts are marshaled selectively and superficially on behalf of his thesis, with little appreciation of historical texture. For example, Berman's depiction of the foundations as an undermocratic elite "answerable to no public body" (p. 162) leads him to omit any discussion of the right-wing congressional investigations of the 1950s, Wright Patman's populist crusade, or the motives behind the tax reform act of 1969. His rigid conceptual approach also asks us to believe that ideologies remain static over long periods of time, as in his argument that modern foundation ideology was formed during the Progressive era and later appropriated wholesale, with-

out any changes of note, into Cold War foreign policy. Such single-mindedness has other pitfalls. So intent is he on arguing the simplistic notion that the Cold War was a direct outgrowth of philanthropic thinking that the other side of the story, the growing impact of big government on the foundations, is totally ignored. An author with greater sensitivity to the vast change in philanthropy's relationship to government since World War II could easily have reversed the title of this book and done greater justice to the facts.

Ironically, Berman's conception of the foundations' influence is so sweeping that it effectively confounds his revolutionary sympathies. He does assert that "they are not omnipotent" (p. 179) and lamely cites a few "contradictions" in support of this view, but he is clearly so awed at the power and cohesiveness of the ruling class that his ostensibly radical critique is pathetically devoid of revolutionary possibilities. Space prevents one from taking up other problems that arise from his conceptual framework, such as his elitist definition of culture or the decidedly unmaterialistic notion of cultural capital.

Berman deserves credit for bringing to our attention a worthy topic sadly neglected by scholars. There is indeed much more to philanthropy than mere benevolence and there are important historical connections to be drawn, intellectual and institutional, between philanthropy and U.S. foreign policy. Yet this book is so theoretically top-heavy, its ideological superstructure so overwhelms its factual base, that Berman achieves little more than the reification of his own preconceptions.

FRANK NINKOVICH  
St. John's University

LEO P. RIBUFFO. *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 369. \$29.95.

*The Old Christian Right* is a deeply researched, well-written, and carefully thought out reexamination of conventional ideas about the far right, or conservative extremists, in American society since the 1920s. Arguing that many of those often considered outside of the mainstream of political thought are generally more complex and baffling than heretofore believed, Leo P. Ribuffo forces us to question the accuracy of terms like the "authoritarian personality" and "paranoid style" in explaining anti-Semitism or reactionary politics.

The focal point of the book traces the careers of William Pelley, Gerald Winrod, and Gerald L. K. Smith from birth to the waning of their professional careers. All three made their greatest impact in

society while Franklin D. Roosevelt sat in the White House. Ribuffo analyzes the progression of their lives, with their conservative Protestant backgrounds, and shows how by the accidental experiences, which could occur to anyone, they moved closer to political conservatism than they might have done had the fortunes of life been kinder to them. But the author continually states as well that the lives of Pelley, Winrod, and Smith were also marked by conventional and traditional backgrounds and that many of their ideas developed out of culturally accepted norms.

To be sure, most anti-Semites controlled their antediluvian views about Jews in public but privately shunned and looked down on them. Pelley, Winrod, and Smith gained as much acceptance as they did because they sometimes articulated what more genteel people would not quite say aloud. It is also noteworthy that during the 1930s and 1940s both Winrod and Smith participated in the normal political processes, sought public office through accepted channels, and cavorted with other politicians using the same avenues to advance their careers.

Ribuffo's work is informed not only by deep research in original sources but also by a knowledge of Freudian psychology, Protestant theology, and by the use of the best secondary works on American anti-Semitism and paranoid thought extant. His chapter on anti-Semitism in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s is excellent, and his departure from the standard explanations in probing the causes of Christian anti-Semitism and right wing politics is an eye opener. Future scholars of Fundamentalists in politics and the Christian right-wing, in general, will ignore Ribuffo's arguments at their peril.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN  
University of Arizona

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG. *In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 346. \$19.95.

William E. Leuchtenburg's close examination of a generation of FDR's presidential legatees has enabled him to demonstrate, to no one's surprise, Roosevelt's enormous beyond-the-grave influence. What might have been a plodding book in lesser hands has, instead, resulted in a fine, perceptive work that constitutes a valuable coda for New Deal studies. Several pertinent insights, especially into the mind of Lyndon Johnson, help to contribute to discussions of the role of personalities in politics.

The historian also speaks out as a concerned Democrat, advising the post-New Deal party to heed a rather different lesson from FDR. Roosevelt showed that he could use his party's Jeffersonian

legacy for his own purpose and by a "subtle combination of efforts" managed "to supplant Jefferson as the party's most revered figure" (p. 245). The Roosevelt legacy, Leuchtenburg argues, should become a creative basis for future leadership. Just how this can be done is not made clear, and indeed this burden is beyond the scope of the book, but the point is important as well as provocative.

Politicians might consider how FDR's shadow has both encumbered and suffocated. Among presidents from Truman to Reagan, only Gerald Ford was immune. But Ford was about as conscious of FDR as he was acquainted with Poland. Truman felt himself trapped, dominated by his predecessor in almost every way and resentful "that he had been let into the presidency through the servants' entrance" (p. 37). Not until Truman's upset victory in 1948 did he establish his own legitimacy. Even then, Fair Deal weaknesses provoked new complaints about his failure to equal Roosevelt, and that heightened Truman's own bitterness and strengthened old resentments. The problem never disappeared. Irrked by negative comparisons with how FDR would have handled postwar crises, he later told Merle Miller, "If Lincoln had lived, he would have had the same experience, but like I said, heroes know when to die" (p. 40).

Truman's three Democratic successors included two pretenders to the Roosevelt legacy, Kennedy and Carter. Kennedy's heritage included conflicting perceptions of FDR but, intellectually, he was ambivalent. He soon learned the impossibility of detachment without forfeiting the old coalition; and, when he wavered, Eleanor Roosevelt was among those ready to challenge his legitimacy. Nothing was more galling than the persistent yardstick encouraged by "First One Hundred Days" comparisons, regardless of how inapplicable they were to JFK's circumstances. Despite their differences, especially in their methods of dealing with "economic royalists," it was impossible, but not entirely undesirable, to destroy the notion that he was in competition with Roosevelt's achievements. But the Carter presidency brought to the White House someone well beyond FDR's shadow. It was Carter's failure to appreciate the Roosevelt heritage rather than a referendum on the New Deal, that helped bring on the final disaster. Carter was also a remote figure to the members of the old coalition, and that, Leuchtenburg argues, had much to do with diminishing their turnout in 1980.

But Ronald Reagan may owe more to Johnson than to Carter. In Leuchtenburg's most engrossing chapter, the "tragedy" of LBJ takes on a new meaning. Roosevelt's devoted "son" was his predecessor's most ardent competitor. The New Deal influence ranged from the Great Society at home to notions of creating another TVA in Vietnam's Me-

kong River valley. (A memorandum to Johnson by Horace Busby now at the LBJ Library advised Johnson that families have been "confused that their sons should fight so the Vietnamese can have REA's.") By 1966, Johnson proudly boasted that he had surpassed the accomplishments of his political father. But Johnson, who also saw what was happening in Southeast Asia through 1930s' glasses, strangled both himself and perceptions of what government could do by simultaneously latching onto "feckless innovations" (p. 159) and trying to avoid "another" Munich. Lyndon Johnson's psychic scars ironically contributed to apprehensions about the New Deal's "malign consequences," and the "backlash" took over (p. 160).

LBJ's failure to adapt to the realities of the 1960s led to Nixon, who recognized the New Deal as something to be reversed and its coalition updated with his "New American Majority." Despite Watergate (which Nixon tried to justify by saying he had done nothing that FDR had not done), a continued rightward swing was almost inevitable. Leuchtenburg's careful examination of Reagan's ideological roots reveals a deeper and more durable partisanship than the fortieth president has ever acknowledged. Reagan, in attempting to resolve the contradictions between his own identification with Roosevelt and his conservative ideology, has denied the past, and uses FDR quotes as they suit his purpose. Leuchtenburg also bristles at the notion, argued in Lou Cannon's biography, that Reagan is actually safeguarding Roosevelt's policies from the baneful effects of their own excesses. "So contrary was this notion to reality that one might register it as the greatest sleight-of-hand of modern American politics, save for one thing," Leuchtenburg adds, "No one believed it more sincerely than Ronald Reagan" (p. 232).

Hardly a page here cannot be read without profit. Reminiscent of Merrill Peterson's study of Jefferson's influence, it is worthy of that model. Leuchtenburg's latest addition to FDR literature will probably be seen as a refreshing contribution to studies of the presidency itself.

HERBERT S. PARMET  
*City University of New York*

## LATIN AMERICA

FREDERICK STIRTON WEAVER. *Class, State, and Industrial Structure: The Historical Process of South American Industrial Growth*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 32.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1980. Pp. xiv, 247. \$28.50.

How does one impose order on the infinitely large mass of data relevant to Latin American history? Is

there a right perspective, one that provides the key to understanding events and processes within each part of Latin America as well as between that region and the rest of the world from colonial times to the present? Frederick Stirton Weaver believes he has found just such a key, one that obviates the need to discuss individuals or nations or large ideas. These, it seems, are not "particularly useful" units since they are all subordinate to the role of class and class conflicts, as manifest within each particular area of Latin America over the long span of time.

Weaver employs the basic notions of an economy's input-output matrix to discover the locus of specific modes of production and consequent social relations of production. He finds in this matrix evidence for a dialectical progression in the currently developed economies of the "center" from competitive to financial to monopoly capitalism. He then finds that domestic realities at any time within each part of Latin America reflect the fact that Latin American peripheral capitalism developed out of phase with the capitalism of the center. Thus the Southern Cone did not enter the competitive phase of capitalist development with the export of its primary products until after the center had evolved into its financial phase. Because the center was then exporting both financial and material capital, Latin America could not create its own capital goods and especially its machine tool sector; hence, it was precluded from a buoyant and dynamic phase of capitalist development. Since the center is currently in its phase of monopoly capitalism, Latin America finds itself saddled with dual economies and class struggles based less on the ownership of capital than on great inequalities of income. Thus middle-class beneficiaries of multinational corporations and *dirigiste* bureaucratic states are allied against the urban and rural poor, with owners of capital, foreign and domestic, being relatively powerless.

Weaver argues that it is a great mistake to place primary importance on the center or on the global context whether, for example, one is analyzing the export of guano from Peru or the overthrow of Allende. Instead, both now and in the past, the proper focus should always be on the social and political aspects of domestic class struggles as based on then current processes of surplus appropriation in each particular region or country.

Weaver arrays a great deal of information derived from a very lengthy bibliography to illustrate his theses. Those who doubt his basic assumptions may complain that correlation is not evidence of causation. Those who accept his theses will probably find in this work intellectual excitement and many fruitful questions for further research.

DONALD S. BARNHART  
San Francisco State University

GEORGE PHILIP. *Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 40.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. xviii, 577. \$49.50.

George Philip discusses the transformation of the oil industry in Latin America from "one in which the international oil companies have dominated to one which is dominated by the main state oil companies." He focuses on domestic political events influencing nationalization and provides brief summaries and comparative analyses of the operation of government oil firms in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela, which supplement earlier books on the history of oil in these nations. The author uses less space evaluating the issues surrounding the economics of the Latin American petroleum industry and of the evolution of contracts, topics that will form large sections of my next book.

Philip accepts the hypothesis, shown for mineral development in Chile by Mamalakis, that foreign dominance of the Latin American petroleum industry resulted from the large amount of capital needed to enter the industry and from the local capitalists' preference for other investment opportunities. Profits on oil in Latin America, adjusted for risk, were less attractive than those in the Middle East. The positions of individual oil companies and the oil revenues of Latin American nations varied considerably. During the 1930s the world depression led to a setback in oil production and increased the attractiveness and feasibility of the goals of Latin American economic nationalists. In oil-importing nations they began to obtain control over oil refining and marketing; in some oil-exporting nations the oil firms were expropriated. The British government supported its oil industry's claims abroad. The United States government did not—not only because of strategic considerations but also because the oil industry often had opposed President Roosevelt. The oil shortages during the war and immediate postwar period enhanced the economic and strategic position of Latin American oil suppliers, who obtained improved contract terms from the oil companies. The U.S. government's opposition to nationalized industries led to disguises such as aid to governments that then diverted loan funds to oil. This opposition also led to U.S. government pressure to open the Latin American oil industry to foreign capital. This attitude was modified after the 1973–74 oil crisis when emphasis shifted to increasing the supply of oil.

Philip uses the formation of OPEC, in which Venezuela had a leading role, to refute the hypothesis that elites in developing nations are more tied to the interests of the "international capitalist system"



than they are to their national interest. He persuasively argues that governments want control over oil even more than they want income from it and that their policies toward the oil industry largely reflect middle-class desires for increased industrialization and subsidies of products that they purchase. Further, military governments, concerned with oil for reasons of defense and strategy, are more likely to have aggressive oil policies than are civilian ones.

Philip carefully distinguishes between the needs of Latin American exporting and importing nations, giving due attention to the detailed situation of each country. Readers wishing even more detail might wish to consult United States sources not mentioned by the British-based author, such as *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly* and the various oil-related publications of Barrows and McGraw Hill. Their use, however, would not alter the picture Philip presents, nor does their absence from the bibliography alter the judgment that Philip's book incorporates carefully and intricately structured hypotheses as well as thorough research. The book's writing and editing are admirable.

LAURA RANDALL  
Hunter College  
City University of New York

MARGARITA MORENO BONETT. *Nacionalismo Novohispano: Mariano Veytia; Historia Antigua, Fundación de Puebla, Guadalupeanismo*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma. 1983. Pp. 347.

Mariano Veytia was one of a group of eighteenth-century Mexican creole historians who laid the ideological foundations of Mexican nationalism. In their search for roots, for a classical antiquity other than the European, these historians extolled the achievements of the Aztec and Toltec rulers and peoples and thus provided the nascent Mexican nationality with a suitably dignified and heroic past. Seeking to establish Mexican spiritual autonomy and even superiority vis-à-vis Spain, they opposed to the cult of the Spanish Virgin de Los Remedios the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who allegedly had appeared to the humble Indian Juan Diego in 1531 near Mexico City. Some even claimed that Christianity had been brought to Mexico centuries before the Spanish conquest by the Apostle St. Thomas, identified with the Indian culture hero and god Quetzalcoatl. As Margarita Moreno Bonett shows in her topical analysis of Veytia's writings, these themes figure prominently in his works.

A member of Mexico's wealthy creole elite closely linked to the peninsular establishment, in whom approval of the existing political and social order clashed with nationalistic impulses, Veytia was moved to write a history of ancient Mexico through

his contact with the Italian scholar-adventurer Lorenzo Boturini, whom he met in Madrid in 1743. A disciple of the Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico, Boturini attempted to apply Vico's philosophy of history to ancient Mexico in his *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional* (1746), in which he explained the ancient myths and fables of Mexico as reflections in the folk mind of natural phenomena and social and political developments. Another striking feature of Boturini's *Idea* was his pioneering effort to construct a developmental sequence for the history of ancient Mexico, with movement from one stage to the next caused by internal changes and struggles. The *Idea* was intended to be a sketch of a more ambitious *Historia general*, which Boturini did not live to complete. Meanwhile Veytia had returned to Mexico. On learning of Boturini's death, he decided to write his own history of ancient Mexico with the aid of Boturini's rich archive of Indian and Spanish documentary materials. At the time of his death in 1780, Veytia had only reached the middle of the fifteenth century. His work remained unpublished until 1836.

Despite his professions of respect and admiration for Boturini, the pious Veytia, whose spirit was not seriously touched by the Enlightenment, did not fully understand or sympathize with Boturini's ideas, preferring to be guided by Ixtlilxóchitl and other sources of an idealizing, romantic tendency. Therefore he rejected Boturini's view that the religion of the first phase of Indian history was a polytheism that reflected supernatural fear of the forces of nature in favor of the position that the early Indians believed only in a supreme being called "Creator of All Things," a monotheism gradually corrupted by the introduction of idolatry. Thus Veytia substituted for the complex Vico-Boturini conception of a paganism evolving in conformity with the changing conditions of Indian life the naive conception of a long fall from grace, a gradual retreat from monotheism toward full paganism. Veytia not only rejected Boturini's historical theories but also occasionally disputed his facts and especially his chronology. Veytia himself, however, has been charged by historical critics with gross errors, uncritical use of sources, great credulity, and unwarranted speculation.

Moreno Bonett, whose devotion to Veytia shines throughout this book, warmly defends him against these charges, claiming that Veytia's works present "a scientific treatment—in the eighteenth-century manner—of the subjects with which they deal" (p. 27). I do not find her defense convincing. The fact is that Veytia's historical method was old-fashioned by contemporary standards, as a comparison of his *Historia antigua de México* with Francisco Javier Clavijero's work of the same title quickly reveals.



Perhaps the principal value of Moreno Bonett's work consists in her thorough bibliographical survey of Veytia's literary heritage and her careful analysis of the content of little-known works such as the *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles*, which is shown to contain material on political, social, and economic organization that may prove of interest to students of eighteenth-century Mexico.

BENJAMIN KEEN  
Professor Emeritus  
Northern Illinois University

RICHARD B. LINDLEY. *Haciendas and Economic Development: Guadalajara, Mexico, at Independence* (Latin American Monographs, number 58.) Austin: University of Texas Press, for the Institute of Latin American Studies. 1983. Pp. xvi, 156. \$19.95.

By emphasizing the heavy dependence of commercial agriculture on credit in a regional economy that was always short of liquid capital, this book shows the close, vital relationship between merchants and landowners in an important zone of late colonial Mexico and opens a fruitful line of inquiry in hacienda studies. Through marriage alliances, wealthy peninsular merchants joined with established creole landowners to create diversified family enterprises in agriculture, mining, retail business, and export-import trade. The merchant in-laws are presented as the crucial source of credit that determined rural production for the expanding Guadalajara and external markets. Together with their creole kinsmen they could complete the circle of credit to finance production (production-transport-marketing) without going outside the family.

That peninsulares and creoles were not necessarily antagonists or separated socially on the eve of the wars for independence in the old centers of New Spain and Peru is not a novel or surprising idea, but rarely has it been demonstrated so clearly for a major city and its region or in a way that clarifies the relationships between city and countryside at the top of society. Richard B. Lindley's extensive archival research, especially in notarial registers, and his careful attention to genealogy allow for detailed descriptions of the wealth and economic activities of four important families and a typology of credit transactions and the structure of family enterprises within what is termed the local oligarchy. Equally significant is the discovery of a new generation of foreign merchants arriving in Guadalajara from Panama during the Independence period. They were, if not surrogates of British merchant houses in Jamaica, definitely tied to British capital and goods. They represented credit that was less accessible in traditional ways and that posed a threat to the established family enterprises.

But was the Independence period such a time of apocalyptic change—bringing a “flood” of British capital that threatened to sweep away older forms of family enterprise (p. 94), changing peasants into proletarians (pp. 6–7) and communities into associations (p. 6)? Studying the evidence in this book, there is little reason to think so. The author acknowledges that he has not documented the decline of family enterprises or traditional ways of securing capital for rural estates; extinction of Indian pueblos and “domination” of the countryside by haciendas are presented in a flat, largely undocumented way; and ecclesiastical sources of long-term credit are not addressed. The idea of social and economic transformation presented here invokes a neat *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* view of history. The family enterprises of the late eighteenth century appear as stable, integrated, miniature communities and a nostalgic metaphor for the regional society—isolated, stable, harmonious, familial. Change, then, becomes breakdown of community and a sudden surfacing after 1810 of splits between Spaniards and Americans, bureaucrats and priests, merchants and hacendados, Indians and whites, and centralists and federalists.

This way of thinking tends to mistake early signs of great changes for the predominance of those changes by the 1820s and to miss the history of conflict and relationships to the state before 1810. With this scheme of history in mind, it is puzzling to find that the old families and their enterprises remained important after national independence. The author answers on page 110 that they seem to have “reasserted” themselves later on because they were rational and profitable and could survive within drastically changed (but not clearly specified) social and economic structures. Perhaps the longevity of the old oligarchy would seem less mysterious if we knew about its control over patron-client relationships—the networks of personal dependents, compadres, and contacts that reached far beyond the dealings within and among the few families studied—relationships that would have been essential to how agricultural goods were produced and marketed and how political support was secured after independence.

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR  
University of Virginia

JOHN E. KICZA. *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 313.

John E. Kicza's study provides a glimpse into certain aspects of late colonial Mexican business. Primarily an account of the mercantile patriciate of Bourbon Mexico City, Kicza's work relies heavily—and in its

later chapters almost exclusively—on the protocols of some eighteen notaries. There are also chapters dealing with artisans and manufacturers, but these are more sketchily drawn.

Kicza's analysis of what he terms the "great families"—essentially those founded or headed by millionaire import-export merchants—extends David Brading's 1971 treatment of the subject. Like Brading, Kicza finds that capital accumulated in international trade formed the basis of substantial family fortunes. Yet Kicza argues that this capital was not simply reinvested in mining and estate agriculture but was also employed in continuing commercial enterprise. As a result, the creole sons of the great families were hardly averse to participating in the wholesale trade. As an interesting counterpoise to Brading's thesis, Kicza denies that the peninsular nephews so often brought into the trade were in any sense more entrepreneurial than their American cousins. The values of a specific persistent culture did not make the immigrants more successful; the advantageous position of the apprentice trader in the peninsular trading world was the key. Here Kicza has provided a novel insight.

A less fortunate aspect of this study in Kicza's wholly arbitrary decision to separate business history from its economic context. For example, Kicza could have provided serious empirical estimates of rates of profitability and return on investment, but did not. Had Kicza some notion of the ongoing work on the historical implications of transactions costs, he might have linked business practice to the structure of the colonial economy and so rescue the historiography from jejune cultural explanations. More surprisingly, there is really no effort to furnish an account of success and failure factors in mercantile enterprise, other than the essentially circular one of aptitude. All of this is most odd in a study of colonial entrepreneurism. Finally, ritual invocations of the significance of notarial archives notwithstanding, the work suffers from methodological innocence and lack of consistent quantitative control. To suggest just one problem, over 200 notaries left protocols from the period 1750–1820. Why did Kicza select the few that he did, and was a sample randomized? Perhaps Kicza will address this issue in the promised sequel to this volume.

RICHARD J. SALVUCCI  
University of California,  
Berkeley

JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. *Diccionario de las letras nicaragüenses*. Part 1, *Escritores de la época colonial y el siglo XIX*. (Cuadernos de Bibliografía Nicaragüense, numbers 3, 4.) Managua: Ministerio de Cultura. 1982. Pp. 144. \$3.00.

JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. *Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense*. 4th ed. Managua: Nueva Nicaragua. 1982. Pp. 197. \$4.00.

JORGE EDUARDO ARELLANO. *Bibliografía general de Nicaragua*. Part 1, 1674–1900. (Cuadernos de Bibliografía Nicaragüense, number 1.) Managua: Ministerio de Cultura. 1981. Pp. 93. \$3.00.

In an unprecedented flurry of activity, Nicaraguan intellectuals during the last four years have been reexamining their nation's past. In fact, the study of history seems to have become something of a national preoccupation. Historical revisionism abounds; nationalism in its multiple forms dominates; old "classics" are back in print; provocative new studies issue forth from the presses. Publishing has become a kind of minor industry in contemporary Nicaragua. For example, the Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, founded in 1981 as a model of modern publishing, printed 110,000 copies of twenty-one titles during its first eighteen months of operations—perhaps not impressive figures in comparison with the output of Mexico or Argentina, but within the Central American context and certainly in view of previous Nicaraguan production, those numbers are spectacular. The elegant cultural journal *Nicaráuac*, which first appeared in 1980, devotes much space to historical concerns. The National Archives initiated its own journal, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, in 1979. Both reflect the revisionism and nationalism of contemporary scholarship.

The three books under review here represent a few of the current historical concerns of Nicaraguan intellectuals and publishers. One of them, *Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense*, also illustrates the quality of the books printed by the Editorial Nueva Nicaragua. Jorge Eduardo Arellano, a meticulous scholar of the Nicaraguan past, wrote or prepared all three.

The fourth edition of Arellano's literary history carries his study of Nicaraguan literature to the mid-1970s. Most of the author's attention focuses on the twentieth century, the period of his fellow countrymen's greatest literary output. He synthesizes extremely well. The short and snappy text is suggestive; the ample footnotes and bibliography point to sources for further study of the topics introduced.

Besides its obvious attention to the various literary movements in Nicaragua over time, the *Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense* outlines the development of historical studies and illuminates the vicissitudes of the cultural life of the nation. Arellano brings together considerable information on the establishment of a modern intellectual infrastructure during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. The National Library opened in 1882. Literary societies

multiplied in the major cities, and a few literary journals began to offer intellectuals a much-needed, if still sporadic, opportunity to publish their ideas. In 1884 the first daily newspaper, *El Diario de Nicaragua*, also provided an outlet for poets, historians, and other literati. That infrastructure both arose from significant economic, political, and intellectual changes in Nicaragua and contributed mightily to the acceleration of them. Within that infrastructure, the small group of intellectuals forged the new ideologies for a nation in the process of rapid transition from neofeudalism to neocapitalism. Nationalism appealed to them, often sustained them. The author indicates some of the major nationalist writers and their contributions.

Some of the major political figures during the pre-Somoza decades bequeathed a rich legacy of nationalist writing. Scholars today are exhuming, publishing, and studying the writings of José Santos Zelaya, Benjamín F. Zeledón, and, of course, Augusto César Sandino. Illustrative of this trend are the booklet *Doctor y General Benjamín F. Zeledón* (Managua: Ediciones Ministerio de Educación, 1980) prepared by the Ministerio de Educación and a rapidly expanding bibliography on the ideology of Sandino that includes José Benito Escobar's *Ideario sandinista* (Managua: Departamento de Propaganda y Educación Política del FSLN, 1981) and an anthology entitled *Introducción al pensamiento sandinista* (Managua: Editorial Juan de Dios Muñoz, 1982). Further, two recent anthologies present a useful overview of past and present nationalist thought: the Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo's *Pensamiento antimperialista en Nicaragua: Antología* (Managua: Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, 1982) sweeps from 1855 to 1933, reproducing some fascinating and often very difficult-to-locate documents, while the Ministerio de Cultura's *Hacia una política cultural de la revolución popular sandinista* (Managua: Ministerio de Cultura, 1982) collects recent speeches concerned with defining and encouraging cultural nationalism.

Many may find surprising the fervent nationalism of the literary giant Rubén Darío (1876–1916). Considered to be one of the two or three most outstanding poets in the Spanish language of the last one-hundred years and translated into dozens of languages, Darío usually is treated as an international figure who incidentally happened to be a Nicaraguan. That conclusion reveals how restricted our understanding of him has been.

The recent and more inclusive edition of Darío's *Prosas políticas* (Managua: Ministerio de Cultura, 1982) challenges past narrow appraisals by introducing his intense nationalism. The twenty-four essays survey his thought from 1889 to 1914. One of those essays, "Protesta de un escritor," addressed Teddy Roosevelt. Written in French in 1910 and

published in the *Paris Journal* (and not republished until 1966), this "protest" denounces U.S. interventions in Nicaragua that got underway in 1909 and would continue until 1933. Darío's statements echo eerily across time. "At this moment in Central America, there is a small country that asks for nothing more than the chance to develop in peace and order its industry and commerce, that wants nothing more than to preserve its modest place in the sun and to follow its own destiny with the security that having committed no wrong against anyone, it will not be the target or reprisals from anyone. But an intervention weakens and paralyzes it. This intervention is carried out by a large nation. That nation is the United States of America. Nicaragua has done nothing to the United States that can justify such action" (p. 148).

In the international press, Darío strongly defended the government of José Santos Zelaya, overthrown by U.S. intervention in 1909. The long Zelaya administration (1893–1909) now emerges as the focal point of historical revisionism. Other evidence of the attention being focused on Rubén Darío as a nationalist can be found in the pages of *Nicaráuac*, 7 (1982), particularly the essay "Rubén Darío y lo nacional" by José Emilio Bollardares, as well as in *Rubén Darío: Tantos vigores dispersos (Ideas sociales y políticas)* (Managua: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1983) selected and introduced by Jorge Eduardo Arellano.

The other two works by Arellano are major bibliographic contributions. His *Bibliografía general de Nicaragua* opens with an instructive essay, "The History of Nicaraguan Bibliography." Bibliographies have been few. The first appeared in 1873, prepared by the Frenchman Paul Levy, and others followed sporadically. Carlos Molina Argüello combined bibliography and historiography in a useful guide, "Bibliografía Historiográfica de Nicaragua" (*Inter-American Review of Bibliography*, 4, nos. 1–2 [January-June, 1954]: 9–22).

The first section of the *Bibliografía general* provides complete bibliographic data on 50 pamphlets written by Nicaraguans between 1674 and 1818 but published outside of Nicaragua. Not until 1829 did Nicaragua acquire its first printing press, immediately used to publish the *Gaceta de Nicaragua*. Still, no pamphlets were published until 1838. The second section, entitled "Los incunables (1838–1860)," details not only publication information but also where copies of these extremely rare 100 items can be found in Nicaragua (the Instituto Histórico Centroamericano in Managua seems to hold a good many of them), as well as when and where these "incunabula" have been reprinted. The third section contains information on the 457 books and pamphlets published between 1861 and 1900. The final two sections list the works published by Nicaraguans

authors abroad and the books published by foreigners about Nicaragua. An index of authors concludes this excellent bibliographic tool. Reproductions of many title pages illustrate this guide.

Arellano's *Diccionario de las letras nicaragüenses*, which, like the *Bibliografía general*, complements his *Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense*, includes twenty-three entries for writers of the colonial period and seventy-seven for the nineteenth century. Each entry briefly traces the biography of the writer, lists his or her bibliography, and concludes with references to studies about the author. For many of these literati, this dictionary provides the most complete information available.

The biographies instantly reveal the intimacy between literature and politics in Nicaragua. Politicians wrote or writers held political positions. In a small population in which very few were literate, it could not be otherwise. The dictionary intriguingly sketches the contours of the intellectual history of colonial and nineteenth-century Nicaragua, a study yet to be written. Unfortunately, only one female, Clementina del Castillo (a pseudonym), appears in this dictionary. Photographs or drawings of the writers accompany many of the entries.

Histories of Nicaragua have been largely political with some attention to economic matters. Arellano provides guidance to expand and diversify studies of the Nicaraguan past. His three contributions form the foundation on which scholars can raise the structures of intellectual and social histories. They are the basis for the beginning of the study of Nicaraguan nationalism, and nowhere in Latin America do the currents of nationalism run deeper or propel contemporary society and politics more swiftly. Arellano's works inform us that history is alive and lively in contemporary Nicaragua.

E. BRADFORD BURNS  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

MANUEL TORRES MARÍN. *Chacabuco y Vergara: Sino y camino del Teniente General Rafael Maroto Yserns*. Santiago: Andres Bello. 1981. Pp. ix, 483.

Rafael Maroto Yserns (1783–1853) suffered the misfortune of playing "the thankless role of champion of lost causes, in which few achieve lasting fame" (p. 5). The title of Manuel Torres Marín's biography commemorates the two best-known lost causes in which his subject was a leading actor. Maroto commanded the losing royalist forces at the Battle of Chacabuco (1817), the decisive engagement in the Chilean independence movement and a milestone in the South American wars. Over two decades later, as military leader of the Carlists, he signed the Convention of Vergara (1839), ending the First

Carlist War on terms of defeat with honor. His adversaries at Chacabuco, San Martín and O'Higgins, and his co-signer at Vergara, Espartero, occupy prominent places in the history books; Maroto has remained a footnote.

Torres Marín's attempt to rescue his subject from obscurity is abetted by Maroto's eventful career and his penchant for being at the center of action. A professional military man from Lorca in Murcia, Maroto won acclaim for his role in the Napoleonic siege of Zaragoza (1809). He went to America as head of the venerable Talavera battalion, arriving just in time to participate in the royalist victory at Rancagua (1814) over Chilean independence forces. After the defeat at Chacabuco, Maroto served for six years as civil and military commander of Charcas in Alto Perú. Returning to Spain in 1825 after the final defeat in America, Maroto assumed a succession of commands before joining the Carlist camp at the outbreak of war in 1833. Promoted to commander of the northern Carlist forces in 1838, the veteran soon fell out with the clerical court of don Carlos and, caught between the loyalists under Espartero and his opponents within the Carlist contingent, sued for peace in 1839. Maroto's role in the Convention of Vergara made him the great traitor on whom all the failures of Carlism could be blamed.

Most Spanish accounts set Maroto's death in 1847. Actually, he returned to Chile in that year to resume a life he had begun in 1814 as a landowner in the coastal town of Concón. His Chilean wife had died, but his four children made the last years pleasant.

The author's purposes are modest: to fill in the details of Maroto's biography beyond the big events and to unify a life that historians have bisected into distinct Spanish and American components. In these endeavors, Torres Marín is perfectly successful. Beyond that, relatively little is accomplished in this biography. Lesser-known figures such as Maroto can shed valuable light on life in their times. Except for the highlights of Chacabuco and Vergara, Maroto's career may have been quite representative of the Spanish career officer and thus might illustrate much about the American wars, the Carlist wars, and the society and values of the time. Perhaps owing to the thinness of personal sources such as letters, memoirs, and family papers, and the resulting necessary reliance on more formal records, Maroto marches before the reader as a distant, wooden figure—one unable to enhance very much our comprehension of the man and his world. Despite failing to exploit Maroto's life to the fullest, Torres Marín has produced a solid biography of a figure too long neglected.

THOMAS C. WRIGHT  
University of Nevada,  
Las Vegas



JOE FOWERAKER. *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 39.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1981. Pp. xxi, 260. \$39.50.

Anyone who travels along the Brazilian frontier beholds a scene of pure horror: genocidal assault on tribal peoples, devastation by fire and chainsaw of irreplaceable climax forest, and dispossession and massacre of pioneer farmers. All this is on a scale vast beyond imagining and is utterly vandalistic and futile, for it yields only the most evanescent of profit, and all that remains in the end is a wasteland. Joe Foweraker sets himself the task of explaining this, one of the great tragedies of our millenium. His field of study is principally three areas of the Brazilian heartland—western Parana, southern Mato Grosso do Sul, and southeastern Para. These three were “settled” one after the other beginning about 1945 and so exhibit the stages of frontier incorporation. The method is not really historical, despite the subtitle, since the sources are contemporary and the emphasis is on policies and outcomes by the late 1970s.

Foweraker is concerned mainly with the act of dispossession. The impoverished pioneers who invade the frontier to squat on public land in order to farm it and obtain title to it are regularly evicted or forced to pay tribute. Their exploiters are, for the most part, political influentials who brandish titles that are almost always overlapping and of dubious or no legality. They are attracted by the astounding increases in land prices, which in one area reached 30,000 percent in twelve years. Eviction is violent as well as extortionate, and, although illegal, it is abetted by bureaucrats and police. The analysis is Marxian: squatters are characterized as “peasants,” speculators as “capitalists,” and the process itself as “capital accumulation.” These concepts are useful in providing a dynamic. The frontier pushes forward because the squatters, having been robbed not only of their surplus product but also of their necessary product, must move on, either to the cities or into the forest. The state, which might be expected to suppress the more disaggregative effects of capitalism, facilitates even the worst because primitive accumulation is most profitable when most rapid and because Brazil is, within the world context, itself exploited and must therefore surrender much of its domestic surplus value.

These arguments, though compelling, become progressively abstracted from brute reality and even have a strangely apologetic air. What is surely a pathological state is presented as a functional mechanism through which the system prospers. But the Brazilian economy collapses, evidently because of idiocies like frontier eviction, and it is bizarre to

maintain that world capitalism is the ultimate beneficiary. It is hard to accept violence as inevitable since a few colonization schemes were successful, though of only humdrum exploitation. Norte do Parana is mentioned, but not identified as an English company. The recent failure of Jari to gain clear title to much of its concession and its subsequent collapse makes one question whether foreign capital truly has a hammerlock on Brazil. And it seems even Foweraker has difficulty viewing the gangsters who engender frontier chaos as true capitalists. Florestan Fernandes, whom he cites approvingly, calls them merely a “privileged agrarian sector” that prevents genuinely capitalist forms from emerging. This is nevertheless a provocative study, and it will prove interesting to apply its theory to other world frontiers.

WARREN DEAN  
New York University

BRIAN H. SMITH. *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1982. Pp. xiii, 383. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$9.75.

This is an excellent book—rich in historical detail, balanced in judgment and analysis, and organized around a coherent and fruitful set of theoretical propositions. Brian H. Smith's work is a significant contribution to the analysis of modern Chile and also advances our understanding in general terms of the related transformations of religion, the Catholic Church, and politics.

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 offers a stimulating analysis of the ideological and institutional dynamics of the Catholic Church, with particular attention to post-Vatican II developments. Part 2 reviews the relation between the church and movements for socioeconomic reform in Chile from 1920 to the rise and decline of Christian democracy. Part 3 provides a particularly rich analysis of Christian-Marxist relations under the Allende regime. Part 4 addresses the scope and limitations of the church's prophetic role as expressed under military rule since 1973.

The author particularly stresses the need to see the church as a complex religious organization. This perspective allows him to combine attention to the weight of organizational routines and traditions with a finely tuned appreciation of both the church's evolving sense of mission and of the links between everyday life and the message of salvation its leaders and institutions are charged to explain and carry forward from generation to generation. Smith draws a useful distinction between the church's ability to coexist and accommodate on an external policy level and its ability to absorb sociopolitical



change and innovative organizational ideas internally. He uses this distinction to great advantage in his analysis of the church's relation to the Allende regime (generally cordial) and its quite different response to the attempts of clergy and laity to incorporate Marxist ideas and organizational models into church life. These initiatives, advanced by the Christians for Socialism movement, threw the institution's basic understandings of authority and mission into question and, not surprisingly, drew a strong negative reaction.

The church's relation to social and political change in Chile since 1920 is presented in rich and fascinating detail. Moreover, by using various types and levels of data, including survey materials and unique information on international influences (transfers of money, personnel, and ideological legitimations) in the church, Smith is able to present a full portrait of the ways in which the church can and cannot take a leading role in promoting change in society at large.

DANIEL H. LEVINE  
University of Michigan

MARK D. SZUCHMAN. *Mobility and Integration in Urban Argentina: Córdoba in the Liberal Era*. (Latin American Monographs, number 52.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 236. \$22.50.

This monograph combines historical sensitivity and social-scientific rigor in a largely successful attempt to revise one of the strongest and most durable interpretations in the literature on modern Latin America: that Argentina was a land of immigrants; that from 1870 on it represented a land of opportunity to Europeans who found it a relatively open society, especially in the cities; and that there was a far higher degree of assimilation in Argentina than in similar societies in the Western Hemisphere.

Mark D. Szuchman points out that the historical and sociological studies on which the orthodox view is based tend to focus on the capital city of Buenos Aires and to rely heavily on aggregate data. His study deals with Córdoba, a city of the interior, and uses data that refers to individuals. His conclusions challenge the way we have learned to understand the modern history of Argentina. He has crafted a study that should be indispensable to students of Argentina and extremely valuable to all students of urban history and of immigrant societies.

Through the painstaking use of manuscript census returns, probate records, and other sources, Szuchman uses the technique of record linkage to create samples of the general population of Córdo-

ba and of two immigrant groups, the Spanish and the French. He compares the immigrant groups to the general population on what he calls the indexes of social mobility: patterns of occupational change, intraurban geographical shifts, persistence in the city, access to higher education, the accumulation of wealth, and marriage patterns. The last is without question Szuchman's most devastating example of how aggregate data can lead the student of social behavior to errant conclusions. Gino Germani and others, studying the aggregate data, observed that immigrant males married native-born women and concluded that such marriages represented the mark of an open society since the immigrant was assimilated into the creole family. Szuchman's careful analysis of the Córdoba marriage records reveals that the native-born women in question were, for the most part, daughters of immigrants and members of the same ethnic group as the immigrant males they were marrying. The marriage pattern in Córdoba, rather than indicating rapid assimilation, buttresses the revisionist thesis that there was much less mobility in Argentina than has been supposed.

Szuchman focuses on other elements of the Germani argument by studying the jobs immigrants took in Córdoba, their efforts to accumulate wealth, and their voluntary associations. The latter, he argues, reflected bourgeois values of the dominant ruling group. They attracted very few unskilled workers and rarely became involved in the welfare of the least fortunate of their fellow countrymen. They served principally as the means through which the most successful of the immigrant group demonstrated to the dominant *cordobés* elite that they were socially acceptable.

There are three weaknesses of this book that I must mention. By not dealing with the Italians, the most numerous immigrant group, Szuchman leaves all of his valuable conclusions open to cavilling. By not considering the beginnings of local industry, his discussion of occupational patterns is incomplete. By not mentioning the introduction of foreign capital, the result of the nation's export economy and of the massive immigration itself, he gives the *cordobés* economy an insular quality it did not possess. But, I am content to pass over these and other lesser flaws because the impression I wish to leave is that this is an outstanding monograph, one that deserves to be read and discussed, and because I share Szuchman's wish that it serve as the first in a long series of careful local studies testing the more general assertions about the evolution of Argentine society.

JOSEPH S. TULCHIN  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

---

## Collected Essays

---

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

W. J. SHEILS, editor. *The Church and War*. (Papers of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society; Studies in Church History, number 20.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, for the Society. 1983. Pp. xix, 472. £25.00.

R. A. MARKUS, Saint Augustine's Views on the 'Just War.' JANET L. NELSON, The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative View? G. A. LOUD, The Church, Warfare, and Military Obligation in Norman Italy. ELIZABETH M. HALLAM, Monasteries as War Memorials: Battle Abbey and La Victoire. CHRISTOPHER J. HOLDSWORTH, Ideas and Reality: Some Attempts to Control and Defuse War in the Twelfth Century. COLIN MORRIS, Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century. ELIZABETH SIBERRY, Missionaries and Crusaders, 1095–1274: Opponents or Allies? DIANA M. WEBB, Cities of God: The Italian Communes at War. PETER BILLER, Medieval Waldensian Abhorrence of Killing Pre-C. 1400. ROSALIND M. T. HILL, Undesirable Aliens in the Diocese of York. ROY M. HAINES, An English Archbishop and the Cerberus of War. A. K. MCHARDY, The English Clergy and the Hundred Years War. DIANA WOOD, *Omnino partialitate cessante*: Clement VI and the Hundred Years War. R. N. SWANSON, The Way of Action: Pierre d'Ailly and the Military Solution to the Great Schism. HENRY KAMEN, Clerical Violence in a Catholic Society: The Hispanic World, 1450–1720. AUKE JELSMA, The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed Movement in the Netherlands: The Attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the Use of Violence Between 1562 and 1574. D. NAPHTINE and W. A. SPECK, Clergymen and Conflict, 1660–1763. FRANÇOISE DECONNINCK-BROSSARD, The Churches and the '45. DERYCK LOVEGROVE, English Evangelical Dissent and the European Conflict, 1780–1815. BRIAN STANLEY, Christian Responses to the Indian Mutiny of 1857. PETER J. PARISH, The Instruments of Providence: Slavery, Civil War, and the American Churches. R. F. G. HOLMES, 'Ulster will Fight and Ulster will be Right': The Protestant Churches and Ulster's Resistance to Home Rule, 1912–14. DAVID M. THOMPSON, War, the Nation, and the Kingdom of God: The Origins of

the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, 1915–16. CLYDE BINFIELD, *Et Virtutem et Musas*: Mill Hill School and the Great War. BRIAN TAYLOR, The Cowley Fathers and the First World War. MARTIN CEADEL, Christian Pacifism in the Era of Two World Wars. STUART MEWS, The Sword of the Spirit: A Catholic Cultural Crusade of 1940. GAVIN WHITE, The Fall of France. TERENCE RANGER, Holy Men and Rural Communities in Zimbabwe, 1970–1980.

BERNARD DOV COOPERMAN, editor. *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*. (Harvard Judaica Texts and Studies, number 2.) Cambridge: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1983. Pp. xix, 492. \$30.00.

ISADORE TWERSKY, Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Perspectives. ALEXANDER ALTMANN, *Arz Rhetorica* as Reflected in Some Jewish Figures of the Italian Renaissance. ROBERT BONFIL, Some Reflections on the Place of Azariah de Rossi's *Meor Enayim* in the Cultural Milieu of Italian Renaissance Jewry. MORDECHAI BREUER, Modernism and Traditionalism in Sixteenth-Century Jewish Historiography: A Study of David Gans' *Tzemaḥ David*. JOSEPH DAN, "No Evil Descends from Heaven": Sixteenth-Century Jewish Concepts of Evil. HERBERT DAVIDSON, Medieval Jewish Philosophy in the Sixteenth Century. JACOB ELBAUM, Aspects of Hebrew Ethical Literature in Sixteenth-Century Poland. MARVIN FOX, The Moral Philosophy of MaHaRaL. MOSHE IDEL, The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance. ALFRED IVRY, Remnants of Jewish Averroism in the Renaissance. LAWRENCE KAPLAN, Rabbi Mordekhai Jaffe and the Evolution of Jewish Culture in Poland in the Sixteenth Century. JACOB KATZ, Post-Zoharic Relations Between Halakhah and Kabbalah. JAMES KUGEL, The Influence of Moses ibn Habib's *Darkhei No'am*. HEIKO A. OBERMAN, Three Sixteenth-Century Attitudes to Judaism: Reuchlin, Erasmus and Luther. SHLOMO PINES, Medieval Doctrines in Renaissance Garb? Some Jewish and Arabic Sources of Leone Ebreo's Doctrines. SHALOM ROSENBERG, Exile and Redemption in Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century: Contending Conceptions. ISADORE TWERSKY, Talmudists, Philosophers, Kabbalists: The Quest for Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century. JOSEF HAYIM YERUSHALMI, Messianic Impulses in Joseph ha-Kohen. BERNARD D. COOPERMAN, Some Recent Research.

HEINZ DUCHHARDT, *Herrscherweihe und Königskrönung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*. (Schriften der Mainzer Philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft, number 8.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. vi, 126. DM 38.

WINFRIED DOTZAUER, Die Entstehung der frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Thronerhebung: Säkularisation und Reformation. WOLFGANG SELLERT, Zur rechtshistorischen Bedeutung der Krönung und des Streites um das Krönungsrecht zwischen Mainz und Köln. GOTTHOLD RHODE, Die Königskrönungen in Polen zur Zeit der Wahlkönige, 1572–1795. ERICH HOFFMANN, Die Krönung Christians III. von Dänemark am 12. August 1537: Die erste protestantische Königskrönung in Europa. DAVID J. STURDY, English Coronation Sermons in the Seventeenth Century. HEINZ DUCHHARDT, Die preussische Königskrönung von 1701: Ein europäisches Modell? RICHARD A. JACKSON, Anzeichen der Vergötterung des französischen Königs. RENÉ PILLORGET, Le Sacre d'Henri IV, Roi de France et de Navarre à Chartres le 27 février 1594.

GÖRAN RYSTAD, editor. *Europe and Scandinavia: Aspects of the Process of Integration in the Seventeenth Century*. (Lund Studies in International History, number 18.) Solna, Sweden: Esselte Studium. 1983. Pp. 330.

E. LADEWIG PETERSEN, War, Finance and the Growth of Absolutism: Some Aspects of the European Integration of 17th Century Denmark. KLAUS-RICHARD BÖHME, Schwedische Finanzbürokratie und Kriegführung 1611 bis 1721. GÖRAN RYSTAD, The King, the Nobility and the Growth of Bureaucracy in 17th Century Sweden. ANNA-BRIT LÖVGREN, The King's Council in Sweden and in Europe During the 17th Century: Aspects of the Organization and Division of Business. LARS NILÉHN, Swedish Society and Swedish Students Abroad in the 17th Century. KJELL Å MODÉER, Die Rolle der Juristen in Schweden im 17. Jahrhundert: Eine rechtshistorische Skizze. JAMES CAVALLIE, Rang und Nationale Herkunft: Eine Studie über die schwedischen hohen Officiere der späteren Grossmachtzeit. MARIA BOGUCA, Sweden and Poland: Economic, Socio-Political and Cultural Relations During the First Half of the 17th Century. CLAUDE NORDMANN, Colbert and Sweden. GERALD E. AYLMER, English Perceptions of Scandinavia in the 17th Century. ARNE LOSMAN, The European Communications Network of Carl Gustaf Wrangel and Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. NILS RUNDBY, Barbarei oder Zivilität? Zur Entwicklung einer organisierten Gesellschaft im 17. Jahrhundert. PIETER SPIERENBURG, Model Prisons, Domesticated Elites and the State: The Dutch Republic and Europe. BENGT ANKARLOO, Europe and the Glory of Sweden: The Emergence of a Swedish Self-Image in the Early 17th Century. INGVAR ELMROTH, Family Planning as a Diffusion Phenomenon during the *ancien regime*. EVA ÖSTERBERG, Violence Among Peasants: Comparative Perspectives on the 16th and 17th Century Sweden.

AGNES HELLER, editor. *Lukács Reappraised*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. Pp. 204. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.00.

GYÖRGY MÁRKUS, Life and the Soul: The Young Lukács and the Problem of Culture. AGNES HELLER, Georg Lukács and Irma Seidler. SÁNDOR RADNÓTI, Lukács and Bloch. FERENC FEHÉR, Lukács in Weimar. MIHÁLY VAJDA, Lukács and Husserl. FERENC FEHÉR, AGNES HELLER, GYÖRGY MÁRKUS and MIHÁLY VAJDA, Notes on Lukács' *Ontology*. GÁSPÁR TAMÁS, Lukács' *Ontology*: A Metacritical Letter. AGNES HELLER, Lukács' Later Philosophy.

ISADORE TWERSKY, editor. *Rabbi Moses Nahmanides (Ramban): Explorations in His Religious and Literary Virtuosity*. (Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, Texts and Studies, number 1.) Cambridge: The Center; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. 128. \$9.50.

ISADORE TWERSKY, Introduction. BERNARD SEPTIMUS, "Open Rebuke and Concealed Love": Nahmanides and the Andalusian Tradition. EZRA FLEISCHER, The "Gerona School" of Hebrew Poetry. MOSHE IDEL, "We Have No Kabbalistic Tradition on This." BEZALEL SAFRAN, Rabbi Azriel and Nahmanides: Two Views of the Fall of Man. DAVID BERGER, Miracles and the Natural Order in Nahmanides.

RUDOLF LILL and FRANCO VALSECCHI, editors. *Il nazionalismo in Italia e in Germania fino alla Prima guerra mondiale*. (Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico, number 12.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1983. Pp. 365. L. 25,000.

FEDERICO CURATO, Aspetti nazionalistici della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1914. OTTO DANN, Formazione della nazione e nazionalismo in Germania nel XIX secolo. SALVATORE VALITUTTI, Origini e presupposti culturali del nazionalismo in Italia. MICHAEL STÜRMER, Stato nazionale e democrazia di massa nel sistema delle potenze: Il '48 ovvero la nascita di un dilemma. MANFRED RAUH, Nazionalismo e politica estera tedesca nell'"Kaiserreich". REINER POMMERIN, Nazionalismo e politica culturale estera del "Kaiserreich." FRANCESCO PERFETTI, La dottrina politica del nazionalismo italiano: Origini e sviluppo fino al primo conflitto mondiale. GÜNTER WOLLSTEIN, Nazionalismo organizzato nel "Kaiserreich." LUIGI DE ROSA, Economia e nazionalismo in Italia, 1861–1914. MARIA GARBARÌ L'irredentismo nel Trentino. ADAM WANDRUSZKA, Il nazionalismo tedesco in Austria.

WOLFGANG BENZ and HERMANN GRAML, editors. *Europe nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1945–1982: Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert II*. (Fischer Weltgeschichte, number 35.) Frankfurt a/M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1983. Pp. 587. DM 16.80.

WOLFGANG BENZ and HERMANN GRAML, Abschied vom alten Europa. WILFRIED LOTH, Europa nach 1945: Die Formation der Blöcke. Westeuropa bis zu den Römischen Verträgen: Wiederaufbau und Integration. HERMANN GRAML, Anfänge europäischer Einigung. KLAUS-DIETMAR HENKE, Grossbritannien. KLAUS-DIETMAR HENKE, Frankreich. WOLFGANG BENZ, Bundesrepublik Deutschland. WOLFGANG BENZ, Nor-

wegen, Dänemark, Island. HANS WOLLER, Die Benelux-Staaten. HANS WOLLER, Italien. HANS WOLLER, Die Iberische Halbinsel. HERMANN GRAML, Griechenland und der östliche Mittelmeerraum. WOLFGANG BENZ, Neutrale Staaten. GERT ROBEL, Osteuropa unter der Herrschaft Stalins. HEINER RAULFF, Die Entwicklung in Westeuropa bis zur Direktwahl des Europäischen Parlaments. GERT ROBEL, Vom Tod Stalins zur Ära Breshnew: Die RGW-Staaten seit 1953. WILFRIED LOTH, Europa in der Weltpolitik.

GOTTFRIED NIEDHART, editor. *Der Westen und die Sowjetunion: Einstellungen und Politik gegenüber der UdSSR in Europa und in den USA seit 1917*. (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1983. Pp. 372. DM 48.

GOTTFRIED NIEDHART, Perzeption und Politik im Umgang mit der Sowjetunion. PETER BOROWSKY, Sowjetrußland in der Sicht des deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes und der Reichswehrführung 1918–1923. WOLFGANG MÜLLER, Informationen über die Sowjetunion: Zum Problem der deutschen Berichterstattung über die UdSSR 1924–1933. HANS HECKER, Die Sowjetunion im Urteil des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland. WERNER LINK, Amerika, die Weimarer Republik und Sowjetrußland. GOTTFRIED NIEDHART, Zwischen Feindbild und Wunschbild: Die Sowjetunion in der britischen Urteilsbildung 1917–1945. RENÉ GIRAULT, Wirklichkeit und Legende in den französisch-sowjetischen Beziehungen 1917–1945. JÖRG K. HOENSCH, Ostmitteleuropa und die Sowjetunion zwischen den Weltkriegen. WILFRIED LOTH, Der "Kalte Krieg" in der historischen Forschung. HANS-JÜRGEN SCHRÖDER, Von der Anerkennung zum Kalten Krieg: Die USA und die Sowjetunion 1933–1947. MANFRED KNAPP, Die Einstellung der USA gegenüber der Sowjetunion in der Periode des Kalten Krieges 1947–1969. DONALD C. WATT, Die Sowjetunion im Urteil des britischen Foreign Office 1945–1949. HANS HEINRICH RASS, Die Sowjetunion im Urteil der britischen Presse während der Blockade Berlins 1948–1949. JÜRGEN SCHWARZ, Charles de Gaulle und die Sowjetunion. GISELA MOREL-TIEMANN, Die Präsidentschaft Giscard d'Estaings und die UdSSR. ARNOLD SYWOITEK, Die Sowjetunion aus westdeutscher Sicht seit 1945.

WILLIAM SHARPE and LEONARD WALLOCK, editors. *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature*. (Proceedings of the Heyman Center for the Humanities, 1983.) New York: Heyman Center for the Humanities, Columbia University. 1983. Pp. 245.

WILLIAM SHARPE and LEONARD WALLOCK, From "Great Town" to "Nonplace Urban Realm": Reading the Modern City. ERIC E. LAMPARD, The Nature of Urbanization. PHILIP COLLINS, Dickens and the City. DEBORAH EPSTEIN NORD, The Social Explorer as Anthropologist: Victorian Travellers Among the Urban Poor. THEODORE REFF, Manet and the Paris of Haussmann and Baudelaire. MICHEL HANNOOSH, Painters of Modern Life: Baudelaire and the Impressionists. THOMAS BENDER and WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, Culture and

Architecture: Some Aesthetic Tensions in the Shaping of Modern New York City. PAUL ANDERER, Tokyo and the Borders of Modern Japanese Fiction. STEVEN MARCUS, Reading the Illegible: Some Modern Representations of Urban Experience.

DAVID L. WAGNER, editor. *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 282. \$25.00.

DAVID L. WAGNER, The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship. KARL F. MORRISON, Incentives for Studying the Liberal Arts. JEFFREY F. HUNTSMAN, Grammar. MARTIN CAMARGO, Rhetoric. ELEONORE STUMP, Dialectic. MICHAEL MASI, Arithmetic. THEODORE C. KARP, Music. LON R. SHELBY, Geometry. CLAUDIA KREN, Astronomy. RALPH MCINERNEY, Beyond the Liberal Arts.

*Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Hacienda y comercio, 1981*. Seville: Diputación Provincial. 1982. Pp. iii, 444.

MIGUEL A. LADERO QUESADA, Fiscalidad regia y sector terciario en la Andalucía bajomedieval. MANUEL ACIÉN ALMANSA, El Quinto de las cabalgadas: Un impuesto fronterizo. MARIA CONCEPCIÓN QUINTANILLA RASO, Haciendas señoriales andaluzas a fines de la Edad Media. MERCEDES BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ, Las haciendas de los concejos rurales sevillanos. ANTONIO GONZÁLEZ GÓMES, La hacienda municipal de Jerez de la Frontera según una cuenta de propios de 1519. JESÚS SUBERBIOLA, El Real Patronato de Granada y la Hacienda de Castilla, 1488–1511. ANGUS MACRAV, Comercio/mercado interior y la expansión económica del siglo XV. JOHN EDWARDS, Las peculiaridades económicas de la Andalucía bajomedieval: El caso de Córdoba. RAFAEL G. PEINADO SANTAELLA, Fiscalidad señorial y tráfico comercial en Andalucía a finales de la Edad Media: Notas para su estudio. JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ MOLINA, Algunos datos sobre la actividad comercial y fiscal en Jaén y Baeza a fines del siglo XV. GLORIA LORA SERRANO, El comercio de esclavos en Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media. ENRIQUE OTTE, El comercio exterior andaluz a fines de la Edad Media. ELISA MARIA FERREIRA PRIEGUE, El papel de Galicia en la redistribución de productos andaluces vistos a través de los archivos ingleses. JOSÉ HINOJOSA MONTALVO, Las relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y Andalucía durante la baja Edad Media. EDUARDO AZNAR VALLEJO, Las relaciones comerciales entre Andalucía y Canarias a finales del siglo XV y comienzos del siglo XVI. A. FRANCO SILVA and A. MORENO OLLERO, Datos sobre el comercio del puerto de Sanlúcar de Barrameda en el primer tercio del siglo XVI. CRISTÓBAL TORRES DELGADO, El reino nazarí de Granada, 1232–1492: Aspectos socio-económicos y fiscales. J. ENRIQUE LOPEZ DE COCA CASTAÑER, Comercio exterior del reino de Granada. ANGEL GALÁN SÁNCHEZ, Acerca del régimen tributario nazarí: El impuesto del *Talbix*. ANTONIO MALPICA CUELLO, Régimen fiscal y actividad económica de las salinas del reino de Granada. MARIA TERESA LÓPEZ BELTRÁN, El tráfico cerealista por Málaga en el segundo tercio del siglo XVI, 1538–1551. JACQUES HEERS, Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV: Orígenes, grupos, solidaridades.



HILDEGARD HOFFMAN *et al.*, editors. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus*. Volume 6. Berlin: Akademie, for the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Geschichte. 1982. Pp. 429. 48 M.

ERNST WERNER, Ideologie und Gesellschaft im europäischen Mittelalter: Das 11. Jahrhundert. GÜNTHER HAMANN, Das Weltbild im 11. Jahrhundert im Rahmen der Kartographie des Mittelalters. GYÖRGY SZÉKELY, Ideologische Fragen des europäischen Hochfeudalismus in den Ländern Ost- und Mitteleuropas während des 11. Jahrhunderts. DIMITAR ANGELOV, Ideologische Probleme des bulgarischen Mittelalters. EVGENIJ PAVLOVIČ NAUMOV, Slawische Aristokratie und Kirche in den byzantinischen Provinzen und den frühfeudalen Nachbarstaaten: Westteil der Balkanhalbinsel, im 11. Jahrhundert. JOHANNES IRMSCHER, Die Verurteilung des Johannes Italos. SILIO P. P. SCALFATI, Die Benediktinische Ausdehnungspolitik auf der Insel Korsika im Zeitalter der Kirchenreform. HEINRICH KOLLER, Zur Frühgeschichte der Zisterzienser in Österreich. FRIEDRICH MÖBIUS, Chorus und Sanctorium im cluniazensisch-hirsauischen Kirchenbau: Notizen zu ihrer sozialen Funktion. BERNHARD TÖPFER, Tendenzen zur Entsakralisierung der Herrscherwürde in der Zeit des Investiturstreites. HELGA SCIURIE, Die Merseburger Grabplatte König Rudolfs von Schwaben und die Bewertung des Herrschers im 11. Jahrhundert. ADEL' L'VOVNA JASTREBICKAJA, Die Familie als soziale Gruppe der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. BRIGITTE BERTHOLD, Charakter und Entwicklung des Patriziats in mittelalterlichen deutschen Städten. HORST WERNICKE, Die regionalen Bündnisse der hansischen Mitglieder und deren Stellung in der Städtehanse von 1280 bis 1418. ULMAN WEISS, Zum politischen Verhalten des Erfurter Bürgertums im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts. WIELAND HELD, Die wirtschaftliche Rolle des St.-Egidien-Stiftes zu Schmalkalden bis zu seiner Säkularisation im Jahre 1544. HARTMUT HARNISCH, Rechnungen und Taxationen: Quellenkundliche Betrachtungen zu einer Untersuchung der Feudalrente, vornehmlich vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert. BERNHARD GENTSCH, Die Ursachen für die Verschärfung des Widerspruchs zwischen den Feudalherren und ihren ländlichen Untertanen im westlichen Sachsen im 17. Jahrhundert. BRUNO ZILCH, Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft: Zur Bedeutung der ältesten deutschen Sprachgesellschaft. LUTZ WERNER, Die Umwandlung des Bauernhofes Tellow in einen gutsherrlichen Eigenbetrieb: ein Beispiel spätfеudaler Agrarentwicklung in Mecklenburg.

ART COSGROVE and J. I. MCGUIRE, editors. *Parliament and Community*. (Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians, 1981; Historical Studies, number 14.) Belfast: Appletree. 1983. Pp. vi, 248. £19.95.

MICHAEL PRESTWICH, Parliament and the Community of the Realm in Fourteenth Century England. ART COSGROVE, Parliament and the Anglo-Irish Community: The Declaration of 1460. S. C. ELLIS, Parliament and Community in Yorkist and Tudor Ireland. G. R. ELTON, The English Parliament in the Sixteenth Century: Estates and Statutes. BRIAN MANNING, Parliament, 'Party' and 'Community' during the English Civil War, 1642–46. J. I. MCGUIRE, The

Dublin Convention, the Protestant Community and the Emergence of an Ecclesiastical Settlement in 1660. R. F. FOSTER, Tory Democracy and Political Elitism: Provincial Conservatism and Parliamentary Tories in the Early 1880s. KARL HOLL, The Role of the Peace Movement in German Parliamentary Politics, 1890–1933. RONAN FANNING, 'Rats' versus 'Ditchers': The Die-Hard Revolt and the Parliament Bill of 1911. JOHN HORNE, A Parliamentary State at War: France, 1914–18. PAUL BEW, A Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State: Some Reflections on Government and Minority in Ulster, 1921–43.

ADOLF M. BIRKE and KURT KLUXEN, editors. *Viktorianisches England in deutscher Perspektive*. (Prinz-Albert-Studien, number 1.) New York: K. G. Saur. 1983. Pp. 154. DM 68.

KURT KLUXEN, Prinz Albert: Wegbereiter moderner Kultur- und Sozialpolitik. ROBERT BLAKE, Prince Albert and the Crimean War. WOLFGANG J. MOMMSEN, Preussen/Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert und Grossbritannien in der viktorianischen Epoche: Eine komparative Betrachtung. ADOLF M. BIRKE, Die Revolution von 1848 und England. GÜNTHER LOTTES, Der industrielle Aufbruch und die gesellschaftliche Integration der Arbeiterschaft in Deutschland und England im viktorianischen Zeitalter. ADOLF M. BIRKE, Soziale Selbsthilfe und amtliche Sozialpolitik im viktorianischen England. GEORGE GILLESPIE, Das Englandbild bei Fontane, Moltke und Engels. WOLFGANG LOTTES, Nazarener und Präraffaeliten: Zwei künstlerbünde in den deutsch-englischen Kunstbeziehungen des 19. Jahrhunderts. ADRIAN VON BUTTLAR, Vom Landschaftsgarten zum Volkspark: Der englische Garten in München.

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D'HISTOIRE SOCIALE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PICARDIE. *Oisiveté et loisirs dans les sociétés occidentales au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Foreword by ADELINE DAUMARD. Abbeville: F. Paillard. 1983. Pp. 248.

CERI CROSSLEY, Travail, loisir et vie communautaire en Angleterre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le cas de Bournville. ANGÈLE KREMER-MARIETTI, Les avatars du concept de loisir au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la société industrielle et dans la philosophie sociale. ALAIN GARRIGOU, Socialisme et loisir au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. CATHERINE DURANDIN, Travail et loisirs dans la littérature populaire roumaine de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le cas de Ion Creanga. JEANINE HOLMAN, Le rôle de l'air libre dans l'espace poétique: Une poétique et une éthique du possible, d'après les "Carnets" de J. Joubert. MARIA BEATRIZ NIZZA DA SILVA, Les femmes et le loisir au Brésil à l'époque du Second Empire. CECILIA MARIA WESTPHALEN and ALTIVA PILATI BALHANA, Le loisir dans le Paraná provincial. SUZANNE FIETTE, Obligations et loisirs comme conception de vie aristocratique dans une famille de l'Aisne, de la Révolution à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. JEAN-MARIE WISCART, Vivre noblement dans la Somme au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. ADELINE DAUMARD, L'oisiveté aristocratique et bourgeoise en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Privilège ou malédiction? GÉRARD CHOLVY, La religion, la jeunesse et la danse. NADINE CHALINE, Repos du dimanche et loisir sacré: Autour d'un exemple normand. JACQUELINE LALOUE, Les débits de boisson. PHILIPPE JESSU and JEAN-MARIE SILVAIN and MARTINE GAUQUELIN,



Jeux traditionnels et sports: Le cas de Roubaix à travers le "Journal de Roubaix," à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. WILLIAM SERMAN, Les loisirs des militaires français dans la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. JEAN-PIERRE CHALINE, Loisirs et élites sociales: Un exemple normand. PAUL GERBOD, Loisirs et santé: Les cures thermales en France, 1850–1900. EMILE FLAMENT, La naissance de l'activité touristique sur le littoral picard. DOMINIQUE POULOT, La visite au musée: Un loisir édifant au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. DOMINIQUE LEROY, Réflexions autour des processus d'élitisation, à propos de l'évolution de la production et de la consommation théâtrales à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

HARTMUT LEHMANN and DIETER LOHMEIER, editors. *Aufklärung und Pietismus im dänischen Gesamtstaat, 1770–1820*. (Kieler Studien zur Deutschen Literaturgeschichte, number 16.) Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz. 1983. Pp. 286. Cloth DM 64, paper DM 54.

KERSTEN KRÜGER, Johann Friedrich Struensee und der Aufgeklärte Absolutismus. DIETER LOHMEIER, Der Erfolg der Moral in der Politik: Andreas Peter Bernstorff im zeitgenössischen Urteil. FRANKLIN KOPITZSCH, Organisationsformen der Aufklärung in Schleswig-Holstein. HUBERTUS NEUSCHÄFFER, Anmerkungen zur Frage der Freimaurerei im dänischen Gesamtstaat. CHRISTIAN DEGN, Heidenmission im Dänischen Gesamtstaat. JESPER DÜRING JØRGENSEN, Aufklärerische Gedanken über wilde Völker: Jens Krafts *Kort Fortælling af de Vilde Folks fornemteste Indretninger, Skikke og Meninger*. ANDERS PONTOPPIDAN THYSEN, Christiansfeld: Die Herrnhuter im Spannungsfeld zwischen Pietismus und Aufklärung. WOLFGANG J. MÜLLER, Christiansfeld in kunsthistorischer Sicht. SYBILLE REVENTLOW, Weltmusik, Kirchenmusik und Gemeinmusik: Über die liturgische Musik der Herrnhuter. ERIK SØNDERHOLM, Der enttäuschte Philet: Ein Wendepunkt im Leben Johannes Ewalds. JÖRG-ULRICH FECHNER, Literatur als praktische Ethik: Das Beispiel des *Wandsbecker Bothen* von Matthias Claudius. MANFRED JAKUBOWSKI-TIESSEN, Die Christentums-gesellschaft in Schleswig-Holstein. HORST WEIGELT, Lavater und Julia Reventlow: Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen Lavaters nach Eimendorf. HARTMUT LEHMANN, Zwischen Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung: Bemerkungen zur Religiosität der Eimendorfer.

KARIN HAUSEN, editor. *Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte: Historische Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Beck'sche Schwarze Reihe, number 276.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. 278.

KARIN HAUSEN, Einleitung. GISELA BOCK, Historische Frauenforschung: Fragestellungen und Perspektiven. GUDRUN SCHWARZ, "Mannweiber" in Männertheorien. ANNE-LIESE BERGMANN, Frauen, Männer, Sexualität und Geburtenkontrolle: Zur "Gebärstreikdebatte" der SPD 1913. REGINA SCHULTE, Bauernmägde in Bayern am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. MARLENE ELLERKAMP and BRIGITTE JUNG-MANN, Unendliche Arbeit: Frauen in der "Jutespinnerei und -weberei Bremen" 1888–1914. DOROTHEE WIERLING, "Ich hab meine Arbeit gemacht—was wollte sie mehr?":

Dienstmädchen im städtischen Haushalt der Jahrhundertwende. SYBILLE MEYER, Die mühsame Arbeit des demonstrativen Müßiggangs: Über die häuslichen Pflichten der Beamtinnen im Kaiserreich. UTE GERHARD, Über die Anfänge der deutschen Frauenbewegung um 1848: Frauenpresse, Frauenpolitik und Frauenvereine. IRENE STOEHR, "Organisierte Mütterlichkeit": Zur Politik der deutschen Frauenbewegung um 1900. DORIS KAUFMANN, Vom Vaterland zum Mutterland: Frauen im katholischen Milieu der Weimarer Republik.

ELENA AGA ROSSI, editor. *Il Piano Marshall e l'Europa*. (Biblioteca Internazionale di Cultura, number 8.) Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. 1983. Pp. 219. L. 30,000.

ELENA AGA ROSSI, Introduzione. JOHN GIMBEL, Le origini del Piano Marshall. ENNIO DI NOLFO, Il Piano Marshall e la guerra fredda. CHARLES S. MAIER, "Voi Europei": Concetti regionali e ruoli nazionali nel quadro del Piano Marshall. ANDRÉ KASPI, La Francia e il Piano Marshall. WERNER LINK, La Germania e il Piano Marshall. GEIR LUNDESTAD, Il ruolo dell'Europa orientale. LUTZ NIETHAMMER, La nascita e la caduta delle prospettive socialiste nell'Europa del Secondo dopoguerra. ALAN S. MILWARD, L'integrazione dell'Europa occidentale negli anni dell'ERP: L'esperienza del Gruppo di Studio Europeo per l'Unione Doganale. ANTONIO GAMBINO, La situazione politica interna. EGIDIO ORTONA, I prodromi dell'ERP: Il caso italiano. JAMES E. MILLER, L'ERP come fattore determinante nelle elezioni italiane del 1948. DAVID W. ELLWOOD, Il Piano Marshall e il processo di modernizzazione in Italia. PIER PAOLO D'ATTORRE, Aspetti dell'attuazione del Piano Marshall in Italia. PAOLO SAVONA, La stabilizzazione monetaria in Italia e il Piano Marshall. GIANNI TONIOLO, L'utilizzazione dei fondi ERP nella ricostruzione italiana: Alcune ipotesi di lavoro. GUGLIELMO NEGRI, Il dibattito parlamentare sugli aiuti ERP.

BENJAMIN BRAUDE and BERNARD LEWIS, editors. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*. Volume 1, *The Central Lands*; volume 2, *The Arabic-Speaking Lands*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1982. Pp. ix, 449; ix, 248. \$85.00 the set.

BENJAMIN BRAUDE and BERNARD LEWIS, Introduction. C. E. BOSWORTH, The Concept of *Dhimma* in Early Islam. I. METIN KUNT, Transformation of *Zimmi* into *Askeri*. BENJAMIN BRAUDE, Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System. KEVORK B. BARDAKJIAN, The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. MARK A. EPSTEIN, The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. JOSEPH R. HACKER, Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans during the Fifteenth Century. ROBERT MANTRAN, Foreign Merchants and the Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. KEMAL H. KARPAT, *Millets* and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era. HAGOP BARSOUMIAN, The Dual Role of the Armenian *Amira* Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian *Millet*, 1750–1850. RICHARD CLOGG,

The Greek *Millet* in the Ottoman Empire. PAUL DUMONT, Jewish Communities in Turkey during the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century in the Light of the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. STAVRO SKENDI, The *Millet* System and its Contribution to the Blurring of Orthodox National Identity in Albania. CHARLES ISSAWI, The Transformation of the Economic Position of the *Millets* in the Nineteenth Century. A. ÜNER TURGAY, Trade and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon: Elements of Ethnic Conflict. RODERIC H. DAVISON, The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire. CARTER V. FINDLEY, The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy. STEVEN ROSENTHAL, Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul, 1850–1870. ENVER ZIYA KARAL, Non-Muslim Representatives in the First Constitutional Assembly, 1876–1877. FERÖZ AHMAD, Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914. HALIL INALCIK, Ottoman Archival Materials on *Millets*. BENJAMIN BRAUDE, Introduction. AMNON COHEN, On the Realities of the *Millet* System: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century. MUHAMMAD ADNAN BAKHIT, The Christian Population of the Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century. ROBERT M. HADDAD, On Melkite Passage to the Unia: The Case of Patriarch Cyril al-Za'im, 1672–1720. MOSHE MA'AZ, Communal Conflict in Ottoman Syria during the Reform Era: The Role of Political and Economic Factors. SAMIR KHALAF, Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon. KAMAL S. SALIBI, The Two Worlds of Assaad Y. Kayat. DOMINIQUE CHEVALIER, Non-Muslim Communities in Arab Cities. THOMAS PHILIPP, Image and Self-Image of the Syrians in Egypt: From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Reign of Muhammad 'Ali. DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, The Political Situation of the Copts, 1798–1923.

MARIDA HOLLOS and BELA C. MADAY, editors. *New Hungarian Peasants: An East Central European Experience with Collectivization*. (East European Monographs, number 134; Brooklyn College Studies on Society in Change, number 26.) Brooklyn: Social Science Monographs—Brooklyn College Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. ix, 341. \$25.00.

MARIDA HOLLOS and BELA C. MADAY, Introduction. MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY, Economic Changes in a Northern Hungarian Village. EMESE KOVÁCS, Types of Family Households in Varsány. CHRIS M. HANN, Progress toward Collectivized Agriculture in Tázlár, 1949–78. MARIDA HOLLOS, Ideology and Economics: Cooperative Organization and Attitudes toward Collectivization in Two Hungarian Communities. MICHAEL SOZAN, Domestic Husbandry and Social Stratification. PETER D. BELL, Social Perception in a Contemporary Hungarian Rural Community. KATHLEEN SZENT-GYÖRGYI, Ranking Categories and Models in Two Villages of Northeastern Hungary. CONRAD C. REINING, The Transformation of Hungarian Villages. KATALIN GERGELY, Changes in the Clothing Customs of Varsány. MIHÁLY HOPPÁL, Proxemics, Private and Public: Community and Communication in a Hungarian Village. KATA JÁVOR, Continuity and Change in the Social and Value Systems of a Northern Hungarian Village. LINDA DEGH, Kaksd Revisted: Ethnicity and Folk-

lore Revival. BELA C. MADAY, The Changing Image of the Hungarian Agriculturalist.

ARIF TANOVIĆ *et al.*, editors. *O djelu Veselina Masleše* [On the Works of Veselin Masleša]. (Posebna Izdanja, number 38; Odjeljenje Društvenih Nauka, number 7.) Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. 1978. Pp. 460.

RODOLJUB ČOLAKOVIĆ, Lik Veselina Masleše kao aktiviste KPJ. TODO KURTOVIĆ, Aktuelnost ideja Veselina Masleše o nacionalnom pitanju. DUŠAN NEDELJKOVIĆ, Veselin Masleša marksist na delu. ENVER REDŽIĆ, Istorijski pogledi i teme Veselina Masleše. HAMDİJA ČEMERLIĆ, Doprinos Veselina Masleše izgradnji narodne vlasti. STOJAN T. TOMIĆ, Vrijednosni sistem i vrednovanje u djelima Veselina Masleše. SVETOZAR ČULIBRK, Maslešina kritička sociologija. MIČO CAREVIĆ and BOŽIDAR DELAČ, Marksistički dijalektički metod u djelu Veselina Masleše. MIOBRAG ŽIVANOVIĆ, Ka kritici povijesne ornamentike. BORIS KANDIĆ, Problem otuđenosti i malogradanstva u djelu Veselina Masleše. FIKRET EMINOVIĆ, O revolucionarnom određenju djela Veselina Masleše. OBREN BLAGOJEVIĆ, Veselin Masleša kao ekonomist. VERA PILIĆ, Maslešino shvatanje i tumačenje Markosovog "Kapitala" i savremena interpretacija. MILIVOJE ERIĆ, Prilog Veselina Masleše proučavanju takozvane prvobitne akumulacije. JUSUF MULIĆ, Položaj seljaštva u Jugoslaviji između dva svjetska rata. MILORAD GAJIĆ, Maslešino poimanje socijalne literature. VLADO MADAREVIĆ, Književni pogledi Veselina Masleše. VOJISLAV MAKSIMOVIĆ, Književni članci i ogledi Veselina Masleše. ŠIMUN JURIŠIĆ, Veselin Masleša kao dramski kritičar. NUSRET SEFEROVIĆ, Borovak Veselina Masleše u Frankfurtu na Majni i Parizu. DORDE PILJEVIĆ, Politička delatnost Veselina Masleše u Srbiji 1928–1941. godine. SLOBODAN NEŠOVIĆ, Drugovanje Veselina Masleše, Bore Prodanovića i Moše Pijade. BESIM IBRAHIMPAŠIĆ, Dometi i granice Maslešinog shvatanja nacionalnih odnosa u Bosni i Hercegovini. KASIM SULJEVIĆ, Masleša i konkretizacija teorije nacije. NUSRET SEHIĆ, Nešto o agrarnim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom okupacijom. MIOBRAG BOGIĆEVIĆ, Marksistički kontekst socijalnog u književnosti.

GREGORY GUROFF and FRED V. CARSTENSEN, editors. *Entrepreneurship in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 372. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$12.95.

CYRIL E. BLACK, Russian and Soviet Entrepreneurship in a Comparative Context. WILLIAM BLACKWELL, The Russian Entrepreneur in the Tsarist Period: An Overview. SAMUEL H. BARON, Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Sixteenth/Seventeenth-Century Russia. THOMAS C. OWEN, Entrepreneurship and the Structure of Enterprise in Russia, 1800–1880. JOHN A. ARMSTRONG, Socializing for Modernization in a Multiethnic Elite. ARCADİUS KAHAN, Notes on Jewish Entrepreneurship in Tsarist Russia. BORIS V. ANAN'ICH, The Economic Policy of the Tsarist Government and Enterprise in Russia from the End of the Nineteenth through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. FRED V. CARSTENSEN, Foreign Participation in Russian Economic Life: Notes on British Enterprise, 1865–1914. RUTH

AMENDE ROOSA, Russian Industrialists during World War I: The Interaction of Economics and Politics. JOSEPH S. BERLINER, Entrepreneurship in the Soviet Period: An Overview. GREGORY GUROFF, The Red-Expert Debate: Continuities in the State-Entrepreneur Tension. DAVID GRANICK, Institutional Innovation and Economic Management: The Soviet Incentive System, 1921 to the Present. ROY D. and BETTY A. LAIRD, The Soviet Farm Manager as an Entrepreneur. GREGORY GROSSMAN, The Party as Manager and Entrepreneur. PAUL COCKS, Organizing for Technological Innovation in the 1980s. FRED V. CARSTENSEN and GREGORY GUROFF, Economic Innovation in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union: Observations.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY, editor. *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change; Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia*. (East European Series, number 2.) Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, University of Michigan. 1983. Pp. xiv, 442.

NINA G. GARSOIAN, Iran and Caucasia. R. W. THOMSON, The Origins of Caucasian Civilization: The Christian Component. PETER B. GOLDEN, The Turkic Peoples and Caucasia. GEORGE A. BOURNOUTIAN, The Ethnic Composition and the Socio-Economic Condition of Eastern Armenia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. L. H. RHINELANDER, Viceroy Vorontsov's Administration of the Caucasus. RONALD GRIGOR SUNY, The Emergence of Political Society in Georgia. ANAHIDE TER MINASSIAN, Nationalisme et socialisme dans le mouvement révolutionnaire arménien, 1887-1912. GERARD J. LIBARIDIAN, Revolution and Liberation in the 1892 and 1907 Programs of the Dashnaksutun. AUDREY ALTSTADT-MIRHADI, The Azerbaijani Bourgeoisie and the Cultural-Enlightenment Movement in Baku: First Steps Toward Nationalism. TADEUSZ SWIETECHOWSKI, National Consciousness and Political Orientations in Azerbaijan, 1905-1920. RONALD GRIGOR SUNY, Nationalism and Social Class in the Russian Revolution: The Cases of Baku and Tiflis. RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN, Caucasian Armenia Between Imperial and Soviet Rule: The Interlude of National Independence. ARTIN H. ARSLANIAN, Britain and the Transcaucasian Nationalities During the Russian Civil War. STEPHEN BLANK, Bolshevik Organizational Development in Early Soviet Transcaucasia: Autonomy vs. Centralization, 1918-1924. CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS, JR., Clientelism and Higher Politics in Georgia, 1949-1953. BRIAN D. SILVER, Population Redistribution and the Ethnic Balance in Transcaucasia. GERTRUDE E. SCHROEDER, Transcaucasia Since Stalin: The Economic Dimension.

JOHN L. ESPOSITO, editor. *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 294. Cloth \$22.95, paper \$11.95.

JOHN L. ESPOSITO, Islam and Muslim Politics. FRED R. VON DER MEHDEN, American Perceptions of Islam. JOHN O. VOLL, Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdid* and *Islah*. JOHN J. DONOHUE, Islam and the Search for Identity in the Arab World. YVONNE Y. HADDAD, Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of Islamic Revival. CHARLES J. ADAMS, Mawdudi and the Islamic State. LISA ANDERSON, Qaddafi's Islam. MICHAEL M. J. FISCHER, Iman Khomeini: Four Levels of Understanding.

JOHN L. ESPOSITO, Muhammad Iqbal and the Islamic State. ABDULAZIZ SACHEDINA, Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution. KHURSHID AHMAD, The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence. AL-SADIQ AL-MAHDI, Islam: Society and Change. HASSAN AL-TURABI, The Islamic State. JAVID IQBAL, Democracy and the Modern Islamic State. ISMAIL R. AL-FARUQI, Islam and Zionism. KHALID M. ISHAQUE, The Islamic Approach to Economic Development. KEMAL A. FARUKI, The Islamic Resurgence: Prospects and Implications.

MARGARET RODMAN and MATTHEW COOPER, editors. *The Pacification of Melanesia*. (ASAO Monograph, number 7.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, for the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania. 1983. Pp. 233. Cloth \$23.50, paper \$11.50.

MARGARET RODMAN, Introduction. MATTHEW COOPER, On the Beginnings of Colonialism in Melanesia. JAMES BOUTILLIER, Killing the Government: Imperial Policy and the Pacification of Malaita. RAYMOND FIRTH, A Comment on "Killing the Government . . ." MARTIN ZELENIETZ, The End of Headhunting in New Georgia. GEOFFREY WHITE, War, Peace, and Piety in Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands. MARGARET RODMAN, Following Peace: Indigenous Pacification of a Northern New Hebridean Society. ANTON PLOEG, The Establishment of the Pax Neerlandica in the Bokondini Area. SUSAN PFLANZ-COOK and EDWIN COOK, Manga Pacification. KLAUS-FRIEDRICH KOCH, Pacification: Perspectives from Conflict Theory.

WALTER J. FRASER, JR. and WINFRED B. MOORE, JR. editors. *The Southern Enigma: Essays on Race, Class, and Folk Culture*. (Contributions in American History, number 105.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. x, 237. \$35.00.

LEON F. LITWACK, The Ordeal of Black Freedom. LACY FORD, Labor and Ideology in the South Carolina Up-Country: The Transition to Free-Labor Agriculture. JOHN SCOTT STRICKLAND, "No More Mud Work": The Struggle for the Control of Labor and Production in Low Country South Carolina, 1863-1880. RICHARD B. WESTIN, Blacks, Educational Reform, and Politics in North Carolina, 1897-1898. PETER H. WOOD, Waiting in Limbo: A Reconsideration of Winslow Homer's *The Gulf Stream*. GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON, Aristocracy and Democracy in the Southern Tradition. JACK P. MADDEX, JR., A Paradox of Christian Amelioration: Proslavery Ideology and Church Ministries to Slaves. BLAKE MCNULTY, William Henry Brisbane: South Carolina Slaveholder and Abolitionist. RONALD L. F. DAVIS, The Southern Merchant: A Perennial Source of Discontent. E. H. BEARDSLEY, Dedicated Servant or Errant Professional: The Southern Negro Physician Before World War II. CHARLES WINSTON JOYNER, The South as a Folk Culture: David Potter and the Southern Enigma. GRADY MCWHINEY, Education in the Old South: A Reexamination. CHARLES L. FLYNN, JR., The Ancient Pedigree of Violent Repression; Georgia's Klan as a Folk Movement. WILLIAM J. COOPER, JR., The Politics of Slavery Affirmed: The South and the Secession Crisis. EMORY M. THOMAS, The Paradoxes of Confederate Historiography.

HENRY LEWIS SUGGS, editor. *The Black Press in the South, 1865–1979*. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, number 74.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xi, 468. \$29.95.

HENRY LEWIS SUGGS, *Origins of the Black Press in the South*. ALLEN WOODROW JONES, Alabama. CALVIN SMITH, Arkansas. JERRELL H. SHOFNER, Florida. ALTON HORNSBY, JR., Georgia. THOMAS J. DAVIS, Louisiana. JULIUS ERIC THOMPSON, Mississippi. GEORGE EVERETT SLAVENS, Missouri. HENRY LEWIS SUGGS and BERNADINE MOSES DUNCAN, North Carolina. THEODORE HEMMINGWAY, South Carolina. SAMUEL SHANNON, Tennessee. JAMES SMALLWOOD, Texas. HENRY LEWIS SUGGS, Virginia.

GEORGE R. KNIGHT, editor. *Early Adventist Educators*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 250. \$9.95.

GEORGE R. KNIGHT, *Early Adventists and Education: Attitudes and Context*. ROY E. GRAHAM, James White: Initiator. GEORGE R. KNIGHT, Ellen G. White: Prophet. ALLAN G. LINDSAY, Goodloe Harper Bell: Teacher. JOSEPH G. SMOOT, Sidney Brownsberger: Traditionalist. RICHARD W. SCHWARZ, John Harvey Kellogg: Individualist. EMMETT K. VANDE VERE, William Warren Prescott: Administrator. ALTA ROBINSON, James Edson White: Innovator. WARREN S. ASHWORTH, Edward A. Sutherland: Reformer. ARNOLD C. REYE and GEORGE R. KNIGHT, Frederick Griggs: Moderate. MAURICE HODGEN, Percy Tilson Magan: Medical Educator. LOUIS B. REYNOLDS, Anna Knight: Pioneer.

GERALD L. GEISON, editor. *Professions and Professional Ideologies in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. x, 147. \$17.50.

GERALD L. GEISON, Introduction. DONALD M. SCOTT, *The Profession That Vanished: Public Lecturing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. PATRICIA U. BONOMI, "Stewards of the Mysteries of God": Clerical Authority and the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. STEPHEN BOTEIN, "What We Shall Meet Afterwards in Heaven": Judgeship as a Symbol for Modern American Lawyers. ROBERT W. GORDON, Legal Thought and Legal Practice in the Age of American Enterprise, 1870–1920.

TAE-HWAN KWAK *et al.*, editors. *U.S.-Korean Relations, 1882–1982*. (IFES Research Series, number 17.) Reprint. Seoul, Korea: Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University; distributed by Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado. 1983. Pp. xiv, 433. \$25.00.

JOHN CHAY, *The First Three Decades of American-Korean Relations, 1882–1910: Reassessments and Reflections*. ANDREW C. NAHM, *U.S. Policy and the Japanese Annexation of Korea*. GERARD H. CLARFIELD, *The Last Domino: America, Japan, and the Blair House Decisions*. SOON SUNG CHO,

*American Policy Toward Korean Unification, 1945–1980*. CHONG-KI CHOI, *American-Korean Diplomatic Relations, 1961–1982*. SANG HO LEE, *Native Contributions to the Success of America's Missionary Educational Work in Korea*. SHANNON MCCUNE, *American Image of Korea in 1882: A Bibliographical Sketch*. JAI POONG RYU, *Koreans in America: Past and Present*. YOUNG IL SHIN, *American Protestant Missions to Korea and the Awakening of Political and Social Consciousness in the Koreans Between 1884 and 1941*. TAE-HWAN KWAK, *U.S.-Korea Security Relations*. YU-NAM KIM, *U.S.-Korean Security Interdependence*. GREGORY F. T. WINN, *Riding the Tiger: Military Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula*. YONG SOON YIM, *U.S. Strategic Doctrine, Arms Transfer Policy, and South Korea*. KI-HOON KIM, *The Development of Contemporary U.S.-ROK Economic Relations*. THOMAS A. D'ELIA, *U.S.-ROK Economic Interdependence*. CHUNG HOON LEE, *United States Direct Investment and Its International Production in Korean Manufacturing Industries*. ARDATH W. BURKS, *The Triangle: Korea, the United States and Japan*. JAE KYU PARK, *North Korean Policy Toward the United States*. EDWARD A. OLSEN, *Northeast Asian Security: Sharing Responsibilities*.

PETER BRAESTRUP, editor. *Vietnam as History: Ten Years after the Paris Peace Accords*. (A Wilson Center Conference Report.) Washington: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. 160. Cloth \$16.75, paper \$8.75.

RICHARD BETTS, *Misadventure Revisited*. LARRY BERMAN, *Waiting for Smoking Guns: Presidential Decision-Making and the Vietnam War, 1965–67*. HERBERT Y. SCHANDLER, *America and Vietnam: The Failure of Strategy, 1965–67*. GEORGE C. HERRING, *The Nixon Strategy in Vietnam*. DOUGLAS PIKE, *The Other Side*. ALLAN E. GOODMAN, *Dynamics of the U.S.-South Vietnamese Alliance: What Went Wrong*. HARRY G. SUMMERS, JR., *Lessons: A Soldier's View*. RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY, *Reflections on 'Lessons' from Vietnam*. JOHN MUELLER, *Reflections on the Vietnam Antiwar Movement and on the Curious Calm at the War's End*. LAWRENCE W. LIGHTY, *Comments on the Influence of Television on Public Opinion*.

ALLAN G. BOGUE, *Clio and the Bitch Goddess: Quantification in American Political History*. (New Approaches to Social Science History, number 3.) Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage. 1983. Pp. 279. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$14.00.

ALLAN G. BOGUE, Introduction. Inside the "Iowa School." United States: The "New" Political History. Recent Developments in Political History: The Case of the United States. The New Political History in the 1970s. The Historian and Social Science Data Archives in the United States. Data Dilemmas: Quantitative Data and the Social Science History Association. Historical Research and State Archival Data. Numerical and Formal Analysis in United States History. Historians and Radical Republicans: A Meaning for Today.



---

# Documents and Bibliographies

---

The following collections of documents, bibliographies, and other similar works were received by the *AHR* between January 10, 1984, and May 17, 1984. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

## GENERAL

- GILMORE, WILLIAM J. *Psychohistorical Inquiry: A Comprehensive Research Bibliography*. (Garland Reference Library of Social Science, number 156.) New York: Garland. 1984. Pp. xxxi, 317. \$49.00.
- WERHANE, PATRICIA H., editor. *Philosophical Issues in Art*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. x, 562.

## ANCIENT

- DENNIS, GEORGE T., translator. *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*. (Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1984. Pp. xxiii, 178.
- GRIMAL, PIERRE. *Roman Cities*. Translated and edited with *A Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Cities* by G. MICHAEL WOLOCH. (Wisconsin Studies in Classics.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 355. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$12.50.
- HOUGHTON, ARTHUR. *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*. (Ancient Coins in North American Collections, number 4.) New York: American Numismatic Society. 1983. Pp. xiv, 122. \$65.00.

## MEDIEVAL

- SUTTON, ANNE F. and P. W. HAMMOND, editors. *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents*. New York: St. Martin's or Alan Sutton, Gloucester. 1983. Pp. xi, 500. \$40.00.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- STEELE, J. G. *The Explorers of the Moreton Bay District, 1770-1830*. Reprint. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press. 1983. Pp. 386. \$14.95.

## FRANCE

- COMPÈRE, MARIE-MADELEINE and DOMINIQUE JULIA. *Les Col-  
leges Français: 16<sup>e</sup>-18<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Volume 1, *France du Midi*. Paris: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1984. Pp. 759, 330 fr.
- PINAUD, PIERRE-FRANÇOIS. *Les trésoriers-payeurs généraux au  
XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Répertoire nominatif et territorial*. Foreword by MICHEL PRADA. Paris: Les Éditions de L'Érudit. 1983. Pp. 240. 195 fr.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

- BAGGE, SVERRE and ARNVED NEDKVITNE, editors. *Regesta  
Norvegica*. Volume 3, 1301-1319. Oslo: Norsk Historisk  
Kjeldeskrift-Institutt. 1983. Pp. 445.
- DEGN, OLE. *Ribe, 1500-1950*. (Scandinavian Atlas of Histor-  
ic Towns, Denmark, number 3.) Odense: Odense Uni-  
versity Press, for the Danish Committee for Urban  
History. 1983. Pp. 90. 183 KR.
- HAMRE, ANNE-MARIT, editor. *Norske kyrkjelege jordebøker etter  
reformasjonen*. Volume 2, *Trondhjems reformats 1589,  
Oslo domkapittels jordebok 1595* [Norwegian Church Cadas-  
ters after the Reformation. Vol. 2, Trondheim's Reform-  
ation, 1589, Oslo Cathedral Chapter's Cadaster, 1595].  
Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt. 1983. Pp.  
303.
- ZOETE, A., editor. *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten  
van Vlaanderen, 1405-1419: Excerpten uit de rekeningen der  
steden, kasselbrien en vorstelijke ambtenaren*. Part 2, *10 maart  
1413-7 september 1419* [Transactions of the Members  
and States of Flanders: Excerpts from the Accounts of  
Cities, Viscounties, and Royal Offices. Pt. 2, March 10,  
1413-September 7, 1419]. (Koninklijke Commissie voor  
Geschiedenis.) Brussels: Paleis der Academiën. 1982. Pp.  
705-1627.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- COMMISSION NATIONALE POUR LA PUBLICATION DE DOCU-  
MENTS DIPLOMATIQUES SUISSES. *Documents diplomatiques  
suisse, 1848-1945*. Volume 5, 1. *Januar 1904-10. Juli  
1914*. Bern: Benteli. 1983. Pp. xcii, 952. 140 FR.
- MUIR, EDWARD. *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of  
Syracuse University: The Complete Catalogue*. Syracuse: Syra-  
cuse University Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 288. \$60.00.

## ITALY

- BRACCIOLINI, POGGIO. *Contratti di Compré di Beni*. Edited by  
RENZO RISTORI. Foreword by EUGENIO GARIN. Florence:  
S.P.E.S., for the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinasci-  
mento. 1983. Pp. xxix, 24.
- MARCHIONE, MARGHERITA, editor. *Philip Mazzei: Selected  
Writings and Correspondence*. Volume 1, 1765-1788: Vir-  
ginia's Agent during the American Revolution; volume 2,  
1788-1791: Agent for the King of Poland during the French  
Revolution; volume 3, 1792-1816: World Citizen. Prato:  
Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi di Prato. 1983. Pp. xlviii,  
585; xvi, 702; xvi, 623.
- MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI. *I documenti diplomatici ita-  
liani*. (Second Series, 1870-1896, number 7, 25 marzo-  
31 dicembre 1876.) Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca  
dello Stato. 1983. Pp. liii, 879.
- MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI. *I documenti diplomatici ita-  
liani*. (Fifth Series, 1914-1918, number 9, 1<sup>o</sup> settembre-



- 31 dicembre 1917.) Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato. 1983. Pp. lxxiv, 655.  
 SCHUMANN, REINHOLD. *Geschichte Italiens*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1983. Pp. 296. DM 48.

## EASTERN EUROPE

- SCHMIDT, CHRISTIAN D., editor. *Bibliographie zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*. Assisted by M.-P. GROEN et al. (Bibliographische Mitteilungen, number 22.) Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1983. Pp. lxxii, 1059. DM 428.

## NEAR EAST

- ÇOKER, FAHRI, editor. *Türk Tarih Kurumu: Kuruluş Amacı ve Çalışmaları* [The Turkish Historical Society: Its Structure, Aims, and Efforts]. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 16inci Dizi, number 48.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi. 1983. Pp. xii, 806.  
 NARKISS, UZI. *The Liberation of Jerusalem: The Battle of 1967*. Introduced by ELIE WIESEL. London: Vallentine, Mitchell; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1983. Pp. xvi, 285. \$17.50.

## ASIA

- BROWN, SIDNEY DEVERE and AKIKO HIROTA, translators. *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*. Volume 1, 1868-1871. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. liv, 492. \$47.50.  
 HSÜAN-CHIH, YANG. *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*. Translated by YI-T'UNG WANG. (Princeton Library of Asian Translations.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xxii, 310. \$32.50.  
 ISLAM, RIAZUL. *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations, 1500-1750*. Volume 2. Tehran: Iranian Culture Foundation or Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, Karachi. 1982. Pp. xxv, 489. \$30.00.  
 PRICE, RICHARD. *To Slay the Hydra: Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma. 1983. Pp. 247.  
 PRITCHARD, GEORGE. *The Aggressions of the French at Tahiti and Other Islands of the Pacific*. Edited by PAUL DE DECKKER. Auckland: Auckland University Press or Oxford University Press, New York, in association with the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust. 1983. Pp. 253. \$55.00.  
 WONG, J. Y. *Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1839-1860: A Calendar of Chinese Documents in the British Foreign Office Records*. (Oriental Documents, number 7.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 1983. Pp. xv, 398. \$66.00.

## UNITED STATES

- ANDERSON, WILLIAM G. *The Price of Liberty: The Public Debt of the American Revolution*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1983. Pp. xii, 180. \$20.00.  
 ARPAD, SUSAN S., editor. *Sam Curd's Diary: The Diary of a True Woman*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1984. Pp. 172. \$24.95.  
 BEACH, MARK, compiler. *A Subject Bibliography of the History of American Higher Education*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. 165. \$29.95.  
 BEASLEY, MAURINE, editor. *The White House Press Conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt*. Foreword by FRANK FREIDEL. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. Pp. xii, 354. \$36.00.  
 BERTHOLD, DENNIS and KENNETH M. PRICE, editors. *Dear Brother Walt: The Letters of Thomas Jefferson Whitman*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1984. Pp. xxxvii, 202. \$27.50.

- BLANGO, RICHARD L. *The War of the American Revolution: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Published Sources*. (Garland Reference Library of Social Science, number 154; Wars of the United States, number 1.) New York: Garland. 1984. Pp. xxvii, 654.  
 BOLLER, PAUL F., JR. and RONALD STORY. *A More Perfect Union: Documents in U.S. History*. Volume 1, To 1877; volume 2, Since 1865. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1984. Pp. xii, 211, xiii; xii, 250, xiii.  
 BOUCHARD, RENÉ, editor. *La vie quotidienne au Québec: Histoire, métiers, techniques et traditions*. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec. 1983. Pp. xii, 395.  
 BURNS, RICHARD DEAN and MILTON LEITENBURG. *The Wars in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, 1945-1982: A Bibliographic Guide*. (War/Peace Bibliography Series, number 18.) Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO. 1984. Pp. xxxii, 290. \$58.50.  
 CARVALHO, JOSEPH III. *Black Families in Hampden County, Massachusetts, 1650-1855*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society or Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield, Mass. 1984. Pp. 211. \$16.95.  
 CHURCH, RANDOLPH W., compiler. *Virginia Legislative Petitions: Bibliography, Calendar, and Abstracts from Original Sources, 6 May 1776-21 June 1782*. Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1984. Pp. xv, 571. \$35.00.  
 COLEMAN, KENNETH and CHARLES STEPHEN GURR, editors. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*. In two volumes. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 565; xxi-xxv, 567-1108. \$60.00 the set.  
 COOLIDGE, GRACE. *Teepee Neighbors*. Foreword by ALICE MARRIOT. Introduced by GEORGE CORNELL. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xxxv, 163. \$7.95.  
 CULLEN, CHARLES T. and LESLIE TOBIAS, editors. *The Papers of John Marshall*. Volume 4, *Correspondence and Papers, January 1799-October 1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1984. Pp. xxx, 365. \$35.00.  
 DAVIS, LENWOOD G. and JANET I. SIMS-WOOD, compilers. *The Ku Klux Klan: A Bibliography*. Foreword by EARL E. THORPE. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xv, 643. \$49.95.  
 DECONDE, ALEXANDER, editor. *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy: Studies of the Principal Movements and Ideas*. In three volumes. New York: Scribner's. 1978. Pp. xii, 371; 372-751; 752-1201. \$99.00 the set.  
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*. Volume 1, *General: Economic and Political Matters*. In two parts. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1983. Pp. xxi, 816; xxi, 817-1887.  
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*. Volume 4, *The American Republics*. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1983. Pp. xxxvii, 1729.  
 DORSEN, NORMAN, editor. *Our Endangered Rights: The ACLU Report on Civil Liberties Today*. New York: Pantheon. 1984. Pp. xvi, 333. \$11.95.  
 ENGBERG, ROBERT, editor. *John Muir Summering in the Sierra*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 160. Cloth \$21.50, paper \$12.95.  
 FLORES, DAN L., editor. *Jefferson and Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman and Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806*. (American Exploration and Travel Series, number 67.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xx, 386. \$48.50.  
 FONER, PHILIP S., editor. *Black Socialist Preacher: The Teachings of Reverend George Washington Woodbey and His Disciple, Reverend G. W. Slater, Jr.* Foreword by RONALD V. DELLUMS. San Francisco: Synthesis. 1983. Pp. iii, 363. \$8.95.  
 FUNCHION, MICHAEL F., editor. *Irish American Voluntary Or-*

- ganizations. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xviii, 323. \$45.00.
- GOFF, JOHN S. *Arizona Biographical Dictionary*. Cave Creek, Ariz.: Black Mountain. 1983. Pp. 107. \$12.00.
- GORDON, MARY MCDUGALL, editor. *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 247. \$19.95.
- GREENE, DANA, editor. *Suffrage and Religious Principle: Speeches and Writings of Olympia Brown*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1983. Pp. vii, 182. \$15.00.
- GUROCK, JEFFREY S. *American Jewish History: A Bibliographical Guide*. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. 1983. Pp. xxi, 195. \$6.95.
- HAAS, MARILYN L. *Indians of North America: Methods and Sources for Library Research*. Hamden, Conn.: Library Professional. 1983. Pp. xii, 163. \$21.50.
- HESSEN, ROBERT, editor. *Berlin Alert: The Memoirs and Reports of Truman Smith*. Foreword by A. C. WEDEMAYER. (Hoover Archival Documentaries, Hoover Press Publication, number 289.) Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press. 1984. Pp. xx, 172. \$19.95.
- INGHAM, JOHN N. *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders*. In four volumes. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xvi, 522; xvi, 523-998; xvi, 999-1490; xvi, 1491-2026. \$195.00 the set.
- JENKINS, JOHN H. *Basic Texas Books: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Works for a Research Library*. Austin: Jenkins. 1983. Pp. xiv, 648. \$65.00.
- KAUFMAN, POLLY WELTS. *Women Teachers on the Frontier*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xxiii, 270. \$22.50.
- KEMBLE, FRANCES ANNE. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. Edited by JOHN A. SCOTT. (Brown Thrasher.) Reprint. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1984. Pp. lxx, 415, viii. \$9.95.
- KILLEN, LINDA and RICHARD L. LAEL. *Versailles and After: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diplomatic Relations, 1919-1933*. (Garland Reference Library of Social Science, number 135; American Diplomatic History, number 2.) New York: Garland. 1983. Pp. xvi, 469. \$60.00.
- KLINE, MARY-JO *et al.*, editors. *Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr*. In two volumes. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. lxx, 598; xvii, 599-1312. \$125.00 the set.
- LAWSON, TINA *et al.*, compilers. *Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 257. \$25.00.
- LEVERNIER, JAMES A. and DOUGLAS R. WILMES, editors. *American Writers Before 1800: A Biographical and Critical Dictionary*. In three volumes. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xxiii, 620; xxiii, 622-1200; xxiii, 1202-1764. \$195.00.
- LINK, ARTHUR S. *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Volume 44, August 21-November 10, 1917. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 595. \$32.50.
- LINK, ARTHUR S. *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Volume 45, November 11, 1917-January 15, 1918. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xxvi, 626. \$32.50.
- MILLER, LILLIAN B. *et al.*, editor. *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*. Volume 1, *Charles Willson Peale: Artist in Revolutionary America, 1735-1791*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. 1983. Pp. liii, 673. \$50.00.
- MODELSKI, ANDREW M. *Railroad Maps of North America: The First Hundred Years*. Washington: Library of Congress. 1984. Pp. xxi, 186. \$28.00.
- MYERS, ROBERT MANSON. *The Children of Pride: Selected Letters of the Family of the Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones from the Years 1860-1868, with the Addition of Several Previously Unpublished Letters*. Abridged ed. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 671. \$25.00.
- NELSON, BARBARA J. *American Women and Politics: A Selected Bibliography and Resource Guide*. (Garland Reference Library of Social Science, number 174.) New York: Garland. 1984. Pp. xii, 255. \$38.00.
- POEN, MONTE M., editor. *Letters Home by Harry Truman*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1984. Pp. 303. \$16.95.
- ROSENGARTEN, THEODORE. *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*. Reprint. New York: Vintage. 1984. Pp. xxv, 575. \$8.95.
- ROWAN, STEVEN, translator and editor. *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862*. Introduced by JAMES NEAL PRIMM. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1983. Pp. x, 323. \$26.00.
- RUTLAND, ROBERT A. *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of James Madison: Presidential Series*. Volume 1, *1 March-30 September 1809*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1984. Pp. xxviii, 414. \$37.50.
- SCHLACTER, GAIL, editor. *The American Presidency: A Historical Bibliography*. (Clio Bibliography Series, number 15.) Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio. 1984. Pp. viii, 376. \$60.00.
- SCHULZE, SUZANNE. *Population Information in Nineteenth Century Census Volumes*. Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx. 1983. Pp. ix, 446. \$65.00.
- SINCLAIR, UPTON. *The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America*. Introduced by STEVE MEYER. Reprint. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr. 1984. Pp. xi, 119. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$5.95.
- SMITH, DAVID L., editor. *Horace Bushnell: Selected Writings on Language, Religion, and American Culture*. (American Academy of Religion, Studies in Religion, number 33.) Chico, Calif.: Scholars. 1984. Pp. 187. \$9.75.
- SPENCER, ETHEL. *The Spencers of Amberson Avenue: A Turn-of-the-Century Memoir*. Edited by MICHAEL P. WEBER and PETER N. STEARNS. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1983. Pp. xxxvi, 135. Cloth \$16.95, paper \$7.95.
- SPIVEY, DONALD. *Union and the Black Musician: The Narrative of William Everett Samuels and Chicago Local 208*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. viii, 150. Cloth \$22.75, paper \$10.75.
- STRONG, SUSAN R. *History of American Ceramics: An Annotated Bibliography*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1983. Pp. xxii, 184. \$16.00.
- SUSSMAN, WARREN and JOHN CHAMBERS, editors. *American History*. Volume 1, *Survey and Chronological Courses*. New York: Markus Wiener. 1983. Pp. 205.
- TAYLOR, PAUL. *On the Ground in the Thirties*. Foreword by CLARK KERR. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith. 1983. Pp. xii, 252. \$16.50.
- THOMPSON, KENNETH W., editor. *The American Presidency*. Volume 3, *Principles and Problems*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. 97. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$7.25.
- THOMPSON, KENNETH W., editor. *The Virginia Papers on the Presidency*. Volume 13. (White Burkett Miller Center Forums, number 2.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xii, 83. Cloth \$16.75, paper \$6.00.
- THOMPSON, KENNETH W., editor. *The Virginia Papers on the Presidency*. Volume 14. (White Burkett Miller Center Forums, number 3.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xii, 88. Cloth \$15.50, paper \$5.50.
- WEINBERG, MEYER. *America's Economic Heritage*. Volume 1, *From a Colonial to a Capitalist Economy, 1634-1900*; volume 2, *A Mature Economy, post 1900*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 635; xxiv, 501.
- WESTERBERG, WESLEY M. *et al.*, editors. *Guide to Swedish-American Archival and Manuscript Sources in the United States*. Chicago: Swedish-American Historical Society. 1983. Pp. xxx, 600. \$20.00.
- WHITNAH, DONALD R., editor. *Government Agencies*. (Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions, number 7.)

Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xxviii, 683. \$49.95.

YOUNG, JAMES STERLING, editor. *Problems and Prospects of Presidential Leadership in the Nineteen-Eighties*. Volume 2. (Problems and Prospects of the Presidency.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, for the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs, Charlottesville. 1983. Pp. xi, 79. Cloth \$16.50, paper \$5.75.

## LATIN AMERICA

CONRAD, ROBERT EDGAR. *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxviii, 515. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$16.50.

## Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between January 10, 1984, and May 17, 1984. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

### GENERAL

- ADAMS, PERCY G. *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1983. Pp. xii, 368. \$30.00.
- ADAMSON, WALTER L. *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory*. Reprint. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. x, 304. \$8.95.
- APPEL, MARSHA C. *Illustration Index*. Volume 5, 1977-1981. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1984. Pp. ix, 411. \$27.50.
- ARCHER, DANE and ROSEMARY GARTNER. *Violence and Crime in Cross-National Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 341. \$30.00.
- BENJAMIN, JULES R. *A Student's Guide to History*. 3d ed. New York: St. Martin's. 1983. Pp. xi, 184. \$5.95.
- BINION, RUDOLPH. *Soundings: Psychohistorical and Psycho-literary*. New York: Psychohistory. 1981. Pp. v, 164. Cloth \$18.95, paper \$8.95.
- BLOOR, DAVID. *Wittgenstein: A Social Theory of Knowledge*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 213. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.00.
- BLUHM, WILLIAM T. *Force or Freedom? The Paradox in Modern Political Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 322. \$25.00.
- BOLOGH, ROSLYN WALLACH. *Dialectical Phenomenology: Marx's Method*. (The International Library of Phenomenology and Moral Sciences.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1979. Pp. xiii, 287. \$20.00.
- The Brethren Encyclopedia*. Volume 1, A-J; volume 2, K-Z. Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia. 1983. Pp. xliii, 680; 681-1402. \$100.00 the set.
- BRINTON, CRANE *et al.* *A History of Civilization*. Volume 1, *Prehistory to 1715*. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. xvi, 480. \$16.95.
- BRINTON, CRANE *et al.* *A History of Civilization*. Volume 2, *1648 to the Present*. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. xiv, 545. \$16.95.
- CANBY, COURTLANDT. *The Encyclopedia of Historic Places*. Volume 1, A-L; volume 2, M-Z. Edited by GORTON CARRUTH. (Hudson Group Book.) New York: Facts on File. 1984. Pp. v, 542; v, 544-1052. \$120.00 the set.
- CARVER, MICHAEL. *War since 1945*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1980. Pp. x, 322. \$17.95.
- CASTELL, MANUEL. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. (California Series in Urban Development, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 450. \$29.95.
- COLLIER, RICHARD. *The Freedom Road, 1944-1945*. New York: Atheneum. 1984. Pp. x, 342. \$17.95.
- Conway's *All the World's Fighting Ships, 1947-1982*. Part 2, *The Warsaw Pact and Non-Aligned Nations*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1983. Pp. 299-509.
- COOK, CHRIS. *Dictionary of Historical Terms: A Guide to Names and Events of Over 1,000 Years of World History*. New York: Peter Bedrick; distributed by Harper and Row, New York. 1983. Pp. 304. \$15.95.
- CORNING, PETER A. *The Synergism Hypothesis: A Theory of Progressive Evolution*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1983. Pp. xvii, 492. \$12.95.
- DAOUDI, M. S. and M. S. DAJANI. *Economic Sanctions: Ideals and Experience*. (International Library of Economics.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1983. Pp. 263. \$24.95.
- DREWS, ROBERT. *In Search of the Shroud of Turin: New Light on Its History and Origins*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld. 1984. Pp. xiii, 133. \$15.95.
- DRUŽININ, NIKOLAJ MICHAJLOVIČ. *Erinnerungen und Gedanken eines Historikers*. Edited by BEATE ESCHMENT. Afterword by HANS-HEINRICH NOLTE. (Zur Kritik der Geschichtsschreibung, number 2.) Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt. 1983. Pp. 135. DM 38.
- DUFFY, IAN P. H., editor. *Women and Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lawrence Henry Gibson Institute. 1983. Pp. vii, 38. \$3.95.
- DUMÉZIL, GEORGES. *La Courtisane et les seigneurs colorés et autres essais: Vingt-cinq esquisses de mythologie (26-50)*. (Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines.) Paris: Gallimard. 1983. Pp. 243. 91 fr.
- VAN DEN DUNGEN, PETER. *The Making of Peace: Jean De Bloch and the First Hague Peace Conference*. (Occasional Papers Series, number 12.) Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, California State University. 1983. Pp. xi, 57.
- EHRlich, Gerd W. *Changing Law in a Changing Community: Eleven Lectures to Introduce the Study of Law*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. v, 106. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$8.75.
- EISENSTEIN, ELIZABETH L. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 297. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$9.95.
- ETHERINGTON, NORMAN. *Theories of Imperialism: War, Conquest, and Capital*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble or Croom Helm, London. 1984. Pp. 296. \$28.50.
- FOX-GENOVESE, ELIZABETH and EUGENE D. GENOVESE. *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xxii, 469. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$10.95.
- GEISS, IMANUEL. *War and Empire in the Twentieth Century*. (Thomas Callander Memorial Lectures, 1982.) Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1983. £3.90.
- GEZE, FRANÇOIS *et al.*, editors. *World View, 1984: A Compre-*

- hensive Look at the News behind the News.* New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. 470. \$11.95.
- GOLDWERT, MARVIN. *History and the Human Mind: Freud, Adler, and Jung.* (Anthroscience Minigraph Series.) Notre Dame: Foundations Press of Notre Dame. 1983. Pp. ii, 61.
- HALLE, LOUIS J. *The Elements of International Strategy: A Primer for the Nuclear Age.* Foreword by KENNETH W. THOMPSON. (American Values Projected Abroad, number 10.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. 121. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$7.50.
- Historical Maps on File.* New York: Facts on File. 1984. Pp. 300. \$145.00.
- HOEHLING, A. A. *Lost at Sea.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1984. Pp. ix, 246. \$16.95.
- HOWELLS, JOHN G. and M. LIVIA OSBORN. *A Reference Companion to the History of Abnormal Psychology.* Volume 1, A-L; volume 2, M-Z. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xviii, 572; xviii, 574-1141. \$95.00 the set.
- KAHN, DAVID. *Kahn on Codes: Secrets of the New Cryptology.* New York: Macmillan. 1983. Pp. viii, 343. \$19.95.
- KEGLEY, CHARLES W., JR. and EUGENE R. WITKOPF. *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives.* New York: Random House. 1984. Pp. viii, 397. \$11.95.
- KENNEDY, PAUL. *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945: Eight Studies.* Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1983. Pp. 254. \$24.95.
- KEYLOR, WILLIAM R. *The Twentieth-Century World: An International History.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 468. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$12.95.
- KOZACZUK, WLADYSLAW. *Enigma: How the German Machine Cipher Was Broken, and How It Was Read by the Allies in World War Two.* Edited and translated by CHRISTOPHER KASPAREK. (Foreign Intelligence Book Series.) Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America. 1984. Pp. xiv, 348. \$24.00.
- KRIEDTE, PETER. *Peasants, Landlords, and Merchant Capitalists: Europe and the World Economy, 1500-1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. 191. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$9.95.
- KULA, WITOLD. *Les mesures et les hommes.* Translated from Polish by JOANNA RITT. Edited by KRZYSZTOF POMIAN and JACQUES REVEL. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. 1984. Pp. 304. 180 fr.
- LAMBERTI, JEAN-CLAUDE. *Tocqueville et les deux démocraties.* Foreword by FRANÇOIS BOURRICAUD. (Sociologies.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1983. Pp. vii, 325. 180 fr.
- LAUB, JOHN H. *Criminology in the Making: An Oral History.* Foreword by TRAVIS HIRSCHI. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 274. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.
- MANN, MICHAEL, editor. *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology.* New York: Continuum. 1984. Pp. xiv, 434. \$34.50.
- MARCUS, STEVEN. *Freud and the Culture of Psychoanalysis: Studies in the Transition from Victorian Humanism to Modernity.* Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. 268. \$24.95.
- MCLENNAN, GREGOR. *Marxism and the Methodologies of History.* London: Verso; distributed by Schocken, New York. 1981. Pp. xiii, 272. Cloth \$24.00, paper \$9.50.
- MEISNER, MAURICE. *Marxism, Maoism, and Utopianism: Eight Essays.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1982. Pp. xiii, 255. \$16.95.
- MEYER, PHILIPPE. *The Child and the State: The Intervention of the State in Family Life.* Translated by JUDITH ENNEW and JANET LLOYD. New York: Cambridge University Press or Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1983. Pp. v, 128. Cloth \$29.50, paper \$9.95.
- MID-ATLANTIC RADICAL HISTORIANS' ORGANIZATION. *Visions of History.* Edited by HENRY ABELove et al. New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. xi, 323. \$10.95.
- MITTERAUER, MICHAEL. *Ledige Mütter: Zur Geschichte illegitimer Geburten in Europa.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. 173. DM 38.
- MONK, ROBERT C. and JOSEPH D. STAMEY. *Exploring Christianity: An Introduction.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. viii, 225. \$19.95.
- MORGAN, ROBIN. *The Anatomy of Freedom: Feminism, Physics, and Global Politics.* Reprint. New York: Anchor Press of Doubleday. 1984. Pp. xvi, 365. \$8.95.
- MULLER, LEON ARNOLD. *Spirit of Youth: Universal Secular Art.* 3d ed. New York: Exposition. 1965. Pp. 64. \$3.00.
- MYERS, MILTON L. *The Soul of Modern Economic Man: Ideas of Self-Interest, Thomas Hobbes to Adam Smith.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 148. \$17.50.
- PETCHESKY, ROSALIND POLLACK. *Abortion and Woman's Choice: The State, Sexuality, and Reproductive Freedom.* (Longman Series in Feminist Theory.) New York: Longman. 1984. Pp. xii, 404. \$22.95.
- ROPP, THEODORE. *History and War.* Augusta, Ga.: Hamburg. 1984. Pp. 80. \$7.50.
- SCHMOOKLER, ANDREW BARD. *The Parable of the Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 400. \$19.95.
- SHOEMAKER, DONALD J. *Theories of Delinquency: An Examination of Explanations of Delinquent Behavior.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xix, 281. \$8.95.
- SIMMEL, GEORG. *Georg Simmel: On Women, Sexuality, and Love.* Translated by GUY OAKES. Foreword by GUY OAKES. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 194. \$20.00.
- TARG, RUSSELL and KEITH HARARY. *The Mind Race: Understanding and Using Psychic Abilities.* Foreword by WILLIS HARMAN. Epilogue by LARISSA VILENSKAYA. New York: Villard. 1984. Pp. xvii, 294. \$16.95.
- THOM, GARY B. *The Human Nature of Social Discontent: Alienation, Anomie, Ambivalence.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld. 1983. Pp. xvi, 239. \$23.95.
- VANSITTART, PETER. *Voices from the Great War.* New York: Franklin Watts. 1984. Pp. xv, 303. \$14.95.
- VON MELLINTHIN, F. W. and R. H. S. STOLFI. *NATO under Attack: Why the Western Alliance Can Fight Outnumbered and Win in Central Europe without Nuclear Weapons.* Assisted by E. SOBIK. (Duke Press Policy Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1984. Pp. 161. Cloth \$22.75, paper \$10.75.
- YAGO, GLENN. *The Decline of Transit: Urban Transportation in German and U.S. Cities, 1900-1970.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 293. \$29.95.
- ZALLER, ROBERT. *Europe in Transition, 1660-1815.* New York: Harper and Row. 1984. Pp. ix, 166.
- ZEITLIN, IRVING M. *The Social Condition of Humanity: An Introduction to Sociology.* 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 459. \$14.95.

## ANCIENT

- BUCK, ROBERT J. *Agriculture and Agricultural Practice in Roman Law.* (Historia, Einzelschriften, number 45.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. 59. DM 20.
- CHRIST, KARL. *The Romans: An Introduction to Their History and Civilisation.* Translated from the German by CHRISTOPHER HOLME. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. x, 294. \$19.95.
- HEICHELHEIM, FRITZ M. et al. *A History of the Roman People.* 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. xiv, 546. \$27.95.
- LANG, MABEL L. *Herodotean Narrative and Discourse.* (Martin Classical Lectures, number 28.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, for Oberlin College. 1984. Pp. viii, 179. \$20.00.
- LLOYD-JONES, HUGH. *The Justice of Zeus.* (Sather Classical Lectures, number 41.) 2d ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles:



- University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 266. \$8.95.  
 RAWSON, ELIZABETH. *Cicero: A Portrait*. Rev. ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 341. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$8.95.  
 ROBERTS, COLIN H. and T. C. SKEAT. *The Birth of the Codex*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, London. 1983. Pp. 78. \$32.50.  
 WILKEN, ROBERT L. *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xix, 214. \$17.95.

## MEDIEVAL

- CHRIST, KARL. *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*. Translated by THEOPHIL M. OTTO. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1984. Pp. xvi, 492. \$35.00.  
 CLANCHY, M. T. *England and Its Rulers, 1066-1272: Foreign Lordship and National Identity*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1983. Pp. 317. \$27.50.  
 DANIEL, E. RANDOLPH. *Abbot Joachim of Fiore: Liber de concordia noui ac veteris testamenti*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 73, part 8.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1983. Pp. lxii, 455. \$18.00.  
 DAVIS, CHARLES T. *Dante's Italy and Other Essays*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 342. \$35.00.  
 DEISENROTH, ALEXANDER. *Deutsches Mittelalter und deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: Irrationalität und politisches Interesse in der deutschen Mediävistik zwischen aufgeklärtem Absolutismus und erstem Weltkrieg*. (Reihe der Forschungen, number 11.) Rheinfelden: Schäuble. 1983. Pp. 372. DM 95.  
 FITZ NIGEL, RICHARD. *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Course of the Exchequer and Constitutio Domus Regis: The Establishment of the Royal Household*. Edited by CHARLES JOHNSON. Assisted by F. E. L. CARTER and D. E. GREENWAY. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. lxiv, 144. \$67.00.  
 IECLERCQ, JEAN. *L'amour vu par les moines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Cerf. 1983. Pp. 159. 65 fr.  
 Renard the Fox: *The Misadventures of an Epic Hero*. Translated by PATRICIA TERRY. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1983. Pp. 179. Cloth \$21.95, paper \$11.95.  
 SAITTA, ARMANDO. *L'impero carolingio*. (2000 Anni di Storia, number 4.) Rome: Laterza. 1983. Pp. viii, 632. L. 50,000.  
 SHANNON, ALBERT CLEMENT. *The Medieval Inquisition*. Washington: Augustinian College Press. 1983. Pp. vii, 153. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$10.00.  
 TEMPELTON, DARLENE. *Woman in Yorkist England*. (Woman in History, number 49.) Mesquite, Tex.: Ide House. 1983. Pp. iv, 89. Cloth \$20.95, paper \$10.95.  
 WOLFRAM, HERWIG. *Geschichte der Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*. 3d ed., rev. (Becksche Sonderausgaben.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. 295. DM 45.  
 borough. (Victoria History of the Counties of England.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. 1983. Pp. xx, 257.  
 FANNING, RONAN. *Independent Ireland*. (Helicon History of Ireland.) Dublin: Helicon; distributed by The Educational Company of Ireland, Dublin. 1983. Pp. viii, 230. Cloth IR £6.95; paper IR £3.95.  
 HAINSWORTH, D. R., editor. *The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, 1693-1698: A Provincial Community in Wartime*. (Records of Social and Economic History, new series, number 7.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 1983. Pp. xliii, 739. \$89.95.  
 HARKNESS, DAVID. *Northern Ireland since 1920*. (Helicon History of Ireland.) Dublin: Helicon; distributed by The Educational Company of Ireland, Dublin. 1983. Pp. xiv, 193. Cloth IR £6.95; paper IR £3.95.  
 JAMES, T. B. *Southampton Sources: 1086-1900*. (Southampton Record Series, number 26.) Southampton: University Press. 1983. Pp. xxxix, 135. £10.00.  
 LADD, JAMES D. *SBS: The Invisible Raiders; The History of the Special Boat Squadron from World War Two to the Present*. Foreword by P. G. DAVIS. Harrisburg, Pa.: Arms and Armour Press; distributed by Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Md. 1983. Pp. 283. \$15.95.  
 LEES-MILNE, JAMES. *The Last Stuarts: British Royalty in Exile*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1983. Pp. xi, 244. \$17.95.  
 MACFARLANE, ALAN. *A Guide to English Historical Records*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 134. \$19.95.  
 MULLINS, E. L. C. *Texts and Calendars II: An Analytical Guide to Serial Publications, 1957-1982*. (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, number 12.) London: The Society. 1983. Pp. xi, 323. \$29.50.  
 SCHRÖTER, HARALD. *Roger Ascham, Toxophilus, The Schole of Shootinge, London 1545*. (Schriften der Deutschen Sport-hochschule Köln, number 9.) Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz. 1983. Pp. 186. DM 39.50.  
 STANSKY, PETER. *William Morris*. (Past Masters.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. 96. \$12.95.  
 TABACHNICK, STEPHEN E., editor. *The T. E. Lawrence Puzzle*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1984. Pp. vii, 342. \$22.50.

## FRANCE

- BÉDARIDA, FRANÇOIS et al., editors. *Jean Moulin et la Conseil national de la resistance*. (Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent.) Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1983. Pp. 192. 40 fr.  
 BEECHER, JONATHAN and RICHARD BIENVENU, editors. *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*. Reprint. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 427. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.50.  
 BOULOISEAU, MARC. *The Jacobin Republic, 1792-1794*. Translated by JONATHAN MANDELBAUM. (The French Revolution, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press or Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1983. Pp. xvi, 251. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$13.95.  
 BOWER, TOM. *Klaus Barbie: The Butcher of Lyons*. New York: Pantheon. 1984. Pp. 255. \$15.95.  
 CARRILLO, SANTIAGO. *Le communisme malgré tout*. Edited by LILLY MARCOU. (Collection Politique d'Aujourd'hui.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1984. Pp. 188. 90 fr.  
 DE LA BOÉTIE, ESTIENNE. *Memoire sur la pacification des troubles*. Edited by MALCOLM SMITH. (Textes Littéraires Français.) Geneva: Droz. 1983. Pp. 122.  
 DELANO, LUCILE K. *Charles de Lannoy: Victor of Pavia*. Norwell, Mass.: Christopher. 1984. Pp. 147. \$9.75.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- ARNSTEIN, WALTER L. *The Bradlaugh Case: Atheism, Sex, and Politics among the Late Victorians*. Reprint. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1984. Pp. x, 377. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$13.50.  
 BERKOWITZ, DAVID SANDLER, editor. *Humanist Scholarship and Public Order: Two Tracts against the Pilgrimage of Grace by Sir Richard Morison*. (Folger Documents Series.) Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library or Associated University Presses, London. 1984. Pp. 278. \$28.50.  
 CELL, GEORGE CROFT. *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*. Reprint. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xviii, 420. \$14.50.  
 CROWLEY, D. A., editor. *A History of Wiltshire*. Volume 12, *Ramsbury Hundred, Selkley Hundred, the Borough of Marl-*

- DUMÉZIL, GEORGES. "... *Le moyne noir en gris dedans Varennes*": *Sotie nostradamique suivie d'un divertissement sur les dernières paroles de Socrate*. Paris: Gallimard. 1984. Pp. 169. 69 fr.
- DYER, COLIN. *Histoire D'Aumale de 1860 à nos jours*. Aumale: Syndicat d'Initiative d'Aumale. 1983. Pp. 245.
- KEDWARD, H. R. *Resistance in Vichy France: A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone, 1940-1942*. Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 311. \$13.95.
- MOUSNIER, ROLAND E. *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598-1789*. Volume 2, *The Organs of State and Society*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. xix, 695. \$55.00.
- MUCHNIK, NICOLE, editor. *Le Nouvel Observateur, 1983*. Foreword by JEAN DANIEL. Paris: Gallimard. 1984. Pp. xii, 319. 75 fr.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

- HOLM-OLSEN, LUDVIG, editor. *Konungs skuggsið* [The Education of Princes]. (Norrøne Tekster, number 1.) 2d rev. ed. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institut. 1983. Pp. xxv, 171.
- KERÄNEN, JORMA. *Kainuun Asuttaminen* [The Settling of Kainuu]. (Studia Historica Jyväskyläensia, number 28.) Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Yliopisto. 1984. Pp. 282.
- NUORTEVA, JUSSI. *Suomalaiset muistikirjat ja muistikirja-merkinnät ennen isovähiä* [Finnish Autograph Albums and Autograph-Album Inscriptions]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 123.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1983. Pp. 110.
- PIHL, MOGENS, editor. *København's Universitet, 1479-1979*. Volume 12, part 1, *Det matematisk-naturvidenskabelige Fakultet* [The University of Copenhagen, 1479-1979. Vol. 12, pt. 1, The Mathematical-Natural Scientific Faculty]. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads. 1983. Pp. xi, 595. 366 KR.
- Suomalais-neuvostoliittolaiset historiantutkijoiden symposiumit* [Finnish-Soviet Historiographical Symposia]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 80.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1983. Pp. 181.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- BAUMGART, PETER, editor. *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brandenburg-Preussen: Ergebnisse einer internationalen Fachtagung*. Foreword by OTTO BÜSCH. Assisted by JÜRGEN SCHMÄDEKE. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, number 55; Forschungen zur Preussischen Geschichte; Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, number 66.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1983. Pp. xxv, 495. \$61.40.
- BENZ, WOLFGANG, editor. *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Geschichte in drei Bänden*. Volume 1, *Politik*; volume 2, *Gesellschaft*; volume 3, *Kultur*. (Fischer Taschenbücher, numbers 4312, 4313, 4314.) Frankfurt a/M: Fischer. 1983. Pp. 453; 364; 468.
- BEZWINSKA, JADWIGA AND DANUTA CZECH, editors. *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS: Höss, Broad, Kremer*. Translated by CONSTANTINE FITZGIBBON and KRYSZYNA MICHALIK. New York: Howard Fertig. 1984. Pp. 331. \$27.50.
- BOTZ, GERHARD. *Gewalt in der Politik: Attentate, Zusammenstöße, Putschversuche, Unruhen in Österreich, 1918 bis 1938*. 2d ed. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 1983. Pp. 460. DM 36.
- BROSZAT, MARTIN AND HORST MÖLLER, editors. *Das Dritte Reich: Herrschaftsstruktur und Geschichte*. (Beck'sche Schwarze Reihe, number 280.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. 285. DM 19.80.
- CRAIG, GORDON A. *The End of Prussia*. (The Curti Lectures, 1982.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1984. Pp. 102. \$15.00.

- FLEISCHER, MANFRED P. *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. (Silesia, number 32.) Munich: Delp. 1984. Pp. viii, 300. DM 28.
- GREFLINGER, GEORGE. *Der Deutschen Dreyssig-jähriger Krieg, 1657*. Edited by PETER MICHAEL EHRLE. (Literatur-Kabinett, Deutsche Literatur in Reprints, number 2.) Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 1983. Pp. 271. DM 48.
- HOERNLE, EDWIN. *Deutsche Bauern unterm Hakenkreuz*. (Antifaschistische Literatur in der Bewährung, Reprints im Akademie-Verlag, number 6.) Berlin: Akademie. 1983. Pp. 129.
- KOCH, RAINER. *Grundlagen bürgerlicher Herrschaft: Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main, 1612-1866*. (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, number 27.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. viii, 450. DM 114.
- LANGEWIESCHE, DIETER, editor. *Das Tagebuch Julius Hölders, 1877-1880: Zum Zerfall des politischen Liberalismus in Württemberg und im Deutschen Reich*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, series A, Quellen, number 26.) Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1977. Pp. xviii, 334.
- MITTENZWEI, INGRID AND KARL-HEINZ NOACK. *Preussen in der deutschen Geschichte vor 1789*. (Studienbibliothek DDR-Geschichtswissenschaft, number 2.) Berlin: Akademie. 1983. Pp. 351. 28 M.
- MONTEIL, MICHÈLE. *Martin Luther: La vie, oui, la vie*. (Semeurs.) Paris: Cerf. 1983. Pp. 496. 175 fr.
- PALUCH, LUISE. *Lorenzo Quaglio, 1793-1869*. (Oberbayerisches Archiv, number 108.) Munich: Historischen Vereins von Oberbayern. 1983. Pp. 217.
- POTTHOFF, HEINRICH. *Handbuch politischer Institutionen und Organisationen, 1945-1949*. Assisted by RÜDIGER WENZEL. (Handbücher zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien, number 1.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1983. Pp. 474. DM 98.
- SMITH, ARTHUR L., JR. *Die "Hexe von Buchenwald": Der Fall Ilse Koch*. Cologne: Böhlau. 1983. Pp. 260. DM 38.
- STEIN, GEORGE H. *The Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War, 1939-1945*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Reprint. 1966. Pp. xxxiv, 330. \$10.95.
- STEININGER, ROLF. *Deutsche Geschichte, 1945-1961: Darstellung und Dokumente in zwei Bänden*. In two volumes. (Fischer Taschenbücher, numbers 4315, 4316.) Frankfurt a/M: Fischer. 1983. Pp. 276; 278-563.
- WEBER, CHRISTOPH. *Kirchengeschichte, Zensur und Selbstzensur: Ungeschriebene, ungedruckte und verschollene Werke vorwiegend liberal-katholischer Kirchenhistoriker aus der Epoche, 1860-1914*. (Kölner Veröffentlichungen zur Religionsgeschichte, number 4.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1984. Pp. xvii, 177. DM 48.
- WEBER, CHRISTOPH, editor. *Liberaler Katholizismus: Biographische und kirchenhistorische Essays von Franz Xaver Kraus*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1983. Pp. xxxvii, 527. DM 148.

## ITALY

- ANTEGHINI, ALESSANDRA. *Stato, governo, società civile nell'opera di Charles Dunoyer*. (Quaderni dell'Istituto di Scienza Politica, Università di Genova, Pensiero Politico, number 1.) Genoa: ECI. 1983. Pp. 81.
- DE CLEMENTI, ANDREINA. *Politica e società nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario, 1900-1915*. (Storia e Documenti, number 10.) Rome: Bulzoni. 1983. Pp. 176. L. 15,000.
- LA SALVIA, SERGIO, editor. *Epistolario*. Volume VI, 1861-1862. (Edizione Nazionale degli Scritti di Giuseppe Garibaldi, number 12.) Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. 1983. Pp. xi, 343.
- SPINI, GIORGIO. *Ricerca dei libertini: La teoria dell'impostura delle religioni nel Seicento italiano*. (Biblioteca di Storia,

- number 33.) 2d. ed., rev. Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1983. Pp. xi, 403. L. 39,000.
- TRINKAUS, CHARLES. *The Scope of Renaissance Humanism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1983. Pp. xxvii, 479. \$28.50.
- VICO, GIAMBATTISTA. *The New Science of Giambattista Vico: Unabridged Translation of the Third Edition (1744) with the Addition of "Practic of the New Science."* Translated by THOMAS GODDARD BERGIN and MAX HAROLD FISCH. 2d rev. ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1984. Pp. xlv, 445. \$12.95.
- EASTERN EUROPE
- ASH, TIMOTHY GARTON. *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1983. Pp. xix, 388. \$17.95.
- BEGOVIĆ, BRANISLAV. *Razvojni put šumske privrede u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu Austrougarske uprave (1878–1918) sa posebnim osvrtom na eksploataciju šuma i industrijsku preradu drveta* [The Development of Forestry in Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Administration (1878–1918) with Special Consideration of Forest Exploitation and Industrial Wood Production]. (Djela, number 54; Odjeljenje Društvenih Nauka, number 31.) Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. 1978. Pp. 204.
- BRANDYS, KAZIMIERZ. *A Warsaw Diary, 1978–1981*. Translated by RICHARD LOURIE. New York: Random House. 1983. Pp. 260. \$17.95.
- CHERVENKOV, N. N. *Politicheskie organizatsii bolgarskogo nacional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia vo vtoroi polovine 50-kh–60-e gg. XIX v.* [The Political Organization of the Bulgarian National Liberation Movement in the Second Half of the 1850s and the 1860s]. Kishinev: Shuintsia. 1982. Pp. 130. 1 r. 30 k.
- CURRY, JANE LEFTWICH, translator and editor. *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*. (Rand Corporation Research Study.) New York: Vintage. 1984. Pp. xii, 450. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$8.95.
- EKMEČIĆ, MILORAD et al., editors. *Otpor Austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Resistance to the Austro-Hungarian Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina of 1878]. (Posebna Izdanja, number 43; Odjeljenje Društvenih Nauka, number 8.) Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. 1979. Pp. 441.
- NOWAK, JAN. *Courrier de Varsovie*. Translated by JEAN-YVES ERHEL. (Collection Témoins.) Paris: Gallimard. 1983. Pp. 417. 120 fr.
- SUGAR, PETER F. *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804*. (History of East Central Europe, number 5.) Reprint. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 365. \$12.95.
- TROEBST, STEFAN. *Die bulgarisch-jugoslawische Kontroverse um Makedonien, 1967–1982*. (Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropas, number 23.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1983. Pp. 249.
- WESCHLER, LAWRENCE. *The Passion of Poland: From Solidarity through the State of War*. New York: Pantheon. 1984. Pp. xvii, 263. \$10.95.
- WOODHOUSE, C. M. *Karamanlis: The Restorer of Greek Democracy*. Reprint. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. vi, 297. \$15.95.
- SOVIET UNION
- AKHMEDOV, ISMAIL. *In and Out of Stalin's GRU: A Tatar's Escape from Red Army Intelligence*. (Foreign Intelligence Book Series.) Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America. 1984. Pp. xv, 222. \$20.00.
- ANIKEEV, A. A. *Germanskii fashizm i krest'anstvo, 1933–1945 gg.* [German Fascism and the Peasantry, 1933–45]. Rostov-on-Don: Rostov University Press. 1979. Pp. 219. 1 r. 80 k.
- BIALER, SEWERYN. *The U.S.S.R. after Brezhnev*. (Headline series, number 265.) New York: Foreign Policy Association. 1983. Pp. 63. \$3.00.
- BINYON, MICHAEL. *Life in Russia*. New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. 286. \$15.95.
- CHIROVSKY, NICHOLAS L. *An Introduction to Ukrainian History*. Volume 2, *The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, the Polish Domination, and the Cossack-Hetman State*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1984. Pp. xix, 400. \$25.00.
- CHOTINER, BARBARA ANN. *Khrushchev's Party Reform: Coalition Building and Institutional Innovation*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 106.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. x, 313. \$35.00.
- JOHANNESSEN, BENT. *Den russiske kontra-revolution: Leninistisk mytologi og historisk virkelighed* [The Russian Counterrevolution: Leninist Mythology and Historical Reality]. Oslo: Gyldendal. 1983. Pp. 240.
- KAISER, FRIEDHELM BERTHOLD. *Hochschulpolitik und studentischer Widerstand in der Zarenzeit: A. I. Georgievskij und sein "Kurzer historischer Abriss der Massnahmen und Pläne der Regierung gegen die Studentenunruhen," 1890*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Östlichen Europa, number 20.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. x, 460. DM 128.
- MARGOLIS, JU. D. *T. G. Shevchenko i Peterburgskii universitet* [T. G. Shevchenko and St. Petersburg University]. Leningrad: Leningrad University Press. 1983. Pp. 151. 1 r. 10 k.
- NORDLING, CARL O. *Defence or Imperialism? An Aspect of Stalin's Military and Foreign Policy, 1933–1941*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordic Committee for Soviet and East European Research. 1983. Pp. iii, 127.
- RIASANOVSKY, NICHOLAS V. *A History of Russia*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xx, 695. \$24.95.
- ROWNEY, DON KARL, editor. *Soviet Quantitative History*. Foreword by THEODORE K. RABB. (New Approaches to Social Science History.) Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage. 1984. Pp. 216. \$25.00.
- SHANSKII, D. N. *Iz istorii russkoi istoricheskoi mysli: I. N. Boltin* [On the History of Russian Historical Ideas: I. N. Boltin]. Moscow: Moscow University Press. 1983. Pp. 148. 45 k.
- SUKHANOV, N. N. *The Russian Revolution, 1917*. Translated and edited by JOEL CARMICHAEL. Reprint. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xl, 691. \$12.50.
- TER MINASSIAN, ANAÏDE. *Nationalism and Socialism in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement, 1887–1912*. Translated by A. M. BERRETTI. (Zorjan Institute Thematic Series, number 1.) Cambridge, Mass.: The Institute. 1984. Pp. viii, 69. \$5.00.
- WALLACE, DONALD MACKENZIE. *Russia on the Eve of War and Revolution*. Edited by CYRIL BLACK. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 528. \$10.50.
- NEAR EAST
- COBBAN, HELENA. *The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power, and Politics*. (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 305. \$22.95.
- HAMMOND, THOMAS I. *Red Flag over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, the Soviet Invasion, and the Consequences*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1984. Pp. xvii, 262. Cloth \$26.50, paper \$11.95.
- IBRAHIM, FERHAD. *Die kurdische Nationalbewegung im Irak: Eine Fallstudie zur Problematik ethnischer Konflikte in der Dritten Welt*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 88.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz. 1983. Pp. 836.
- MARTIN, RICHARD C. *Islam: A Cultural Perspective*. (Prentice-

- Hall Series in World Religions.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1982. Pp. xii, 178. \$10.95.
- OLSON, ROBERT W. *Hisār al-mūsīl wa 'alāqāt al-'utmāniyya al-fārsiyya (1718–1743)* [The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718–1743]. Translated by ABDAL RAHMAN B. AL-HĀJ AMĪN BAK AL-JALĪLĪ. 2d rev. ed. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar al-'ulūm for Printing and Publishing. 1983. Pp. 383.
- STURDZA, MIHAIL-DIMITRI. *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce d'Albanie et de Constantinople*. Paris: The Author. 1983. Pp. 657. 960 fr.
- TAWIL, RAYMONDA HAWA. *My Home, My Prison*. Reprint. London: Zed; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1983. Pp. 265. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$7.50.
- AFRICA
- HARRISON, DAVID. *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective*. (Perspectives on Southern Africa, number 31.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1981. Pp. vii, 307. Cloth \$16.95, paper \$8.95.
- KENYA, CHECHE. *Independent Kenya*. London: Zed; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1982. Cloth \$21.95, paper \$8.95.
- KRASUSKI, JERZY. *Wspólnota francuska w Afryce* [The French Community in Africa]. (Prace Instytutu Zachodniego, number 47.) Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1983. Pp. 249. 150 Zł.
- LAMB, DAVID. *The Africans*. New York: Vintage Books of Random House. 1983. Pp. xv, 363. \$7.95.
- ASIA
- APTER, DAVID E. and NAGAYO SAWA. *Against the State: Politics and Protest in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 271. \$22.50.
- BANERJI, A. K. *Aspects of Indo-British Economic Relations, 1858–1898*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1982. Pp. xvi, 255. \$24.95.
- BLUNDEN, CAROLINE and MARK ELVIN. *Cultural Atlas of China*. New York: Facts on File. 1983. Pp. 237. \$35.00.
- CHAN, ANITA et al. *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 293. \$19.95.
- COEDÈS, G. *The Making of South East Asia*. Translated by H. M. WRIGHT. Reprint. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 268. \$8.95.
- JOHNSON, L. W. *Colonial Sunset: Australia and Papua New Guinea, 1970–74*. New York: University of Queensland Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 271. \$32.50.
- SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE. *Makli Hill: A Center of Islamic Culture in Sindh*. (First Syed Hussamuddin Rashdi Memorial Lecture.) Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi. 1983. Pp. 45.
- SCHRAM, STUART R. *Mao Zedong: A Preliminary Reassessment*. New York: St. Martin's or Chinese University Press, Hong Kong. 1983. Pp. xiii, 104. \$22.50.
- SHALOM, STEPHEN ROSSKAMM. *Deaths in China Due to Communism: Propaganda versus Reality*. (Occasional Paper, number 15.) Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University. 1984. Pp. 234. \$6.00.
- TSAO, KAI-FU. *The Relationship between Scholars and Rulers in Imperial China: A Comparison between China and the West*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. xi, 247. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$11.75.
- STEIN. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. xvi, 199. Cloth \$24.00, paper \$11.25.
- ADAIR, JOHN. *Founding Fathers: The Puritans in England and America*. Reprint. London: J. M. Dent; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1984. Pp. xii, 302. \$24.95.
- AHLGREN, CLIFFORD and ISABEL AHLGREN. *Lob Trees in the Wilderness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 218.
- ARNOW, HARRIETTE SIMPSON. *Flowering of the Cumberland*. Foreword by WILMA DYKEMAN. Reprint. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1984. Pp. xx, 441.
- BAER, HANS A. *The Black Spiritual Movement: A Religious Response to Racism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 221. \$18.95.
- BENTON, WILBOURN E. *Texas Politics: Constraints and Opportunities*. 5th ed. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1984. Pp. xii, 403. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$13.95.
- BREEN, T. H. and STEPHEN INNES. "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640–1676*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. viii, 142. \$12.95.
- BRIGGS, CARL and CLYDE FRANCIS TRUDELL. *Quarterdeck and Saddlehorn: The Story of Edward F. Beale, 1822–1893*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark. 1983. Pp. 304. \$29.50.
- BROWNLEE, RICHARD S. *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861–1865*. Reprint. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 274. \$8.95.
- CANFIELD, JAMES LEWIS. *A Case of Third Party Activism: The George Wallace Campaign Worker and the American Independent Party*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. x, 119. Cloth \$19.50, paper \$8.75.
- CASHMAN, SEAN DENNIS. *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: New York University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 370. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.50.
- CAVAIOLI, FRANK J. and SALVATORE J. LAGUMINA. *The Peripheral Americans*. Reprint. Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger. 1984. Pp. xi, 256. \$9.50.
- CHAPIN, BRADLEY. *Early America*. Rev. ed. Englewood, N.J.: Jerome S. Ozer. 1984. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$16.95, paper \$9.95.
- CHRISTIE, JEAN. *Morris Llewellyn Cooke: A Progressive Engineer*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1983. Pp. 272. \$66.00.
- CLAWSON, MARION. *The Federal Lands Revisited*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future; distributed by Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. 1983. Pp. xix, 302.
- CLAYTON, JAMES L. *On the Brink: Defense, Deficits, and Welfare Spending*. New York: Ramapo, for National Strategy Information Center. 1984. Pp. xv, 153. \$8.95.
- CLINTON, CATHERINE. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*. Reprint. New York: Pantheon. 1984. Pp. xix, 331. \$7.95.
- CONLEY, PATRICK T. and PAUL R. CAMPBELL. *Providence: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk, Va.: Donning. 1982. Pp. 247. \$22.50.
- DALLAS, SANDRA. *No More Than Five in a Bed: Colorado Hotels in the Old Days*. Foreword by MARSHALL SPRAGUE. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 208. \$9.95.
- DALLEK, ROBERT. *Ronald Reagan: The Politics of Symbolism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 221. \$16.50.
- DEBO, ANGIE. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 106.) Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 450. \$12.95.
- DEDERER, JOHN MORGAN. *Making Bricks Without Straw: Nathaniel Greene's Southern Campaign and Mao Tse-Tung's Mobile War*. Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press. Pp. i, 98. \$7.50.

## UNITED STATES

- ABBEY, MERRILL R. *The Epic of United Methodist Preaching: A Profile in American Social History*. Preface by K. JAMES



- DIVINE, ROBERT A. *et al.* *America: Past and Present*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman. 1984. Pp. 957. \$26.95.
- DOUGLAS, GEORGE H. *Edmund Wilson's America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1983. Pp. x, 254. \$25.00.
- DUKE, JAMES O. *Horace Bushnell: On the Vitality of Biblical Language*. (Centennial Publications, Society of Biblical Literature, Biblical Scholarship in North America, number 9.) Chico, Calif.: Scholars. 1984. Pp. 129. \$13.50.
- DULLES, FOSTER RHEA and MELVYN DUBOFSKY. *Labor in America: A History*. 4th ed. Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1984. Pp. ix, 425. Cloth \$25.95, paper \$15.95.
- EASTMAN, JOEL W. *Styling vs. Safety: The American Automobile Industry and the Development of Automotive Safety, 1900-1966*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. xvi, 280. Cloth \$23.75, paper \$13.00.
- EDMUNDS, R. DAVID. *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership*. Edited by OSCAR HANDLIN. (Library of American Biography.) Boston: Little, Brown. 1984. Pp. viii, 246. \$14.95.
- FONER, PHILIP S. and RICHARD C. WINCHESTER, editors. *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States*. Volume 1, *From the Mexican War to the Election of 1900*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1984. Pp. xxviii, 520. \$42.50.
- FOSTER, LAWRENCE. *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*. Reprint. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 363. \$9.95.
- FRANCIS, SAMUEL T. *Power and History: The Political Thought of James Burnham*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. 141. Cloth \$18.50, paper \$8.50.
- GENOVESE, EUGENE D. *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History*. Reprint. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984. Pp. lxi, 435.
- GLASRUDE, CLARENCE A., editor. *A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985*. Moorhead, Minn.: Concordia College. 1983. Pp. 128.
- GREEN, GEORGE NORRIS. *The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957*. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 306.
- GRIMES, ALAN PENDLETON. *American Political Thought*. Rev. ed. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xiv, 556. \$16.75.
- GRUNDFEST, JERRY. *George Clymer: Philadelphia Revolutionary, 1739-1813*. (Dissertations in American Biography.) New York: Arno. 1982. Pp. 554.
- HALL, DAVID D. *et al.*, editors. *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History*. New York: W. W. Norton or George J. McLeod, Toronto. 1984. Pp. xv, 398. \$27.50.
- HANDY, ROBERT T. *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*. 2d ed., rev. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 269.
- HARBERT, EARL N. and ROBERT A. REES, editors. *Fifteen American Authors before 1900: Bibliographical Essays on Research and Criticism*. Rev. ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 531. \$22.50.
- HARRIS, BENJAMIN BUTLER. *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush*. Edited by RICHARD H. DILLON. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 175. \$6.95.
- HARRIS, MARK JONATHAN *et al.* *The Homefront: America During World War II*. Introduced by STUDS TERKEL. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1984. Pp. 256. \$17.95.
- HENDLER, HERB. *Year by Year in the Rock Era: Events and Conditions Shaping the Rock Generations That Reshaped America*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xxv, 350. \$29.95.
- HERZ, MARTIN F. *The Vietnam War in Retrospect: Four Lectures*. Washington: School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. 1984. Pp. viii, 72. \$5.75.
- HOEPLI, NANCY L. *et al.*, editors. *Great Decisions '84*. New York: Foreign Policy Association. 1984. Pp. 96. \$6.00.
- HOLLI, MELVIN G. and PETER D'A. JONES, editors. *Ethnic Chicago*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1984. Pp. ix, 625. \$17.95.
- HOLSTI, OLE R. and JAMES N. ROSENAU. *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. xvi, 301. Cloth \$28.50, paper \$9.95.
- HOSLEY, DAVID H. *As Good as Any: Foreign Correspondence on American Radio, 1930-1940*. (Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications, number 2.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xii, 165. \$27.95.
- HOWARD, DAVID SANCTUARY and CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT. *New York and the China Trade*. New York: New York Historical Society; distributed by Vanguard, New York. 1984. Pp. xiv, 142. \$18.95.
- HOWES, CHARLES C. *This Place Called Kansas*. Foreword by DAVID DARY. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 236. \$8.95.
- HURST, JAMES WILLARD. *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915*. Reprint. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1984. Pp. xxxii, 946. \$35.00.
- HYDE, GEORGE E. *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians*. Foreword by ROYAL B. HASSRICK. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 15.) Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 331. \$7.95.
- JACKSON, JOHN BRINCKERHOFF. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 165. \$15.95.
- JACOBS, WILLIAM JAY. *Eleanor Roosevelt: A Life of Happiness and Tears*. New York: Coward-McCann. 1983. Pp. 108. \$10.95.
- JONES, GEORGE FENWICK. *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah*. (Brown Thrasher.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 209. \$18.00.
- KAHL, MARY. *Ballot Box 13: How Lyndon Johnson Won His 1948 Senate Race by 87 Contested Votes*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland. 1983. Pp. ix, 272. \$18.95.
- KAHRL, WILLIAM L. *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley*. Reprint. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1982. Pp. xii, 583. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.
- KARL, BARRY D. *The Uneasy State: The United States From 1915 to 1945*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983. Pp. x, 257.
- KERN, RICHARD. *Findlay College: The First Hundred Years*. Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel. 1984. Pp. xv, 480.
- KESSLER, LAUREN. *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History*. (Sage commtext Series, number 13.) Beverly Hills: Sage. 1984. Pp. 160. \$8.95.
- KUNHARDT, PHILIP B., JR. *A New Birth of Freedom: Lincoln at Gettysburg*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1983. Pp. vii, 263. \$22.50.
- LAUER, ROBERT H. and JEANETTE C. LAUER. *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sex in Utopian Communities*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1983. Pp. viii, 244. \$16.50.
- LINK, ARTHUR S. *et al.* *A Concise History of the American People*. Rev. ed. Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1984. Pp. xiii, 562. \$19.95.
- LOMPERIS, TIMOTHY J. *The War Everyone Lost—And Won: America's Intervention in Vietnam's Twin Struggles*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 192. \$22.50.
- LUCAS, PAUL ROBERT. *American Odyssey, 1607-1789*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1984. Pp. xv, 311. \$15.95.
- LUKACS, JOHN. *Outgrowing Democracy: A History of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1984. Pp. viii, 423. \$19.95.
- MACY, JOHN W. *et al.* *America's Unelected Government: Appoint-*



- ing the President's Team. (National Academy of Public Administration.) Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger. 1983. Pp. xvi, 128. \$8.95.
- MARCUS, JACOB R. and ABRAHAM J. PECK, editors. *Studies in the American Jewish Experience* Volume 2, *Contributions from the Fellowship Programs of the American Jewish Archives*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America or American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. 1984. Pp. viii, 219. Cloth \$22.75, paper \$11.50.
- MAYHALL, MILDRED P. *The Kiowas*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 63.) Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 364. \$9.95.
- MAYS, JOE H. *Black Americans and Their Contributions Toward Union Victory in the American Civil War, 1861-1865*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. xii, 163. Cloth \$19.75, paper \$9.75.
- MCCALL, EDITH. *Conquering the Rivers: Henry Miller Shreve and the Navigation of America's Inland Waterways*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. 260.
- MCCLOSKEY, HERBERT and ALIDA BRILL. *Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe About Civil Liberties*. New York: Russell Sage; distributed by Basic Books. 1983. Pp. x, 512. \$29.95.
- MCDANIEL, GEORGE W. *Hearth and Home: Preserving A People's Culture*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1982. Pp. xxiv, 297. \$25.00.
- MEINIG, D. W. *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910*. Reprint. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1984. Pp. xxi, 576. \$14.95.
- MEYERS, MARY ANN. *A New World Jerusalem: The Swedenborgian Experience in Community Construction*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 65.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xiii, 217. \$29.95.
- MORTON, VERNE. *Images of Rural Life*. (York State.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1984. Pp. xxv, 225. Cloth \$32.95, paper \$16.95.
- MURDOCK, EUGENE C. *Mighty Casey: All-American*. (Contributions to the Study of Popular Culture, number 7.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xii, 164. \$27.95.
- MURPHY, JAMES E. *Half Interest in a Silver Dollar: The Saga of Charles E. Conrad*. Missoula, Mont.: Mountain. 1983. Pp. vi, 321. \$15.95.
- NASH, RODERICK. *From These Beginnings: A Biographical Approach to American History*. In two volumes. 3d ed. New York: Harper and Row. 1984. Pp. xiii, 368; xi, 388. \$13.50 each.
- NEAL, DONN C. *The World beyond the Hudson: Alfred E. Smith and National Politics, 1918-1928*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1983. Pp. 308. \$33.00.
- NOLAN, ANN and KEITH A. BUCKLEY. *Indiana Stonecarver: The Story of Thomas R. Reding*. (Indiana Historical Society Publications, volume 27, number 1.) Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1984. Pp. v, 106. \$3.00.
- OATES, STEPHEN B. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man Behind the Myths*. New York: Harper and Row. 1984. Pp. xiv, 224. \$12.95.
- O'CONNOR, JOHN E., editor. *American History, American Television: Interpreting the Video Past*. Foreword by ERIK BARNOUW. (Ungar Film Library.) New York: Ungar. 1983. Pp. xliii, 420. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$8.95.
- PERRY, LEWIS. *Intellectual Life in America: A History*. New York: Franklin Watts. 1984. Pp. xvii, 461. \$20.00.
- PESSER, EDWARD. *The Log Cabin Myth: The Social Backgrounds of the Presidents*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 196. \$16.95.
- PFANNER, HELMUT F. *Exile in New York: German and Austrian Writers after 1933*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1983. Pp. 252. \$18.95.
- PHILIPPS, ULRICH BONNELL. *Georgia and State Rights*. Introduction by JOHN HERBERT ROPER. (Rose, number 7.) Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1983. Pp. xxxv, 224. \$14.95.
- PRINDLE, DAVID F. *Petroleum Politics and the Texas Railroad Commission* (Elma Dill Russell Spencer Foundation Series, number 12.) Reprint. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 230. \$8.95.
- PUSATERI, C. JOSEPH. *A History of American Business*. Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1984. Pp. xii, 347. Cloth \$25.95, paper \$15.95.
- RABOTEAU, ALBERT J. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1978. Pp. xi, 382. \$14.95.
- REED, JAMES. *The Birth Control Movement and American Society: From Private Vice to Public Virtue*. Reprint. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxv, 456. \$11.50.
- REPS, JOHN W. *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of Their Work, 1825-1925*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1984. Pp. xvi, 570. \$89.50.
- RICHARDS, PAMELA SPENCE. *Scholars and Gentlemen: The Library of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1982*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon. 1984. Pp. 144. \$17.50.
- ROBERTS, RANDY. *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler*. Reprint. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. 314. \$8.95.
- ROCKEFELLER, JOHN D. *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events*. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow or Rockefeller Archive Center. 1984. Pp. vii, 124. \$12.95.
- ROSENOF, THEODORE. *Patterns of Political Economy in America: The Failure to Develop a Democratic Left Synthesis, 1933-1950*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. Pp. 283. \$36.00.
- ROSENSTONE, STEVEN J. et al. *Third Parties in America: Citizen Response to Major Party Failure*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 266. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$8.95.
- ROVERE, RICHARD. *Final Reports: Personal Reflections on Politics and History in Our Time*. Foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1984. Pp. xvi, 244. \$16.95.
- RUFFNER, HENRY. Judith Bensaddi: A Tale and Seclusaval: Or the Sequel to the Tale of Judith Bensaddi. Edited and introduced by J. MICHAEL PEMBERTON. (Library of Southern Civilization.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. 222. \$25.00.
- SCHULTZ, JAMES WILLARD. *Bear Chief's War Shirt*. Edited by WILBUR WARD BETTS. (Rendezvous.) Missoula, Mont.: Mountain. 1983. Pp. xii, 146. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$8.95.
- SCHULZINGER, ROBERT D. *American Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 390. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$12.95.
- SHOWMAN, RICHARD K. et al., editors. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Volume 3, 18 October 1778-10 May 1779. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence. 1983. Pp. xxxix, 543. \$30.00.
- SIRACUSA, JOSEPH M. *Rearming for the Cold War: Paul H. Nitze, the H-Bomb, and the Origins of a Soviet First Strike*. (Occasional Papers Series, number 11.) Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, California State University. 1983. Pp. xii, 42.
- SIRY, JOSEPH V. *Marshes of the Ocean Shore: Development of an Ecological Ethic*. (Environmental History Series, number 6.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1984. Pp. 216. \$22.50.
- SIVACHEV, N. V., editor. *Problemy amerikanistiki* [The Problems of Americanists]. Volume 2. Moscow: Moscow University Press. 1983. Pp. 341. 2 r. 20 k.
- SPRATT, JOHN STRICKLIN. *The Road to Spindle Top: Economic Change in Texas, 1875-1901*. Reprint. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1983. Pp. xxix, 337.
- STARLING, MARION WILSON. *The Slave Narrative: Its Place in*

- American History*. (Perspectives on the Black World.) Boston: G. K. Hall. 1981. Pp. xxii, 363.
- STARR, HARVEY. *Henry Kissinger: Perceptions of International Politics*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1984. Pp. xiv, 206. \$23.00.
- STEVENSON, WILLIAM. *Intrepid's Last Case*. New York: Villard. 1983. Pp. xxvii, 321. \$16.95.
- STICK, DAVID. *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee. 1983. Pp. xiii, 266. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$5.95.
- STRONG, TRACY B. and HELENE KEYSSAR. *Right In Her Soul: The Life of Anna Louise Strong*. New York: Random House. 1983. Pp. xiii, 399. \$22.95.
- SWEETING, C. G. *Combat Flying Clothing: Army Air Forces Clothing During World War II*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1984. Pp. ix, 229. \$29.50.
- TAYLOR, THEODORE W. *The Bureau of Indian Affairs*. (Westview Library of Federal Departments, Agencies, and Systems.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1984. Pp. xiv, 220. \$25.00.
- THERIOT, NANCY. *Nostalgia on the Right: Historical Roots of the Idealized Family*. (Midwest Research Monograph Series, number 1.) Chicago: Midwest Research. 1983. Pp. 40. \$3.00.
- THOMPSON, KENNETH W., editor. *Three Press Secretaries on the Presidency and the Press: Jody Powell, George Reedy, Jerry Thorst*. (White Burkett Miller Center Series on the Presidency and the Press, number 5.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. 113. Cloth \$17.00, paper \$6.75.
- THOMPSON, KENNETH W., editor. *The Presidential Nominating Process: Broadening and Narrowing the Debate*. (George Gund Lectures, number 2.) Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. vii, 111. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$7.25.
- TICE, GEORGE. *Lincoln*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1984. Pp. 72. \$37.95.
- TOOLE, K. ROSS. *Montana: An Uncommon Land*. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1984. Pp. x, 278. \$6.95.
- TURNER, FREDERICK. *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit against the Wilderness*. Reprint. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 329. \$10.95.
- TURNER, JONATHAN H. et al. *Oppression: A Socio-History of Black-White Relations in America*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1984. Pp. 215. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$11.95.
- URWIN, GREGORY J. W. *The United States Cavalry: An Illustrated History*. Illustrated by ERNEST LISLE REEDSTROM. Poole, U.K.: Blandford; distributed by Sterling, New York. 1983. Pp. 192. \$17.95.
- UTLEY, ROBERT M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1984. Pp. xxi, 325. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$10.95.
- WAXMAN, CHAIM I. *America's Jews in Transition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1983. Pp. xxv, 272. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$9.95.
- WEIGLEY, RUSSELL F. *History of the United States Army*. (Midland.) 2d ed., rev. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1984. Pp. vi, 730. \$10.95.
- WEILEMANN, PETER. *Weltmacht in der Krise: Isolationistische Impulse in der amerikanischen Aussenpolitik der siebziger Jahre*. (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 20.) Stuttgart: Deutsche. 1982. Pp. 329. DM 38.
- WHEELER, JOHN. *Touched with Fire: The Future of the Vietnam Generation*. New York: Franklin Watts. 1984. Pp. 259. \$16.95.
- WHISENHUNT, DONALD W. *The Depression in Texas: The Hoover Years*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1983. Pp. viii, 249. \$27.00.
- WHITE, HELEN M. *The Tale of a Comet and Other Stories*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1984. Pp. 273. \$16.95.
- WIGGINTON, ELIOT and MARGIE BENNETT, editors. *Foxfire 8*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor. 1984. Pp. 510. \$19.95.
- WILKINSON, RUPERT. *American Tough: The Tough-Guy Tradition and American Character*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 69.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xii, 221. \$29.95.
- WILLETT, E. HENRY and JOEY BRACKNER. *The Traditional Pottery of Alabama*. Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts; distributed by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville. 1983. Pp. 70. \$7.95.
- WILSON, MRS. HENRY LUMPKIN, compiler. *The Atlanta Exposition Cookbook*. Introduced by DARLENE R. ROTH. (Brown Thrasher.) Reprint. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 148. \$12.00.
- WOLOCH, NANCY. *Women and the American Experience*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1984. Pp. xi, 567. \$25.00.
- WOLTERS, RAYMOND. *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984. Pp. 346.
- WORCESTER, DON. *The Chisholm Trail: High Road of the Cattle Kingdom*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, for the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas. 1980. Pp. xx, 207. \$14.50.
- WOZNIAK, JOHN S. et al. *Historic Lifestyles in the Upper Mississippi River Valley*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xiv, 571. Cloth \$34.00, paper \$20.75.
- WYMAN, MARK. *Immigrants in the Valley: Irish, Germans, and Americans in the Upper Mississippi Country, 1830-1860*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1984. Pp. xiii, 258. \$35.95.

## CANADA

- MACLEOD, R. C., editor. *Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers, and Two Other Northwest Rebellion Diaries*. (Western Canada Reprint Series, number 3.) Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. 1983. Pp. xlviii, 323.
- SILVER, A. I. *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900*. Reprint. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1982.

## LATIN AMERICA

- BOONE, ELIZABETH HILL and ZELIA NUTTALL. *The Codex Magliabechiano*. Volume 1, *The Codex Magliabechiano and the Lost Prototype of the Magliabechiano Group*; volume 2, *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans Containing an Account of Their Rites and Superstitions: An Anonymous Hispano-Mexican Manuscript Preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy; Introduction and Facsimile*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pp. xiv, 250; xix, 92. \$85.00.
- BURNS, E. BRADFORD. *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. Reprint. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1980. Pp. 183. \$6.95.
- DISKIN, MARTIN, editor. *Trouble in Our Backyard: Central America and the United States in the Eighties*. Foreword by JOHN WOMACK, JR. Epilogue by GÜNTER GRASS. New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. xxxv, 264. \$9.95.
- ELKIN, JUDITH LAIKIN, editor. *Resources for Latin American Jewish Studies*. (Proceedings of the First Research Conference of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association, 1982.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: LAJSA. 1984. Pp. 60. \$2.50.
- FERGUSON, WILLIAM M. *Maya Ruins of Mexico in Color*. Assisted by JOHN Q. ROYCE. Foreword by MICHAEL D. COE. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. Pp. ix, 246. \$16.95.
- KEEN, BENJAMIN and MARK WASSERMAN. *A Short History of*

- Latin America*. 2d ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1984. Pp. xi, 574. \$18.95.
- LOMBARDI, CATHRYN L. and JOHN V. LOMBARDI. *Latin American History: A Teaching Atlas*. Assisted by K. LYNN STONER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, for the Conference on Latin American History. 1983. Pp. xvi, 104, 40. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$6.95.
- SKIDMORE, THOMAS E. and PETER H. SMITH. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 419. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$12.95.

---

# Communications

---

*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to clarify my article "God's Controversy with Jacobean England" (*AHR*, 88 [1983]: 1151–74) and to correct a major error called to my attention by Professor Richard Greaves. I am grateful to Mr. Greaves for criticism that matches courtesy with cogency, and to the editors of the *Review* for space to set the record straight.

The article explains how John Downname's *Lectures upon the Four First Chapters of the Prophecy of Hosea* (1608) fused covenant theology with the paradigm of Israel that had long been used by English ministers as a spur to reformation. Explicating Hosea 4:1–3 ("the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land"), Downname applied the covenant of God with Israel to the inhabitants of England, who, like the Israelites, constituted in this respect a peculiarly favored people. By equating Israel's covenant with the covenant of works, newly emergent in the divinity of the day, he created a distinctively covenantal rationale for the Israelite paradigm. Thus the general argument of the article.

Commenting on an abridged form of the article at a meeting of the American Society for Church History in December 1983, Mr. Greaves questioned this thesis. His critique (quoted here with his permission) holds, first, that the "covenanted nation" to whom Downname adapted Hosea "is not England at all, but the invisible church as the collective body of

saints." This church is scattered among the political nations of the earth; the body of saints is "multinational and multiethnic."

Second, Mr. Greaves finds that when Downname speaks of God's covenant of works with Israel, he means Israel "as a church—as a special people—not a nation in a political or ethnic sense." Mr. Greaves also notes that "Downname flatly says that the Gentiles 'were never admitted into' the covenant of works" and that nowhere does Downname contend that "the covenant of works was made with England—either as a church or as a nation."

Third, while corroborating Downname's use of the Israelite paradigm, Mr. Greaves maintains that Downname "explicitly rejects the idea that God has some special relationship with England." For this he cites Downname's statement that "the cause of *all* controversies between the Lord and the inhabitants of *any* land . . . [are] their sins'" (italics Mr. Greaves's). In arraiging *his* land, Downname was presenting "a particular instance of a general truth, namely the idea that the inhabitants of *all* lands stand in violation of the dictates of the moral law and thus subject to divine retribution."

These criticisms form the basis for Mr. Greaves's conclusion that Downname's message "is not a message to England but to the elect *in* England, and in a general sense to saints everywhere. 'Time and again, Downname had a golden opportunity to link England to the covenant of works, and thus to make of England a special covenanted nation. Did Downname fail to do this because he did not realize the potential of such an idea, or did he refrain from such a connection out of a conviction that the moral law and the Gospel are properly international in scope?'"

Mr. Greaves and I agree that Downname engaged the people of Israel collectively in the covenant of works. This was conventional for a time when the covenant of works was virtually synonymous in English thought with the Mosaic covenant established at Sinai. It is also agreed that Downname divided Israel between those who received the grace of God's prior covenant with Abraham and those who did not. Thus the paradigm contained the two covenantal modalities of works and grace or, in

other words, law and gospel. Both were made available by Scripture for interpreting God's "controversy" with the "inhabitants" of England or any land. England's saints, as saints, were blessed and bound by the covenant of grace. What, then, of the rest of the inhabitants? Was theirs the covenant of works?

Re-examination of Downname's *Hosea* in the light of Mr. Greaves's critique compels me to accept the basic point that Downname does not expressly bring the inhabitants of England into relation with God through the covenant of works. About this, Mr. Greaves is right and the article is simply wrong. The error can be attributed primarily to my misreading of Downname's exegesis of Hosea 1:10–11 ("God's Controversy," p. 1165), on which the article pivots. The correction is fundamental in substance and implication; it alters, and advances, our understanding of the class of preaching to which Downname's lectures belong, which the article terms the Hosead. Central to such revision must be the English Hoseas' conception of the nature, grounds, and scope of the covenant of grace—a subject too complex for discussion here.

On the question of God's "special relationship with England," I find on reconsideration a degree of overstatement in the article. On page 1153, for instance, I have the preachers of the paradigm affirming that "Albion was [God's] pied à terre." An earlier draft read "preferred pied à terre"; I regret dropping the qualifying adjective. But I did not mean to suggest that England was thought to be the sole object of God's concern or that Downname excluded the saints of other lands from covenant or controversy. Everything we know about the supranational faith and fellowship of the Reformed communions makes such a supposition absurd.

At the same time, I believe that a wider selection of evidence sustains the view that the paradigm did in fact elevate England as God's most favored and therefore most obligated modern nation. What else are we to make of John King (*Lectures upon Jonas* . . . 1594 [London, 1618], 22): "Let him say of England even forever and ever, as sometimes he said of Sion, *Here will I dwell; I have chosen England for my habitation*"? Or of Edward Toppell (*Time's Lamentation* [London, 1599], 57): "Why should I travel over the seas for strange things, when our own country yieldeth more worthy works of God than all Christendom besides?"

Or Thomas Sutton (*England's Summons* [London, 1613], 31–32), addressing "all the inhabitants of this land": "You are at this day and long have been the astonishment and wonderment of all the world. God hath opened the windows of heaven wider and offered more grace unto you . . . than to all the nations under the canopy and roof of heaven, [yet] you still persist in your gray and ancient sins."

Or William Whately (*Charitable Tears* [London, 1623], Olr, Oly): "there neither is nor ever was a nation more beholding to the divine majesty [or] more wicked and ungrateful. . . . I doubt not that the same faults are found in other nations, . . . but a people so long and happily enjoying the Gospel, and so poorly answering the seed that hath been sown amongst us, I cannot think there is any."

Or James Jones (*London's Looking-Back to Jerusalem* [London, 1635, but preached 1630], 27, 49): "England is the place of God's worship, therefore the peculiar place of God. . . . [W]e have his special presence, his special protection, his special blessing, and that so long as ever we continue to serve him in holiness and righteousness, not one minute longer. . . . [H]e hath honored this nation of ours above all the nations in the world; for shame, let us not out-sin all the nations in the world, for if we out-act them in sin, we must out-suffer them in punishment."

The citations run true to form. Nationalistic to a fault, the preachers of the paradigm declared that God had with England a special, though not exclusive, bond. Downname, it is true, draws no contrasts of this kind, yet neither can it be shown that he "explicitly rejects the idea that God has some special relationship with England."

The idea of God's covenant with England, collective or selective, remains to be deeply explored. The article suggests that Downname's linkage through the covenant of works could not become normative, given the theological trend of the time. I thought Downname was an anomaly in this regard; now it is plain, thanks to Mr. Greaves, that even Downname did not envision the covenant of works as a national covenant for England. An interpretive cul-de-sac is thus closed off, and the inquiry proceeds accordingly along the acknowledged central line of the covenant of grace.

MICHAEL MCGIFFERT

*William and Mary Quarterly*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

I expected Vladimir Kusin to disagree with my interpretation of events surrounding the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (Kusin's review of *The Logic of Normalization: The Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia of 21 August 1968 and the Czechoslovak Response*, *AHR*, 87 [1982]: 218–19). It is a central thesis of the book that *the intervention failed in terms of the aims and objectives of those who planned and implemented it*. I argue that the intervention was based on



faulty assumptions which failed of realization and that, from the morning of the invasion on, Soviet policy can be best understood as striving to make the best of a fiasco. I knew that Kusin had argued, quite to the contrary, in *From Dubcek to Charter 77*, that the intervention plan was "not a bad plan," and that it came to grief only because of a few minor mistakes. My book shows why Kusin's interpretation (among others) is highly problematic, to say the least.

This view is shown to be simply inconsistent with available evidence. I contend that Kusin has fallen prey to an illusion which commonly arises when aims are inferred backwards from what actually happens. "Kusin's reconstruction of the Soviet invasion plan," I wrote (pp. 33 ff.), "differs somewhat from mine, mainly in that he glosses over the *possibility* [emphasis added] of serious Soviet misperception and misunderstanding of the situation—a possibility explored at length in this study. Kusin's interpretation is, however, inconsistent with several established facts noted in Chapter 2 below. The major problem with his interpretation seems to derive from an over-readiness on his part to infer backwards from what the occupying powers actually did to conclusions that these actions must have been foreseen in the original plan."

Present reality and the apparent inevitability of what actually happened make Soviet policy look more prescient, rational, coherent, successful, and guided by long-range strategy than it actually was. What actually happened has a concreteness, an inherent plausibility not shared by other possible outcomes or variations along the causal chain. This makes it easy to underestimate the significance of a substantial body of evidence suggesting confusion, disunity, indecisiveness, and especially ambivalence within the ruling circles of the Soviet Union about how to deal with the Czechoslovak reform movement. If Soviet policy aimed at nothing more than maintenance of a state of conquest, the present state of affairs in Czechoslovakia could perhaps be characterized as "successful." But if Soviet aims are seen as including the promotion of stable and viable regimes which would be faithful and reliable allies, the "success" of the 1968 intervention and subsequent "normalization" becomes highly debatable.

I looked forward to Kusin's response to my evidence and argument, which show, I think rather conclusively, the untenability of his interpretation, and am disappointed that he finds my interpretation so "strange and difficult to comprehend," that he has somehow failed to grasp the problems it formulates and the straightforward line of argument it develops (which, incidentally, are also relevant to the current crisis in Poland). Rather than discuss critically the differences between our divergent interpretations, Kusin simply assumes his own prejudices to be so obviously true that evidence does

not seem to matter. He has strung together a set of poorly organized, utterly irrelevant, mostly mistaken quibbles—cheap shots which say nothing about what the book attempts to do, let alone how well it succeeds.

Kusin trivializes as "pseudo-problems" the profound puzzles and incongruities perceived, not only by me, but by almost all of us at Radio Free Europe in the months following the intervention. For example, "Why did the Soviets invade, especially under such peculiar circumstances—i.e. only seventeen days after seemingly successful negotiations had apparently resolved the crisis resulting from the class of Czechoslovak reformism with the forces defending Soviet-type communist orthodoxy?" Why, "despite Soviet dissatisfaction and despite the availability of irresistible force," did the rulers of the Soviet Union have such difficulties bringing about the kinds of change that would have alleviated their concerns?" What explains how the Czechoslovak population, without advance warning or preparation was able to mobilize within hours into a nationwide, closely coordinated movement of non-violent resistance?

Readers of Kusin's review would not have the slightest idea that these are the questions my book addresses. Finally, Kusin's attribution to me of several naive and simplistic views is so careless and distorting of positions actually defended that I wonder if he did more than skim the book.

FRED EIDLIN  
University of Guelph

#### DR. KUSIN REPLIES:

I regret that Mr. Eidlin should have read my admittedly negative review of his *Logic of Normalization* as an exercise in trivializing or circumventing his arguments. As I confessed in the review, I found it difficult to follow some of Fred Eidlin's interpretations, and I thought he was engrossed in putative perceptions too much. By the same token, an error on my part in understanding Eidlin's interpretive flows is quite possible. We will have to leave it to other readers to decide whether the book allows or indeed induces erroneous reading. I intended no slight, however. My mind obviously works in a different way from Eidlin's, and God be thanked for all such variations in approach and assessment.

Eidlin is unjust in accusing me of overlooking the "profound puzzles" he cites in the next to the last paragraph of his response. The point is that I simply have other answers, which I believe reflect reality better than Eidlin's constructs.

The main point where Eidlin and I differ is not methodological, although there is disagreement galore in that compartment too, but substantive. Did

the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 fail or succeed? If words are to retain their usual meanings, it succeeded. That there was bungling and change of heart or plan in the process of making it succeed is not doubted (and my book *From Dubcek to Charter 77* seeks to state it plainly), but a result is a result. Witness the past fifteen years. What on earth can Eidlin mean when writing, "The political stalemate which took shape after the invasion has never since been satisfactorily resolved"? He may mean that in 1984 communist Czechoslovakia faces a number of the same problems it had before the Prague Spring, but that surely is a different thing from "the political stalemate which took shape after the invasion."

I do recommend those interested in a clash of approaches and concepts to read Fred Eidlin's book without feeling themselves prejudiced by my review and this rejoinder.

VLADIMIR V. KUSIN

*Czechoslovak Section, Radio Free Europe  
Munich, Federal Republic of Germany*

#### TO THE EDITOR:

Reviewing a *doctorat d'état* is always hard work, requiring patience, attention, and time, especially when, due to a combination of French academic regulations and financial constraints, it has been only mimeographed. Therefore one might be thankful to Stephen Schuker for his review of *La Question des Dettes Interalliées et la Reconstruction de l'Europe* (AHR, 88 [1983]: 106–07), all the more since his contribution is brilliantly written.

Nevertheless, this remarkable review is from the very beginning tarnished by some astonishing mistakes. Does Schuker really not know the true meaning of *la grande nation*, an expression not at all related to the seventeenth century *grandeur*, but to the revolutionary period and its annexations to France? This erroneous interpretation deprives the whole paragraph of any significance. And why does he try to give new credence to the renting of the trenches, a totally worn-out myth, a matter of endless jokes in historical conferences dealing with World War I?

These mistakes could easily be ignored, had Schuker's review produced what the reader is entitled to expect: that is, an informative summary of the book under review, its main interpretations and conclusions. But Schuker preferred instead to give his own version of the war debt question and to contend, furthermore, that I "refurbish the familiar interpretation that French nationalists have labored to make respectable for more than three [?] generations," that as a "prisoner of [my] passion," I "arraign the United States for a variety of high crimes and misdemeanors." To substantiate this contention

or charge, he embarks on a series of misquotations and tortured summaries conducive to misleading conclusions. For the sake of brevity, I shall give only a few examples.

*As to the misquotations:* instead of admitting that "actual war debts payments remained small—in most years less than Americans spent abroad on holidays," I explained why the relationship established between these two items by Herbert Hoover was totally irrelevant. Rather than "endorsing" any scheme of mutual debt cancellation, I merely exposed why, when, and in which context, many schemes purporting to that end, were propounded.

*As to the tortured summaries:* Schuker writes: "Washington's obduracy deterred Wall Street from lending a sufficient sum on private account to spur European reconstruction in 1919–23 and thus obliged European nations to depreciate their currencies." How can an ordinary reader guess that this sentence covers 250 pages of my work in which I exposed why, for obvious and understandable reasons (namely the Anglo-American rivalry which had been simmering all over the Paris Peace Conference) the American Treasury refused two schemes proposed by Keynes during the spring of 1919. There ensued a period of uncertainty, for the debtor governments were undeterred by this refusal, and, as Thomas Lamont remarked at the time, this unsettled debt was considered in Europe as a threat hanging over state budgets and balances of payments, preventing bankers and businessmen from taking new initiatives and granting new credits. This threat, Lamont continued, also prevented Britain from reaching agreements with allied governments on their war debts. These two chain reactions led to a total paralysis of financial and industrial networks. Moreover the abrupt end of American government lending, at a time when the bankers were not ready to propose any alternative, created a dollar gap, opened up huge deficits in European balances of payments, and brought about a sharp drop in European exchange rates.

The trouble with Schuker is his total inability to make a clear distinction between political responsibility and moral guilt. We historians are not Almighty God, separating the wheat from the chaff. More modestly, we try to trace causes and consequences of chains of events.

But Schuker is reluctant to do this. Apparently he does not like the idea that war debt should have been reduced (an idea entertained in the late twenties by Benjamin Strong and Parker Gilbert, who, as far as we know, were not the tools of British propaganda), and he merely contends that they could be paid. Assuredly no one would argue against this contention, since they actually were paid until 1931. Still one important question remains: What was the political and economic price? One answer I proposed, based on a careful study of

French and British archives, is that—given the relations between (a) the British debt, (b) the French debt toward Washington and London (the second one must never be forgotten), and (c) the German liabilities—the war debt question bore heavily on Poincaré's decision to occupy the Ruhr (pp. 419–91). It is up to Schuker to disagree, but the burden of proof rests on him, and he has not yet produced a line on the question other than vague assertions not based on archival evidence. Nor does he like any hint of American imperialism. Yet, since H. Feis's *The Diplomacy of the Dollar*, and W. A. Williams's *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, it is an open question that a serious historian should take seriously. Hence the necessity to screen the goals and methods of American diplomacy during the twenties.

For totally obscure reasons, Schuker has decided to cast some doubt on my fairness of judgment. In the long run, I am afraid his tactics will backfire and be less damaging to my reputation as an honest researcher than to his own as an experienced and poised reviewer. For he has totally failed to inform the reader of the real significance of my views on the war debt question. More than an issue of public opinion, it was a four-power game, an attempt to strike a new balance between the United States and Britain, on the one hand, and France and Germany, on the other. Therefore this problem must be related to other works dealing with Anglo-American rivalry (S. P. Tillman, F. Costigliola, W. R. Louis, C. Thorne) and with the Franco-German question (Bariéty and Soutou in France; Trachtenberg, McDougall, and Schuker himself in the U.S.).

DENISE ARTAUD

*Fondation pour les études de défense nationale  
Paris, France*

#### PROFESSOR SCHUKER REPLIES:

I share Dr. Artaud's dismay that her study of the French war debt to America after World War I appeared in a forbidding format. This voluminous work, the product of many years' labor in archives on both sides of the Atlantic, deserved better. Nothing in the tone or substance of Artaud's communication, however, leads me to modify my earlier evaluation of her findings and interpretation.

Of course the French and American governments and elites have frequently taken conflicting approaches to international affairs. These divergencies reflect differences in national temperament as well as in geopolitical positions. It is not surprising that corresponding differences should emerge in the scholarly realm. All the same, it seems to me unfortunate that nationalist polemics should dominate the debate about events lying half a century in the past. I find it regrettable that fiercely held loyalties should

lead a scholar as talented as Artaud to narrow her field of vision and to overlook important systemic questions about the functioning of the international economy in the 1920s. Nevertheless, she did so, and so I said so.

Artaud claims that I misquoted her, but she provides no evidence of this. The paragraph of the review to which she apparently makes reference contains only one quotation, a scrupulously exact rendition of her statement that the debts constituted "the stamp of American power on Europe" (p. 933). My observation that she endorses debt cancellation (rather than merely explaining that sentiment) rests on her unambiguous comments on pages 930–31. Artaud complains further that I unfairly described her as conceding that war-debt payments remained small—in most years less than Americans spent abroad on holiday. Yet according to figures that she gives on page 927, the French made no debt payments until 1926, and thereafter remitted no more than \$32.5 million a year to the United States. According to a Commerce Department memorandum in a file that Artaud cites repeatedly (National Archives RG 59, 800.51W89/287), American tourist expenditures in France alone exceeded \$250 million annually by 1926. I do not know what to make of Artaud's belief that important elements in the balance of payments are irrelevant to a nation's capacity to pay its debts. Perhaps this falls in the province of metaphysics rather than economics.

Artaud reproaches me for having mentioned that the French charged rent for practice trenches behind the front placed at the disposal of the AEF. She dismisses this as a joke. But the Americans who paid the bills were not amused—as Artaud should know from her use of the Crosby, Norman Davis, and McAdoo papers at the Library of Congress. The facts leave little room for dispute. The French military authorities compensated peasants whose land was dug up for maneuvers and thought it routine to pass on such charges when American troops underwent training. This comparatively minor matter assumed emblematic importance because the French also demanded cash payment for port and railway facilities, food, and supplies furnished to American troops while they insisted on purchasing goods from the United States exclusively on credit. In 1918 tempers in Washington ran high. That may explain why some officials failed to distinguish between financial arrangements for training positions and those made for the front-line trenches, which the French provided without charge. At any rate, no less an authority than President Wilson complained that the French had "wanted to charge our government rent for the trenches our troops took over and occupied of theirs" (Edith Helm diary, December 3, 1918, Library of Congress).

Artaud professes to believe that an "abrupt end" of U. S. government lending and the menace of

"unsettled indebtedness" opened up payment deficits and brought about the decline of the European exchanges in 1919. She leads the unwary reader to think that Thomas Lamont held those views himself rather than merely attributing them to certain Europeans. Her treatment of the issue typifies her sleight of pen. In fact, the United States did not end its aid abruptly (the French had enough credit in the pipeline to last for eight months after the Victory Loan authorization terminated in May 1919, and after that the War Finance Corporation began operation). Moreover, since the United States offered a three-year moratorium, the threat of debt collection could not have motivated the decline of European currencies. I am mystified by Artaud's contention that the private bankers had no alternative to propose when government lending ended. Surely she knows why the Lamont-Stettinius-Davison plan failed (namely, because the French would not open their market to American goods and the British would not give up their Latin American banking monopoly).

I am surprised by Artaud's conflation of the views of Benjamin Strong (who favored cancellation) and S. Parker Gilbert (who expressed interest in discounted prepayment, another matter entirely). I am no less perplexed by her continued defense of the theory that Poincaré occupied the Ruhr in order to put pressure on the Anglo-Saxon powers for debt cancellation. This interpretation no longer seems tenable now that the planning documents for the occupation are available (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, ser. B, vol. 69). Indeed, Artaud's imprecise statements on several other matters lead me to wonder whether she possesses quite the archival grasp with which I credited her in my review. I do not, finally, object to her eloquence on the subject of American "imperialism." I do wish she would define her terms more carefully. The pressure for debt collection came from the populace, particularly in the West and South, and furnishes no proof of the imperialistic intentions that she attributes to the elites of Washington and New York.

Although Artaud's substantive claims are easily disposed of, her tone of injured innocence continues to puzzle me. She has already nailed her tricolor to the mast. Isn't it late in the day for her to remove herself to the lifeboats and to say in a small voice, "There's nobody here but us Rankeans"?

STEPHEN A. SCHUKER  
Brandeis University

#### TO THE EDITOR:

In Leslie Mitchell's review of Edward Royle and James Walvin, *English Radicals and Reformers, 1760–1848* (AHR, 88 [1983]: 979), much is made of the

slipshod proofreading and the consequent errors in the text. In particular, we learn that it "would surely surprise the Paris Jockey Club" to read of the existence of a "Mirabaud" among others.

No doubt Leslie Mitchell is an expert on the reading habits of members of the Paris Jockey Club. However, what remains in question is his understanding of the reading habits of the English Jacobins of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Royle and Walvin note that "For men like (Walter) Miller and Thomas Hardy, men of independent education and radical sensibilities, Paine rapidly entered the pantheon of literary heroes and could be found on their bookshelves alongside Voltaire, Mirabaud and Shakespeare." (p. 54) There is no error, proofreading or otherwise, in this reference, although there may be some ambiguity.

"Jean Baptiste de Mirabaud" was the pseudonym under which d'Holbach published his famous *Système de la Nature* (1770), one of the most controversial texts of the eighteenth century, in order to avoid persecution. "Mirabaud's" *System of Nature* was among the most read and translated "infidel" texts of the early nineteenth century in England. Thomas Davison, Richard Carlile, James Watson, Julian Hibbert, and Charles Bradlaugh all published translations. The rigorous materialism and atheism of this work attracted England's "infidel" radicals. The public ascription of this work to d'Holbach was slow in coming, and English radicals of an atheistic bent continued to toast the memory of "Mirabaud" at their banquets throughout the 1820s and 1830s.

As an act of academic penance perhaps Leslie Mitchell might propose a toast at the University College, Oxford dining hall along the lines of that given at a radical dinner in 1838 at the factory-town of Ashton-under-Lyne: "To the memory of Volney, Voltaire, Mirabaud, Robespierre, Condorcet, Diderot, and all those that fought or wrote in the cause of Freedom."

JAMES EPSTEIN  
University of Pittsburgh

#### TO THE EDITOR:

Marvin Lazerson's review of our book *History of Education and Culture in America* (AHR, 88 [1983]: 1055–56) requires a rejoinder.

First, two passages in the review seem to misrepresent. According to Lazerson, we "conclude that those who sought to improve the environment in which people . . . were educated, those who wished to centralize institutions in the interests of efficiency, and those who turned to science" were among the Progressives. We do not dispute the statement, but we cannot identify it or anything it much resembles in our book, and it is surely not among our conclu-



sions. Lazerson also quotes a sentence from page 234: "The science of education . . . has experienced success and failure," and characterizes it as not having "profundity." Profoundness was not attempted in that sentence, which appears in an introductory passage, to explain a chapter's organization. As it happens, we have strong views on empirical, quantitative research in education. We believe that each important research effort should be considered in the light of its contribution to knowledge and practice, and that oversimplified generalizations, pro or con, mislead. If this is an "authoritative pronouncement" we stand upon it.

We agree that the history of American education should not be "reduced to a single textbook." Our book's acknowledgments suggest that, and its twenty-five pages of "Bibliography, Sources and Notes" at the conclusion of the book attest to it. Unfortunately, Lazerson seems to have overlooked them. Surely there are many who agree with us as to the appropriateness of a text, with additional readings, in an introductory course.

Finally, it has not occurred to us that any reviewer or other person was qualified to be arbiter of interests appropriate for historians, and by implication, of interests requisite to being historians. Lazerson's interests and questions as an historian have been appropriate and insightful. However, it does not follow that our somewhat different interests are therefore inappropriate, or that because of our different interests we are not historians.

H. WARREN BUTTON

State University of New York at Buffalo

EUGENE F. PROVENZO, JR.

University of Miami

for that publication, the subject being not Afghanistan, but the political prospects of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. I could, however, with greater accuracy be considered a "contributor" to *Commentary*, a magazine for which I have written at least half a dozen articles, or six times more than *The Nation*.

Third, that I have directed anger against those who complain of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. I presume that Professor Hollander, or perhaps Professor O'Neill, is referring to an article I wrote for *The New Republic* in which I noted that, despite the hue and cry that took place at the time, Afghanistan could by no stretch of an agitated imagination be considered a vital American interest. I expressed no "anger" toward anyone, complainers or otherwise. But I did note that this was "a very nasty way to behave" and that as a result of their invasion "the Russians will have an interminable guerrilla war on their hands which will diminish their ability to deal with more serious matters, such as the pathetic state of their economy and the growing menace of a hostile China allied to the United States." I also observed that the United States "has an interest in confining Soviet expansion into areas of crucial importance. . . . It does not have a vital interest in which Marxist regime rules Afghanistan."

I am not "angry" at the Carter administration for its inept handling of the Afghanistan invasion, nor even at Professor Hollander for what I am sure are innocent distortions. But good history, even good polemics, does demand a respect for facts.

RONALD STEEL

New York, New York

#### TO THE EDITOR:

I was interested to discover a number of things about myself in Paul Hollander's review of William O'Neill's *A Better World* (*AHR*, 88 [1983]: 1337-39). In what is admittedly a passing reference, Professor Hollander notes: "Thus today the 'progressives' of the Institute for Policy Studies and other contributors to *The Nation*, such as Ronald Steel, direct their 'anger' . . . not at the Soviet occupation [of Afghanistan] but against those who complain of it."

From this I have learned: First, that I am a "progressive" of the Institute for Policy Studies. I'm not sure what a "progressive" is, or that I am one, but I do know that I have never had any affiliation whatsoever with the IPS, that I have never written for any of its publications, never attended any of its meetings, and in fact have never even set foot on the premises of that estimable organization.

Second, that I am considered a contributor to *The Nation*. True. I did write a grand total of one article

#### PROFESSOR HOLLANDER REPLIES:

Professor Steel is right as regards the source of his views mentioned in my review of *A Better World*. The article to which I referred did appear in *The New Republic*, not *The Nation*. On the other hand, the phrasing of my review did not suggest that he was a member of the Institute for Policy Studies. I wrote, "Thus today the 'progressives' of the IPS and other contributors to *The Nation* such as Ronald Steel . . ." [emphasis added]. The sentence, while incorrect in including him among contributors to *The Nation* (in the context of Afghanistan, at any rate), makes a distinction between IPS people and other contributors, and so forth. Hence, I did not identify him as a person linked to IPS. By the same token, the appellation "progressive" also referred to the IPS people and not to him.

Finally, there is the question of substance, namely, the main thrust of his views on Afghanistan as expressed in his *The New Republic* article. After



rereading the article, I must agree with the characterization of Mr. O'Neill which I quoted in my review. While one may dispute the attribution of "anger" (O'Neill's word, not mine) to the sentiments expressed by Professor Steel, one may justifiably conclude that he appeared to regard the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with a degree of detachment and equanimity rarely found in his critical analysis of American misconduct in world affairs. Perhaps he expects more of his own government—still a double standard is there. Moreover, there is a reality to Soviet global assertiveness that cannot be reduced to domestic (American) problems and fantasies.

PAUL HOLLANDER  
University of Massachusetts

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (AHR, 89 [1984]: 94–95), Bruce Mazlish mistakenly suggests that my thoughts on the psychodynamics of graduate education and the functioning of academic institutions reflect on my experience with my teacher, Carl Schorske. Mazlish practices the fallacy of *ad hominem* reductionism which neglects three clearly stated facts:

(1) The subject of these chapters is obviously and

explicitly internalized *fantasy*, *transferences*, *identifications*, and *projections* fostered by a structured apprenticeship situation, *viz*: the historian's "education deeply involves his inner self" (p. 45); "An object relational approach means that parts of the self that are projected and internalized become the unconsciously operative elements in feelings and decision-making" (p. 46); "Students will idealize their graduate teachers in seeking to emulate them, just as children identify with, and wish to become like, their parents" (p. 60); "The externalization of unknown distortions in our inner world brings about most of the distortions in our outer world" (p. 67); "Inner conflicts will always obtrude upon our functioning in the outer world" (p. 74).

(2) The material is based on clinical psychoanalysis of patients, both students and faculty including administrators, as well as personal experience on both sides of academic life and fantasy, as student and teacher of over twenty years (p. 45).

(3) My first *Doktor Vater* was Raymond J. Sontag, with whom I negotiated the preparation and passage of the doctoral examinations (p. xi). I completed my dissertation with Carl Schorske. I don't think I was an easy customer, which is a compliment to the graciousness of both these nurturing teachers, rather than an implied indictment of either of them.

PETER LOEWENBERG  
University of California, Los Angeles

---

# American Historical Association

---

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889  
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Arthur S. Link, *Princeton University*  
President-elect: William H. McNeill, *University of Chicago*  
Executive Director: Samuel R. Gammon  
Controller: James H. Leatherwood

**MEMBERSHIP:** Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 17,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's annual meeting takes place December 28–30. The meeting in 1984 will be held in Chicago. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

**PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES:** The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report*, *AHA Perspectives* (newsletter with classified listings), a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, the bibliographic series *Writings on American History*, and *Recently Published Articles*. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

**PRIZES:** The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$1,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$2,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 1984). The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of \$500 awarded in the odd-numbered years. The *Herbert Feis Award for Nonacademically-affiliated Historians* of

\$1,000 awarded annually to recognize and encourage the recent work of independent scholars. The *Leo Gershoy Award* of \$1,000 awarded in the odd-numbered years for the most outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1986). The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History* of \$750 awarded annually for the book that best reflects the high intellectual and scholarly ideals exemplified by the life and work of Joan Kelly. The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award of \$500. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history (next triennial award, 1984). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1986). The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years, for outstanding editorial achievement in the editing of historical sources (next award, 1985). The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* awarded every five years offered for the most outstanding reference tool in the field of history (next award, 1986). The *Alexis de Tocqueville Prize* offered every five years for the best work in U.S. history published outside the United States by a foreign scholar in any language (next award, 1984).

**DUES:** For incomes of \$40,000 and above, \$60.00 annually; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$47.00; \$15,000–\$19,999, \$40.00; \$10,000–\$14,999, \$30.00; below \$10,000, students, and joint memberships, \$20.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$25.00; life \$1,000. Overseas members add \$5.00 for postage. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *AHA Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting, and the *Annual Report* on request and may subscribe to the *RPA* for \$14.00 (plus \$1.00 in postage for overseas members).

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

---

# American Historical Review

---

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are five categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$43.00, foreign \$47.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review*, *AHA Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$54.00, foreign \$60.00.

CLASS III: Subscription to *Recently Published Articles* only, \$24.00, overseas postage add \$2.00.

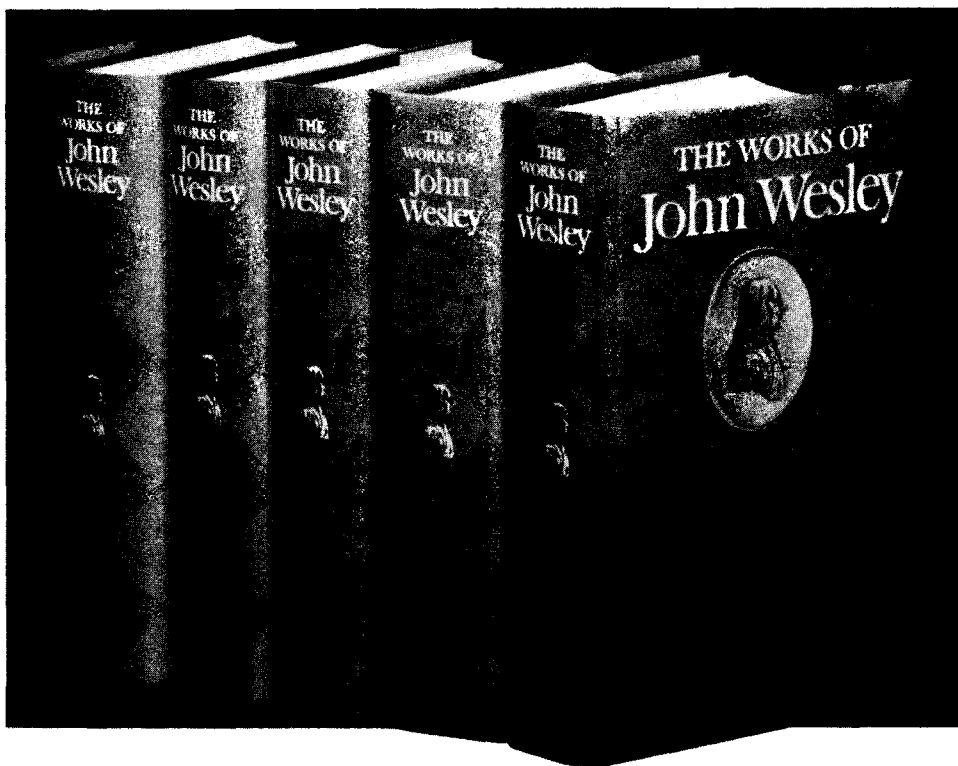
CLASS IV: *American Historical Review* with *Recently Published Articles*, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$63.00, foreign \$66.00.

CLASS V: *American Historical Review*, *AHA Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, with *Recently Published Articles*, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$74.00, foreign \$79.00.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 83 (1978) can be ordered from the Membership Secretary of the Association at \$10.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 83 should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Corporation, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y., 10546.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted; a statement concerning the kinds of articles the *AHR* ordinarily will and will not publish appears in the issue for October 1970 (75:1577–80). No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording and the language of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, at least one year must elapse between publication in the *Review* and republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work. The entire text, including quotations and footnotes, of article manuscripts must be submitted in double-spaced typescript, with generous margins to allow for copyediting, and submitted in duplicate. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like; and the editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, usage, and the laws of libel.

2(a)



# Abingdon Press Proudly Announces the Largest Wesleyan Publishing Event in 60 Years!

---

*The rich, authentic text. . . the extensive  
annotations...twenty years of exhaustive research  
brings you the definitive Wesley.*

---

"The publications of these sermons should be happily welcomed and eagerly used. . . The volumes include all of Wesley's important sermons—more than have ever been published together before, and will provide the most authentic text

and the richest treasure of Wesley's preaching content available"

—Tom Langford, *Duke University*

Order from your local bookstore or



## Abingdon Press

201 Eighth Avenue South, P.O. Box 901, Nashville, TN 37202

# HISTORY MATTERS.

## In a Dark Time

*Edited by Robert Jay Lifton  
and Nicholas Humphrey*

This anthology for the nuclear age is about the insanity of war. Drawing on the literature of the past 2500 years, it portrays human beings at their worst and at their best.

1 line illus. \$15.00 cloth; \$5.95 paper

## The Return of Martin Guerre

*Natalie Zemon Davis*

"The fullest account to date of this extraordinary tale... a fine piece of social history, a look into the lives of 16th-century peasants who left no records because they could neither read nor write." —*Newsweek*

\$5.95 paper

## Technologies of Freedom

*Ithiel de Sola Pool*

*Winner of the 1984 Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best book published on United States national policy (American Political Science Association)*

"It is difficult to imagine a more comprehensive and sensible book about new technologies and personal freedoms." —*The New Republic*  
*Belknap*

\$8.95 paper

## No Easy Choice

Political Participation in Developing Countries

*Samuel P. Huntington  
and Joan M. Nelson*

"With an extraordinary ability to pull together abstract theory and empirical data, the authors have made an important contribution to the understanding of one of the major issues of this and coming decades." —*Foreign Affairs*

\$6.95 paper

## Constantine and Eusebius

*Timothy D. Barnes*

*Winner of the American Society of Church History's Schaff Prize*

"This remarkable and exemplary work of scholarship will be read with pleasure and profit... a gripping and complex story told in fresh and lucid prose." —*History Today*

\$12.50 paper

## Summing Up

The Science of Reviewing Research

*Richard J. Light and David B. Pillemer*

Addressed to the beginning researcher as well as to the practicing professional, *Summing Up* provides guidelines and step-by-step procedures for synthesizing and evaluating data.

20 line illus., 9 tables \$17.50 cloth; \$7.95 paper

## The Making of the New Deal

The Insiders Speak

*Edited by Katie Louchheim*

Foreword by Frank Freidel

With historical notes by Jonathan Dembo

"How it takes you back to the days when government was trying to govern! More than mere reminiscences, this is a newly informative, moving, and in view of present-day contrasts, a heart-rending book." —Barbara Tuchman

\$7.95 paper

## Contemporary Democracies

Participation, Stability, and Violence

*G. Bingham Powell, Jr.*

Powell examines twenty-nine countries during the 1960s and 1970s and indisputably reasserts the central role of party systems in making governments work.

\$7.95 paper

## The Causes of Wars

Enlarged Edition

*Michael Howard*

This enlarged edition now contains Howard's two recent writings, "Weapons and Peace" and "Reassurance and Deterrence: Western Defence in the 1980s."

\$7.95 paper

## Families Against the City

Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872-1890

With a new Preface by the Author

*Richard Sennett*

"A provocative introduction to the subject, an original conceptual and methodological approach, and an arresting argument that should greatly enhance the field of urban family studies." —*American Historical Review*

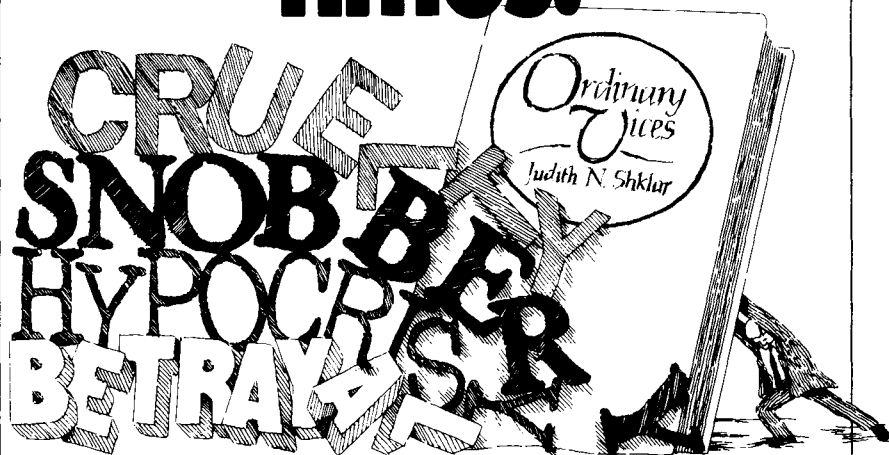
*Joint Center for Urban Studies* \$7.95 paper

**Harvard University Press**

79 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138



# Wisdom for liberals in extraordinary times.



Using history, literature, and the social sciences, Shklar explores the moral minefield created by the secular vices of cruelty, hypocrisy, snobbery, betrayal, and misanthropy.

In the process, she offers a redefinition of liberal character and politics.

"I've read *Ordinary Vices*... with much admiration. I like the easy-essayistic-tone, and the unaffected intelligence of the selection of evidence."

— Frank Kermode

"A distinguished book, full of wit, humanity, and insight... A moral psychology for liberals."

— Michael Walzer

## Ordinary Vices

Judith N. Shklar

\$16.50 Belknap At bookstores or from Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 02138

## HARVARD UNIVERSITY

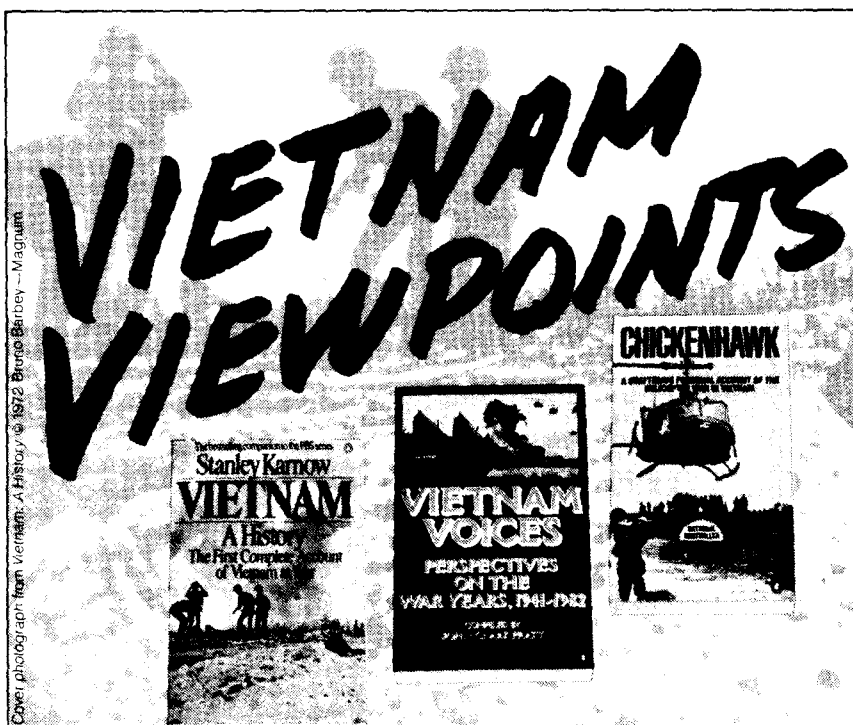
### Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History

#### *Post-Doctoral Research Fellowships* 1985–1986

The Charles Warren Center, Harvard University, will award up to four post-doctoral Research Fellowships for the academic year 1985–1986 to scholars working on topics in American history, broadly defined. Preference will be given to scholars who received their degree after 1979, and who are embarking on a second major project after the completion of the dissertation, although applications from more senior scholars may also be considered.

The Fellowships are non-stipendiary, and are designed particularly for scholars for whom research at Harvard and in the Boston area would be especially valuable. The Fellowship will carry an appointment at Harvard University, with access to the libraries and a study at the Center, which is conveniently located in Harvard Yard. The Center makes no demands on the time of its Fellows, beyond the requirement that successful applicants remain in residence for the nine-month academic year. (One-semester Fellowships are sometimes awarded.) Fellows will have the opportunity to participate in the Center's on-going series of colloquia, seminars, and other professional activities.

Application forms, due in the Center by **January 15, 1985**, may be obtained by writing to the **Charles Warren Center, 118 Robinson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138**.



Cover photograph from Vietnam: A History © 1972 Bruce Barbery—Magnum

### **VIETNAM: A History**

**The official companion to the acclaimed PBS television series  
Stanley Karnow**

"The most comprehensive, up-to-date, and balanced account we have"—Fox Butterfield. "Karnow takes on the whole sweep of Vietnamese history, beginning with the ancient conflicts with China and the Khmers...puts together detailed narratives of controversial events and decisions, and renders careful assessments of them"—*Chicago Tribune Book World*. "First rate as a popular contribution to understanding the war"—Douglas Pike, University of California, Berkeley.

0-14-007324-8

752 pp

\$10.95

Viking hardcover: \$22.50 fpt

### **VIETNAM VOICES**

**Perspectives on the War Years, 1941-1982**

**John Clark Pratt, editor**

*Vietnam Voices* captures the drama of the Vietnam experience through dialogue created by the participants themselves. This collage—including memoirs, novels, speeches, and news releases—provides fascinating insights into the war from every viewpoint.

0-14-006359-5

704 pp

\$12.95

Viking hardcover: \$25.00 fpt

### **CHICKENHAWK**

**Robert Mason**

"More than any other writer, Mason...captures the feeling of what it was like to be there" (John M. Del Vecchio, author of *The Thirteenth Valley*) in this first-person account of his more than one thousand missions in Vietnam, told from a perspective unique to the literature of the war to date—the helicopter pilot's seat.

0-14-007218-7

476 pp

\$3.95

Viking hardcover: \$17.75 fpt

**PENGUIN BOOKS**

A division of Viking Penguin Inc.

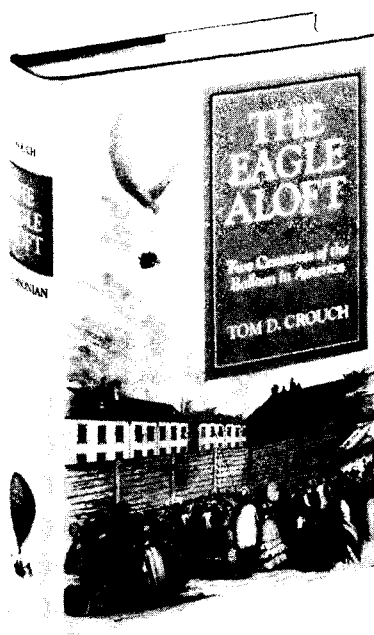


Academic Marketing Department, 40 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

# The Eagle Aloft

## *Two Centuries of the Balloon in America*

Tom D. Crouch



"The sheer abundance of facts proves as intoxicating as a balloon ride. For scholars in the field, of course, this definitive study is indispensable." — American Library Association's *Booklist*.

"A profusely illustrated and thoroughly researched volume that should become a standard reference work . . . [it] details it all, from publicity stunts to Civil War flights to long-distance races, and, in the 20th century, perilous high-altitude flights and Cold War espionage." — *Library Journal*.

"There is only one word to describe this almost encyclopedic narrative: marvellous." — *Air International*.

140 b&w illus. 770 pages ISBN 0-87474-346-X \$49.50



**SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION PRESS**

**P.O. Box 1579  
Washington, D.C. 20013**

**(202) 357-1793**

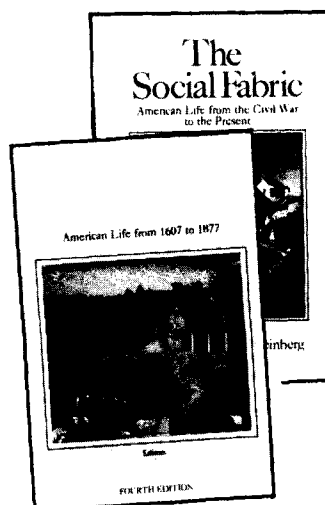
# Profiles Encourage

...by depicting the way real people actually lived.

Portraying the daily lives of a broad range of ordinary Americans, Cary and Weinberg's social history focus makes *THE SOCIAL FABRIC* the most effective complement to the political and diplomatic content of traditional survey texts. This teachable collection is supported by informative part and article introductions, plus incisive study questions and intriguing suggested readings.

...by examining topics students are curious about.

Drawn primarily from books rather than scholarly journals, the articles in *THE SOCIAL FABRIC* were chosen for their distinguished authorship, readability, and student appeal. New topics include drinking and the temperance movement, the mining frontier, the 1929 stock market crash, urban riots, the fall of Saigon, and more.



## THE SOCIAL FABRIC, *Fourth Edition*

John H. Cary and Julius Weinberg, editors

Vol. I. American Life  
from 1607 to 1877  
#130729/paper/375 pages/1984

Vol. II. American Life  
from the Civil War to the Present  
#130737/paper/393 pages/1984

...by highlighting the special concerns of a unique region.

## THE AMERICAN WEST An Interpretive History *Second Edition*

Robert V. Hine

This lavishly illustrated text is a comprehensive account of the American West from the 17th through the 20th century—now with more detailed coverage of women and minorities, families, and Native Americans.

#364452/cloth/423 pages/1984

...and by focusing on American luminaries within the context of their times.

## TECUMSEH and the Quest for Indian Leadership

R. David Edmunds

This carefully researched, balanced biography discusses the Shawnee chief's role in the Indian movement prior to the War of 1812 and analyzes the reasons for his ensuing legendary status.

from the *Library of American Biography*  
#211699/paper/256 pages/1984

*Coming soon from the Library of American Biography...*

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT  
A Personal and Public Life  
J. William T. Youngs

A RIGHTEOUS CAUSE  
The Life of William Jennings Bryan  
Robert W. Cherny

## LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

College Division • 34 Beacon Street • Boston, Massachusetts 02106



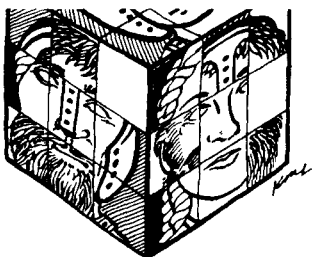
## New from Texas A&M

### MEDIEVAL FRONTIER

#### Culture and Ecology in Rijnland

By WILLIAM H. TeBRAKE

The reclamation and colonization processes that eventually transformed coastal lowlands in the western Netherlands into a commercialized agricultural center are at the heart of this book, which chronicles events from A.D. 950 to 1350. Combining historical and archaeological research techniques, William TeBrake shows how people of earlier times dealt with their physical environment and provides fresh insights into life in medieval Europe. No. 7, *Environmental History Series*. 292 pp. Illus. Maps. \$23.50



### PUZZLES OF THE PAST

#### An Introduction to Thinking about History

By MICHAEL T. ISENBURG

Using historical material drawn from ancient and modern cultures and disparate regions, the author presents the study of history as a dynamic relationship between the individual and the past. Dividing this relationship into order, process, and meaning, the analysis interweaves the theories of famous scholars such as Toynbee, Marx, and Spengler with those of dozens of less well known but equally intriguing thinkers to produce a rich mosaic of searching questions and stimulating adventures. 232 pp. \$25.00 cloth; \$15.00 paper

### MARSHES OF THE OCEAN SHORE

#### Development of an Ecological Ethic

By JOSEPH V. SIRY

From colonial times to the 1968 National Estuary Protection Act, Americans have viewed coastal wetlands in a variety of ways. Siry carefully traces the interplay among scientific knowledge, popular values, legal framework, and public policy in the development of a new awareness and a wetlands ecological ethic. No. 6, *Environmental History Series*. 264 pp. Illus. Maps. \$22.50

### A FLYING TIGER'S DIARY

By CHARLES R. BOND, JR.,  
and TERRY H. ANDERSON

Charles R. Bond joined Claire Chennault's American Volunteer Group at its birth and in the next year flew in many major air battles, including the defense of Rangoon, the raid on Chiang Mai, and the battles over central China. His journal reveals much about the living conditions, training, morale, and combat experiences of the Flying Tigers and vividly presents Bond's personal accounts of armed conflict, with all the attendant emotions, recorded in detail within twenty-four hours of the action. 264 pp. Illus. Map. \$15.95



**Texas A&M University Press**

Drawer C, College Station, Texas 77843-4354

## The Jews of Islam



BERNARD LEWIS

## The Jews of Islam

*Bernard Lewis*

Against a vivid background of Jewish and Islamic history, Bernard Lewis portrays the Judaeo-Christian tradition, tracing its origins in the early Middle Ages, its flowering, and its ending, followed by the incorporation of the Jews of Islamic countries into the state of Israel.

\$17.50

## AKHENATEN THE HERETIC KING



Donald B. Redford

## Akhenaten

The Heretic King

*Donald B. Redford*

"The work of an accomplished historian of ancient Egypt, this book gives flesh and blood to the major figures of Akhenaten's time."

—Edward F. Wente,  
*University of Chicago*

A striking portrait of Akhenaten, monotheistic worshiper of the sun and best-known Egyptian king next to Tutankhamun. Redford, the Director of the Akhenaten Temple Project, draws on new evidence from his own excavations to describe the kingly heretic against the background of imperial Egypt.

\$27.50

**Princeton University Press**

41 William Street, Princeton, N.J. 08540

# BOOKS THAT MAKE HISTORY



## Scholarship and Nation Building

*The Universities of Strasbourg and Alsatian Society, 1870-1939*

**John E. Craig**

Craig's pioneering study looks at how higher education can become entwined with nationalism, political socialization, and the struggle for cultural identity and prestige. He focuses on the modern universities of Strasbourg — the original German institution and its later French counterpart — which were both founded to advance their respective national causes in Alsace-Lorraine, a region of uncertain allegiance.

**Cloth \$30.00 512 pages**

## The Pursuit of Power

*Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000*

**William H. McNeill**

"A grand synthesis of sweeping proportions and interdisciplinary character that tells us almost as much about the history of butter as the history of guns." — Stuart Rochester, *Washington Post Book World*

**Paper \$10.95 416 pages**  
**30 b&w illustrations**

## Hegel, Heidegger, and the Ground of History

**Michael Allen Gillespie**

In this wide-ranging and thoughtful study, Gillespie argues that history rests upon man's freedom from nature, but that it is undermined by tension between freedom and nature. In analyzing this conflict, he centers his discussion on Hegel and Heidegger, but he also draws in the pertinent thought of other philosophers whose contributions to the debate are crucial — particularly Rousseau, Kant, and Nietzsche.

**Cloth \$22.00 (est.) 256 pages (est.)**

## Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna

*Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1848-1897*

**John W. Boyer**

"Boyer's analysis is masterful in terms of research, exposition, and organization. His use of available economic data is judicious, and his sense of the social structure of late nineteenth-century Vienna is formidable." — *American Historical Review*

**Cloth \$35.00 592 pages**

## Splendid Encounters

*The Thought and Conduct of Diplomacy*

**Dorothy V. Jones**

This book offers a fresh look at aspects of diplomacy that are usually ignored but that give the activity its distinctive style. Iconography, the role of ceremony, and the demands of honor are all considered, as well as cryptology, protocol, and the clash of cultural norms.

*Distributed for the University of Chicago Library*

**Paper \$10.00 142 pages**  
**90 b&w illustrations**

**The University of Chicago Press**

5801 South Ellis Avenue Chicago, IL 60637

**SCRIBNERS PROUDLY PRESENTS**

# An American Portrait A History of the United States

Second Edition

David Burner, SUNY, Stony Brook

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, SUNY, Binghamton

Eugene D. Genovese, University of Rochester

Forrest McDonald, University of Alabama

*Praise for the 1st edition:*

"... Professors Burner, Genovese, and McDonald deserve to be congratulated for producing the first truly innovative text to appear in a long time.... I look forward to using this textbook in my classes next year."

Thomas T. Lewis, Mt. Senario College, *Teaching History*

"... can make a real contribution to the classroom."

Justus Doenecke, New College, University of South Florida

*Conservative History Review*

Scribners is proud to announce the publication of the completely revised and re-set second edition of *An American Portrait* — the popular two-volume U.S. survey text.

This comprehensive, highly readable survey blends social history — especially women and minorities — with political, economic, and diplomatic history. Each of the 28 chapters begins with an account of a dramatic event of the era, including Lewis and Clark's Expedition, Lindbergh's Trans-Atlantic Flight, and Three Mile Island, among others. New to the second edition are original, provocative debates between Professors Genovese and McDonald at the end of *each* chapter. The debates provide students with opposing points of view on crucial issues in American history, for example, Manifest Destiny and the dropping of the atomic bomb. By illustrating how history is subject to interpretation, the debates set this text apart from others and make it an exciting teaching tool.

New photos have been added to the already profusely illustrated text and a separate teacher's manual with test questions is available.

Volume I 380 pages paper December 1984

Volume II 380 pages paper February 1985

Combined edition 720 pages paper February 1985

For an examination copy, write stating course, enrollment, and current text, to Dept. SW, Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Charles Scribner's Sons

# CAMBRIDGE

## Power in the Blood

*Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*

DAVID WARREN SABEAN

A major contribution to the understanding of popular culture, Professor Sabea's book describes a series of episodes involving village or small-town life in the duchy of Württemberg in southwest Germany from 1580 to 1800. Each episode triggered an investigation by state authorities, and the documentary record that resulted provides keen insight into peasant life. The cases include a peasant's refusal to celebrate church ritual, a prophet who encountered an angel in his vineyard, a thirteen-year-old witch, a paranoid pastor, a murder, and a live burial of a village bull.

About \$34.50

## British Intelligence in the Second World War

*Volume 3, Part 1*

F.H. HINSLEY, E.E. THOMAS, C.F.G. RANSOM,  
and R.C. KNIGHT, Editors

*British Intelligence in the Second World War* provides the only reliable account yet published of the part played by British Intelligence in Allied strategy and operations during World War II. Professor Hinsley and his colleagues have been allowed unrestricted access to the full range of British government intelligence records and to political and military archives of the war and interwar years. Their third and final volume will be published in two parts, the first following events from the summer of 1943 to the summer of 1944. Whereas earlier volumes in the series have stressed the evolution of British intelligence in response to the needs of war, Volume 3 is primarily concerned with the influence British intelligence had on the decision-making process.

About \$39.50

## The Cambridge History of Latin America

*Volumes I and II: Colonial Latin America*

LESLIE BETHELL, Editor

The first comprehensive, large-scale survey of Latin America's unique historical experience, *The Cambridge History of Latin America* will provide a high-level synthesis of existing knowledge along with original research, offering both specialist and layman a complete picture of the region. To be published in eight volumes, it will have over 120 contributions from scholars in the United States, Britain, Europe, and Latin America.

Volume I begins with a survey of the native American peoples and civilizations on the eve of the European invasion and goes on to examine the conquest and early settlement of America (including "the vision of the vanquished") and the political and economic structures of the Spanish and Portuguese empires during those centuries. Volume II looks at population trends, economic and social structures, and intellectual and cultural life in colonial Spanish America and colonial Brazil.

Volume I about \$64.50    Volume II about \$64.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 32 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



# CAMBRIDGE

## The Invention of Tradition

ERIC HOBSBAWM and TERENCE RANGER, Editors

"Hobsbawm and Ranger had an excellent idea in calling an academic conference on the subject of 'invented traditions,' and an even better one in publishing the conference papers in this volume. The subject is an important one..."

—*The New Republic*

"...a collection of learned, funny, and surprising essays..."—*The New Yorker*

Cloth \$29.95 Paper \$9.95

## Cross-Cultural Trade in World History

PHILIP D. CURTIN

Beginning with the ancient world and extending to the coming of the commercial revolution, Professor Curtin discusses a broad and diverse group of trading relationships between differing cultures.

"...a really stimulating, pathbreaking work..."

—William H. McNeill, *University of Chicago*

"...A masterly study by a master historian..."

—Eric R. Wolf, *City University of New York*

Cloth \$34.50 Paper \$9.95

## Prophecy and Politics

*Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917*

JONATHAN FRANKEL

This sweeping survey of the formation of Russian Jewish socialist movements spans Eastern Europe, the United States, and Palestine. It was awarded the Kenneth B. Smilen/*Present Tense* Magazine book award for History in 1982.

"...will undoubtedly come to be regarded as the definitive political history of Russian Jews and left-wing nationalism in English or any other language."

—*American Historical Review*

"...leaves the reader with a rare sense of intellectual exhilaration."

—*Times Literary Supplement*

Cloth \$64.50 Paper \$18.95

## Nature's Economy

*A History of Ecological Ideas*

DONALD WORSTER

This wide-ranging investigation of ecology's past traces the origins of the concept, discusses the thinkers who have shaped it, and shows how it in turn has shaped the modern perception of our place in nature. The author has written a new preface for this work, which was first published by Sierra Club Books in 1977.

"...Worster's style is warm, intellectual, strong, and eloquent..."—*Science*

"...Worster has written a volume that should be read and pondered..."

—*American Historical Review*

"...scholarship of a high order... highly readable and absorbing..."—*Ecology*

Cloth about \$29.95 Paper about \$9.95

## The Great Father

The United States Government  
and the American Indians

By Francis Paul Prucha



Through much of the history of the republic, the United States government has acted as the Great Father in its dealings with the Indians. Francis Paul Prucha traces those dealings in this two-volume work, the first comprehensive history of the relations between the federal government and the American Indians. Covering the two centuries from the Revolutionary War to 1980, the book traces the development of American Indian policy and the growth of the bureaucracy created to implement that policy. It provides the first extended general treatment of twentieth-century Indian affairs.

Indian affairs—a serious concern for both the federal government and the general public—are often highly charged emotionally, for they concern the deep cultural roots of a people. The calm, judicious presentation of the history of government-Indian relations in this landmark study can be a useful antidote to exaggerated rhetoric, which obscures the truth and prevents accurate analysis of problems and proposed solutions. The importance of *The Great Father* is immeasurable, for it provides a balanced account and interpretation of the historical background of the present situation of the Indians.

Two volumes, slipcased. Volume I, xxxii, 1–608, 41 b&w illustrations, 9 maps, 3 tables; Volume II, xviii, 609–1304, 45 b&w illustrations, 4 maps, 19 tables.

ISBN 0-8032-3668-9 **\$60.00** tent.



**UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS**

901 North 17th Lincoln, NE 68588

# St. Martin's Press...

## Where Contemporary History Makes Sense!

### **Europe Since 1945**

#### **A Concise History**

**SECOND EDITION**

J. ROBERT WEIGS,  
University of Notre Dame

This concise yet comprehensive volume offers a broad thematic survey of postwar Europe. Covering economic, social, and cultural developments as well as political and diplomatic ones, the author provides an objective, unbiased treatment of the capitalist, socialist, and communist countries of both Eastern and Western Europe. This Second Edition includes a new chapter on intellectual and cultural history and an epilogue that evaluates the European scene from the vantage point of the 1980s.

Paperbound. 298 pages. 1984

"Well written and well thought out. I am recommending this as a good analysis of contemporary history for my students to supplement their more general survey text."

—M.C. Rosenfield, Southeastern  
Massachusetts University

#### ***Just Published***

### **The West and the World Since 1945**

GLENN BLACKBURN, Clinch Valley  
College of the University of Virginia

This highly focused new survey analyzes contemporary history in terms of four themes that encompass some of the most important developments of our time: the superpower conflict and the nuclear arms race; economic prosperity in the West; the conflict between rich and poor nations; and the Western intellectual spirit—the ideas and beliefs held by people in the West today. Brief case studies of China, Zaire, Brazil, and the Arab-Israeli conflict clarify different aspects of Third World political development. The book is illustrated with several maps, photographs, and cartoons, and an annotated bibliography is provided for each chapter.

Paperbound. 150 pages (probable).  
Publication: September 1984

To request a complimentary examination copy of either of these books, please write us on your college letterhead, specifying your course title, present text, and approximate enrollment. Send your request to:

**ST. MARTIN'S  
PRESS** Department JR  
175 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10010



# Understanding Popular Culture

**Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century**

Edited by Steven Laurence Kaplan

This collection of essays discusses the meaning and implications of what has come to be known as popular culture. The relationship of popular culture to high or learned culture is considered as are the connections between popular culture and the authority of the state.

## Table of Contents

Introduction by *David Hall* • The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages by *Jacques Le Goff* • The Witches' Sabbath: Popular Cult or Inquisitorial Stereotype? by *Carlo Ginzburg* • Sacerdote ovvero strione: Ecclesiastical and Superstitious Remedies in 16th Century Italy by *Mary R. O'Neil* • Popular Culture? Witches, Magistrates, and Divines in Early Modern England by *Clive Holmes* • Sin, Melancholy, Obsession: Insanity and Culture in 16th Century Germany by *H.C. Erik Midelfort* • Popular Culture and the Early Modern State in 16th Century Germany by *Gunther Lottes* • We Think, They Act: Clerical Readings of Missionary Theatre in 16th Century New Spain by *Richard C. Trexler* • Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France by *Roger Chartier* • Forms of Expertise: Intellectuals and "Popular" Culture in France (1650—1800) by *Jacques Revel* • On the Use and Abuse of Handicraft: Journeyman Culture and Enlightened Public Opinion in 18th and 19th Century Germany by *Hans-Ulrich Thamer*

**1984. ix+320 pages. ISBN 3-11-009600-5. Cloth. \$45.80**  
**New Babylon. Studies in the Social Sciences 40**

Price subject to change

# mouton

**Mouton Publishers • 200 Saw Mill River Road  
 Hawthorne, N.Y. 10532  
 Phone (914) 747-0110**

---

# American History

---

## Martin Van Buren and the American Political System

DONALD B. COLE



"A welcome contribution. The most thoroughly researched, scholarly, informed, judicious, and reliable of the Van Buren biographies."

—*Edward Pessen, The City University of New York*

"A superb account of a crucial yet neglected politician, and an important contribution to the history of American politics and to our knowledge of the presidency."

—*James C. Curtis, University of Delaware*  
\$45.00

## Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880–1930

LYNN DUMENIL

"The lack of serious attention to voluntary fraternal organizations is a scandal of American historical scholarship. This exciting work goes a long way toward correcting the lapse. It takes the Masons seriously, though not uncritically, and explores with great subtlety their social ideas and shifting cultural roles."

—*Paul Boyer, University of Wisconsin*  
\$30.00

## The Civil Works Administration, 1933–1934

The Business of Emergency  
Employment in the New Deal  
BONNIE FOX SCHWARTZ

Challenging assumptions that social workers and other urban liberals dominated New Deal relief agencies, Schwartz describes the role of engineers and industrial managers in the CWA's employment of 4.2 million Americans during the winter of 1933–1934.

\$28.50

---

**Princeton**

University Press

41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540

---



## **Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580**

Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth

**Edited by NORMAN J. W. THROWER**

With a message from **PRINCE PHILIP,**

**DUKE OF EDINBURGH**

Ten distinguished scholars present new work on the historical, cartographic, geographic, and literary puzzles posed by Drake's famous exploit. This volume of essays also includes a bibliography of early sources, a photo-essay on Drake's home, Buckland Abbey, and many illustrations and maps. \$34.50



## **As Long as the River Shall Run**

An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation

**by MARTHA C. KNACK and OMER C. STEWART**

Here is the dramatic history of the relentless nibbling away of Pyramid Lake reservation by ranchers, state and federal politicians, and federal agencies—a process still at work today. "A milestone in American Indian history."—Wilbur R. Jacobs \$28.50 until 12/31/84, \$35.00 thereafter

## **Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism**

**by DOUGLAS KELLNER**

Kellner provides a critical overview of the entirety of Marcuse's work which indicates its enduring importance for contemporary thought. He provides new information and novel interpretations of one of the most widely discussed philosophers and social thinkers.

\$38.50 cloth, \$12.95 paperback

*New in paperback—*

## **Decoding the Past**

The Psychohistorical Approach  
**by PETER LOEWENBERG**

"An extraordinary achievement in historiography. In a truly brilliant introductory essay, Loewenberg has outlined the psychohistorical method in such a way as to make its general principles accessible to any serious student of history."—Robert A. Pois \$9.95

## **Pepys at Table**

17th-Century Recipes for the Modern Cook

**Edited by CHRISTOPHER DRIVER and MICHELLE BERRIEDALE-JOHNSON**

Samuel Pepys's renowned diary abounds with descriptions of sumptuous meals and convivial drinking parties. This book gathers 47 enticing recipes from cook-books of the time. Each entry includes the original version with a modern adaptation and commentary. \$10.95

## **The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914**

**by DAVID F. GOOD**

In this stimulating survey of economic development in the late stages of one of Europe's former great powers, Good provides overwhelming evidence that the Habsburg Empire's economy, contrary to popular belief, did not fail in its last years. \$32.00

## **The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–1951**

**by ALAN S. MILWARD**

A comprehensive study of the economic and political reconstruction of western Europe since 1945 by one of the foremost historians on the subject. Milward offers strikingly new interpretations within a truly major work of scholarship. \$38.50

## **From the Family Farm to**

### **Agribusiness**

The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850–1931

by **DONALD J. PISANI**

"A pioneering study . . . There is in print no book-length history of irrigation and the development of water rights in California during the years 1850 to 1931. Consequently, it fills an important gap in the historical literature of California and the western part of the United States."—Robert G. Dunbar \$29.95

## **The Unesco General History of Africa**

Volume IV: Africa from the XIIth to the XVIth Century

Edited by **D. T. NIANE**

This is the third published volume in the acclaimed Unesco series, an eight-volume work on the general history of Africa. The history is viewed primarily from within, reflecting how the different peoples of Africa view their civilizations and showing the historical relationships between the various parts of the continent. \$25.00

## **Sol Plaatje, South African Nationalist, 1876–1932**

by **BRIAN WILLAN**

Author, journalist, political spokesman, leader of his people—Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje was perhaps the most talented and versatile black South African of his generation. This biography tells the story of Plaatje's remarkable life for the first time. \$38.50 cloth, \$12.95 paper

At bookstores or order from

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**  
Berkeley 94720

## **Russian Factory Women**

Workplace and Society, 1880–1914

by **ROSE L. GLICKMAN**

"A remarkable account of the life and labor of Russian factory women before the Revolution, written with imaginative topical sweep, impeccable documentation, a wealth of concrete detail, and—best of all—sober analysis."—Richard Stites \$28.50

*New in paperback—*

## **The Last Lords of Palenque**

The Lacandon Mayas of the Mexican Rain Forest

by **VICTOR PERERA**

and **ROBERT D. BRUCE**

"A fine, fascinating and scholarly account . . . written with personal knowledge, insight, and poetry."—Richard Elman \$7.95

## **Labor Immigration Under Capitalism**

Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II

Edited by **LUCIE CHENG**  
and **EDNA BONACICH**

"A work of outstanding importance . . . It does more than break important new theoretical and empirical ground . . . it virtually redefines the field of Asian-American studies."—Mark Selden \$38.50

## **Moral Conduct and Authority**

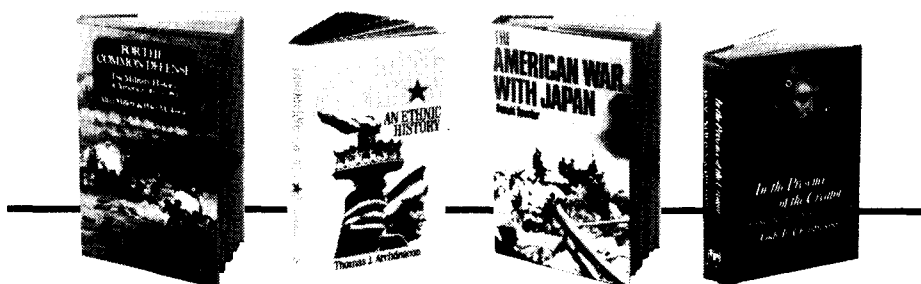
The Place of *Adab* in South Asian Islam

Edited by

**BARBARA DALY METCALF**

These essays explore *adab*, the Muslim ideal of the harmonious life of a person who knows the proper relationship to God, to others, and to oneself, and who, as a result, plays a special role among his or her fellows. \$36.50

# History: Essential New and Recent



## FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

**The Military History of the United States, 1607-1983**

ALLAN R. MILLETT, *Ohio State University*; and  
PETER MASLOWSKI,  
*University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

The most comprehensive and penetrating history of the American military yet published combines vivid accounts of every major campaign with authoritative analyses of the political, economic, and social forces that have shaped our defenses and defense policies for nearly 400 years. Throughout, Millett and Maslowski develop such critical themes as the political, logistical, and manpower limitations that have influenced military priorities and programs; the commitment to civilian control of the armed forces; and the military's traditional reliance on industry and technology to overcome geographic isolation and counter superior enemy numbers. "...will be the pre-eminent survey of American military history for many years to come."—Russell Weigley, *Temple University*

656 pages, illus. 0-02-921580-3 \$24.95

## BECOMING AMERICAN

**An Ethnic History**

THOMAS J. ARCHDEACON,  
*University of Wisconsin*

Archdeacon presents a masterful account of the foreign peoples and cultures that for nearly four centuries have transformed America and, in the process, transformed themselves. Discussing Europeans and Asians, Africans and American Indians, he weaves their stories together, shows how they mingle and diverge, and relates their collective experience to the critical decisions we face in coping with the thousands of immigrants who continue to arrive yearly on our shores. "...the meatiest and most persuasive synthesis of ethnic history that has appeared to date." —*Journal of American History*

297 pages paper 0-02-900980-4 \$7.95

## THE AMERICAN WAR WITH JAPAN

RONALD SPECTOR, *U.S. Army Center for Military History*

Drawing on newly declassified intelligence files, an abundance of British and American archival material, Japanese scholarship and documents, and the research and memoirs of scholars and military men, Spector presents the most complete and up-to-date single-volume narrative ever achieved on the American war with Japan. With accounts ranging from questions of high-level strategy to descriptions of harrowing jungle combat, he shows that victory and defeat in the Pacific often were decided less by the blood and sweat of soldiers than by the results of bitter debates among services over the allocation of resources. "...the most vivid and balanced account of an extraordinarily complex subject.... I read every page with pleasure." —Michael Howard, *Oxford University*

600 pages, illus. 0-02-930360-5 \$24.95

## IN ITS OWN IMAGE

**How Television Has Transformed Sports**

BENJAMIN G. RADER, *University of Nebraska*

Rader blends sports history, media research, and cultural analysis to expose the true impact of 40 years of television on the ethos of athletic competition, on sports rules, organizations, and management, and on the attitudes and behavior of players, owners, and fans. Arguing that what is played for the cameras today has become an overblown caricature of the almost mythic contests of years gone by, he shows how the networks have surfeited the airwaves with seasons, teams, and games and, in the process, intensified the professionalization of amateur sports, turned competitive events into entertainment spectacles, and made media celebrities of our once cherished athletic heroes. "...a fast moving, sweeping account...a valuable contribution..." —Red Barber

240 pages 0-02-925700-X \$15.95

# Titles from THE FREE PRESS

## THE WALLED KINGDOM

**A History of China from Antiquity to the Present**

WITOLD RODZINSKI

A brilliant achievement, this fascinating history judiciously condenses China's rich 4,000-year heritage into one immensely readable volume. Here is China captured whole—from the early despots who conquered the land and unified it to the revolutions of the 20th century. Mao's triumph, the anarchy and terror of the Cultural Revolution, and the long-awaited rise of a new, more pragmatic leadership. "Probably the best single-volume history of China from antiquity to the present yet written."—Maurice Meisner, University of Wisconsin

448 pages 0-02-926870-2 \$19.95

## CHINA AT THE CENTER

**300 Years of Foreign Policy**

MARK MANCALL, *Stanford University*

Mancall brings a unique and intriguing perspective to China's foreign policy: that of the Chinese themselves. Defining the world as they have for over two millennia, he divides the political globe into Empire and Oikoumene, civilization and barbarism, the center and the edge. And he shows how this basic distinction has ruled the past three centuries of international policy decisions by imperial emperors and party chairmen alike. "...a landmark contribution to our understanding of China's external relations."—*Choice*

540 pages 0-02-919810-0 \$29.95

## IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CREATOR

**Isaac Newton and His Times**

GALE E. CHRISTIANSON, *Indiana State University*

The first complete general-interest biography of Newton in half a century draws on the great thinker's full body of writings to combine a dramatically detailed life with a lucid nontechnical account of the epoch-making discoveries that transformed physics, optics, and astronomy. "Literate and informed, Christianson's biography weaves the results of the best recent scholarship together with Newton's own words to produce a lively portrait..."—Richard S. Westfall, *Indiana University*

623 pages, illus. 0-02-905190-8 \$27.50

## LIBERATION AND ITS LIMITS

**The Moral and Political Thought of Freud**

JEFFREY ABRAMSON, *Brandeis University*

In this provocative reappraisal of psychoanalysis, Abramson argues that Freud powerfully set forth the limits to the freedom we can achieve merely by "living out" desire (or, indeed, as isolated individuals at all). He demonstrates that the Freudian path to self-realization leads outside the self to immersion in human affairs and a return to the therapy of community—thus restoring the enriching connection between personal and political liberation. "...fully realized...a mature and humane book."—Michael Walzer, *The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*

160 pages 0-02-900210-9 \$14.95

TO CHARGE BY PHONE to your VISA or MasterCard call **toll-free** 1-800-257-5755  
(in New Jersey, Alaska, and Hawaii dial direct 1-609-461-6500)



**THE FREE PRESS** A DIVISION OF MACMILLAN, INC.

866 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK NY 10022/ATT: EILEEN KENNEDY

Please send me the book(s) checked below. If I'm not satisfied, I may return the book(s) within 30 days for a full refund.

- ☐ ABRAMSON, *Liberation and Its Limits* (90021) (a \$14.95)  
☐ ARCHDEACON, *Becoming American* (90098) (a \$7.95)  
☐ CHRISTIANSON, *In the Presence of the Creator* (90519) (a \$27.50)  
☐ MANCALL, *China at the Center* (91981) (a \$29.95)  
☐ MILLETT/MASLOWSKI, *For the Common Defense* (92158) (a \$24.95)  
☐ RADER, *In Its Own Image* (92570) (a \$15.95)  
☐ RODZINSKI, *The Walled Kingdom* (92687) (a \$19.95)  
☐ SPECTOR, *The American War with Japan* (93036) (a \$24.95)

☐ Enclosed is my check/money order (I include sales tax where required and \$1.50 per book shipping and handling).

☐ Charge my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Acct. # \_\_\_\_\_

MC Bank # \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

(Credit card orders not valid without signature)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY/STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Prices good in U.S. only; subject to change without notice

DS-36 PSR-9,32/PSL-9,32 PCN-Y ROY-9 IC-324

# **Watts:** New in History

## **THE NAZI SEIZURE OF POWER**

***The Experience of a Single German Town, 1922-1945***

Revised Edition

**William Sheridan Allen**, *SUNY Buffalo*

The classic study of a peaceful German community caught in the grip of Nazi power has been carefully revised.

"The most illuminating account of Nazi victory which I have ever read."

—A.J.P. Taylor

April Paper 416 pp.

## **INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN AMERICA: A History**

**Lewis Perry**, *Indiana University*

The position of the American intellectual has fluctuated throughout the changing moods of the American scene. This important study calls for a rethinking of the value we have placed on the intellect during different periods of our social history.

April Paper 480 pp.

## **THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY**

***From the Revolution to the Present***

**Howard Jones**, *University of Alabama*

A readable straightforward account of the major events in the making of American foreign policy. The emphasis here is on the "makers" of foreign policy; interplay of personalities as well as forces and interests; national mood and policy direction.

Illustrated with photos and maps

October Cloth 656 pp.

### **Titles Currently Available**

**WOMANHOOD IN AMERICA**, 3rd Edition

**Mary Ryan**, *University of California, Irvine*

## **THE COURSE OF AMERICAN HISTORY**

**Guy Griggs & Perry McCandless**, *Central Missouri State University*

## **A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES**

**Forrest McDonald**, *University of Alabama*

## **A HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST**

**Yehuda Bauer**, *Hebrew University*

FRANKLIN

# **Watts**

To receive our current catalogue,  
please write to: COLLEGE DIVISION

387 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10016





## HISTORY FROM SCRIBNERS

# THE SOVIET COLOSSUS

## A History of the USSR

**Michael Kort**  
**Boston University**

Michael Kort makes a major contribution toward understanding today's Soviet society in this new interpretive history of the USSR. He places the Communist regime within the context of Russian history as a whole, showing how the country's geography—an agriculturally poor but vast plain open to invasion from east and west—forced the Russian people early on to sacrifice political, civic, and economic freedoms to the Tsar's powerful central authority and fostered a deep mistrust of outsiders. Whatever reforms Lenin instituted, he preserved that centralized authority and his successor, Joseph Stalin, added terror on a previously unknown scale to forge a modern totalitarian state. Kort maintains that today's Soviet government is a vast bureaucracy striving primarily to sustain itself and its privileges, basing its foreign policy on the old fear of outsiders.

March 1985 350 pages paper

# ISRAEL:

## THE PARTITIONED STATE

**Amos Perlmutter**  
**American University**

**Israel: The Partitioned State** is a history of modern Israel. From the time of the British Mandate in Palestine, says Amos Perlmutter, a series of partitions has determined the Jewish state's changing borders. This partitioning began even before the creation of the state and has continued to change with the War of Independence, the 1967 war, and the Begin era.

Since the days before statehood the question of borders has defined Zionist and Israeli politics. Perlmutter profiles the key figures in this debate throughout Israel's history, including Chaim Weizmann, Zeev Jabotinsky, David Ben-Gurion, Menachem Begin and many others, and shows how they helped to determine the shape of Israel's government and politics as well as its boundaries. March 1985 380 pages paper

# CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

For an examination copy, write stating course, enrollment and current text, to Dept. SW, Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017

# USSR:

## A Concise History

### Fourth Edition

**Basil Dmytryshyn**  
**Portland State University**

The fourth edition of this widely-used history of the USSR includes recent developments in the US-USSR arms race, the brief reign of Andropov and the rise of Chernenko. The unique combination of narrative history and primary source documents enables the student to acquire a basic understanding of Soviet history.

**"An ideal text for a one-semester course on Soviet history. It maintains a good balance between the narrative of events and analysis. I especially like the 270 pages of documents in appendices."**

**Alton S. Donnelly, S.U.N.Y., Binghamton**  
1984 697 pages paper

# THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ISRAEL

**Michael Grant**

Michael Grant tells the story of ancient Israel from the earliest settlers in the land of Canaan to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple in 70 A.D. An ideal text for both history and Old Testament courses.

**"This is a lucidly-written and illuminating study of Israel's history. Informative and objective, it benefits from Grant's critical acumen and humanistic orientation."**

**Stephen L. Harris, California State University, Sacramento**

1984 317 pages paper

# THE WORLD WE HAVE LOST

## England Before the Industrial Age

**Third Edition**

**Peter Laslett**

Completely revised and updated, this pioneering text contrasts England on the eve of the Industrial Revolution with England today. Particular attention is devoted to the sections on births, marriages, and deaths and on patterns of authority, all of which have been greatly enlarged.

**"... a welcome update of a landmark in historical thought."**

**Carolly Erickson, History News**

1984 353 pages paper

## ***Rebirth, Reform, and Resilience***

**Universities in Transition, 1300–1700**

*Edited by James M. Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue.* Ten original essays that treat the history of the universities from the late Middle Ages through the Reformation—from the time of their secure founding through the period in which they were posed the challenges of humanism and confessionalism but before the explosion of knowledge that marked the emergence of modern science and the advent of the Enlightenment.

\$25.00

## ***Chemical Atomism in the Nineteenth Century***

**From Dalton to Cannizzaro**

*By Alan J. Rocke.* The discovery of stoichiometry at the beginning of the nineteenth century led John Dalton and others to elaborate a theory of chemical atoms. Professor Rocke traces its subsequent development in a work that treats such topics as the hypotheses of Amadeo Avogadro, the systematizations of Jacob Berzelius, the theories of organic radicals and types, structure theory, the reforms associated with Stanislao Cannizzaro, and the "atomic debates" in England, France, and Germany during the latter part of the period.

\$27.50

## ***Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia***

**The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840–1908**

*By William Ochsenwald.* Though an exception among the provinces in its dependence on religion as the basis for its political and social organization and its economic dependence on external sources, the Hijaz—that approximately four hundred fifty-two thousand square kilometers of inhospitable land that now forms part of Saudi Arabia—provides, in Professor Ochsenwald's view, a prime example of what was the effect on one conquered Arab province of rule by an alien imperial government in the hands of Turkish-speaking Sunni Muslims from Anatolia and Europe. He finds, interestingly enough, that neither the economic nor the nationalistic determination usually cited is sufficient to explain in all cases the configurations of the Arab-Ottoman society, and that, as a result, imperial structures based on religion and dynasty have often been misunderstood.

\$20.00

**OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

1050 CARMACK ROAD, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210  
(614) 422-6930

## 1985                      New Titles

### Available in December '84

Two new titles in

#### **The American History Series**

Edited by John Hope Franklin and Abraham Eisenstadt

#### **THE DIPLOMACY OF THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1776-1815**

Reginald Horsman, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

#### **THE NEW CITY: URBAN AMERICA IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE, 1860-1920**

Raymond A. Mohl, *Florida Atlantic University*

New Title in the

#### **Europe Since 1500 Series**

#### **FASCIST ITALY, SECOND EDITION**

Alan Cassels, *McMaster University*

## 1984                      New Titles

#### **A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**

Arthur S. Link, *Princeton University*; Robert V. Remini, *University of Illinois at Chicago*; Douglas Greenberg, *Princeton University*; and Robert C. McMath, Jr., *Georgia Institute of Technology*

#### **A HISTORY OF AMERICAN BUSINESS**

C. Joseph Pusateri, *University of San Diego*

#### **LABOR IN AMERICA, FOURTH EDITION**

Foster Rhea Dulles; Melvyn Dubofsky,  
*State University of New York at Binghamton*

Please write for examination copies for adoption  
consideration on departmental stationery, giving course  
number and enrollment.

#### **HARLAN DAVIDSON, INC.**

3110 North Arlington Heights Road  
Arlington Heights, Illinois 60004

## Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500–1789

Phillip T. Hoffman

Hoffman's novel use of wills, diocesan records, communal archives, and criminal court papers creates a vivid picture of social and religious traditions as they existed before and after the Counter Reformation.

**"No other study has sketched the character of festive life and the changes wrought in it by the Counter-Reformation with anything like the vividness and detail provided here."**

—Philip Benedict \$20.00

## Boys Together

*English Public Schools 1800–1864*

John Chandos

Drawing upon journals, letters, and autobiographies, Chandos provides a lively examination of life in English public schools in the early years before their reform.

**"A model of popular history . . . which succeeds admirably in resurrecting the lighter as well as the darker side of public school history."** —Adrian Woolridge,  
*Times Literary Supplement* \$29.95

## Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism

*The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany,  
1925–1934*

Richard Bessel

To what extent was the destruction of the German left in 1933 due to the Nazis' mobilization of political violence? What were the components of this violence, who were its perpetrators, what were its effects? This engrossing book addresses questions such as these through an examination of the Storm Troopers of Eastern Germany — from the organization's inception to its liquidation in 1934. \$20.00

## Rousseau: Dreamer of Democracy

James Miller

Miller uses an unusual blend of biography, philosophy, and history to show how Rousseau's writings on the justice of self-government profoundly influenced the French Revolution and a generation of radicals.



**"A broad, careful study."** —*Kirkus Reviews*  
\$25.00

## Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism

Stephen Holmes

A splendid historical study of the man who helped reshape and revivify Enlightenment liberalism in the aftermath of the French Revolution.



**"Holmes is a superb guide to Constant, and just by being that, he also contributes to our exploration of the nature and vicissitudes of modern liberalism."**  
—George Kateb \$27.50

# History

*Now available in paperback*

## A History of European Socialism

Albert S. Lindemann

**"A competent and fair-minded study** of a controversial subject. It presents much factual material and judicious interpretation in lucid prose." —L. S. Stavrianos, *Los Angeles Times Book Review*

**"The best book on the subject** to put into the hands of our students. —Helmut Gruber, *International Labor and Working Class History* \$12.95

## The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain

Frank M. Turner

**"One of the most important and far-reaching** investigations of the roots of intellectual history to be published in decades, **a book to be read and reread.**" —Peter Green, *TLS*

**"Makes major contributions** to our understanding of the intellectual life of the last century." —George P. Landow, *AHR* \$14.95

## Religion and Politics in Iran

*Shi'ism from Quietism to Revolution*  
edited by Nikki R. Keddie

**"This volume . . . is one of the best** in making the connection between religion and politics." —*Foreign Affairs*

**"Perhaps the best single book to date on contemporary Iranian history."**  
—*Berkeley Journal of Sociology* \$8.95

## The First Urban Christians

*The Social World of the Apostle Paul*  
Wayne A. Meeks

**"A much-needed authoritative study."**  
—J. L. Houlden, *TLS*

**"This book recaptures the thrill** of the particular reality behind well-known material." —Peter Brown

**"Impressive. . . . [Meeks] demonstrates** how the perspectives of social history, used by a careful and reflective scholar, can illuminate what seem familiar sources." —Elaine H. Pagels, *The New York Review of Books* \$8.95

## The Soviet Union and the Arms Race

*Second edition*  
David Holloway

**"A remarkably acute assessment** of what drives Soviet military policy." —McGeorge Bundy, *The New York Review of Books*

**"This book stands above many other works** on Soviet defense policy and attitudes toward arms control because of its lucidity, balance and depth." —*Foreign Affairs* \$7.95

## Justice Accused

*Antislavery and the Judicial Process*  
Robert Cover

**"Scholars should be grateful** to Cover for his often brilliant illumination of tensions created in judges by changing eighteenth- and nineteenth-century jurisprudential attitudes and legal standards. . . . **An exciting adventure in interdisciplinary history.**" —Harold M. Hyman, *American Historical Review* \$12.95

*from Yale*

Yale University Press  
New Haven and London






---

### Forthcoming for 1985

---

#### **Western Civilization:**

#### **Ideas, Politics, and Society Second Edition**

**Marvin Perry**, Baruch College,  
City University of New York

**Myrna Chase**, Baruch College

**James R. Jacob**, John Jay College  
of Criminal Justice

**Margaret C. Jacob**, Baruch College

**Theodore H. Von Laue**  
Clark University

#### **A Synopsis of American History Sixth Edition**

**Charles Sellers**

University of California, Berkeley

**Henry May**, Emeritus,

University of California, Berkeley

**Neil R. McMillen**

University of Southern Mississippi

---

### Now Available

---

#### **A History of World Societies**

**John P. McKay**, **Bennett D. Hill**,  
and **John Buckler**

All of University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

Also by McKay, Hill, and Buckler

#### **A History of Western Society Second Edition**

#### **A Short History of Latin America, Second Edition**

**Benjamin Keen**, formerly of  
Northern Illinois University

**Mark Wasserman**, Rutgers —

The State University of New Jersey

#### **A People and a Nation:**

#### **A History of the United States Brief Edition**

**Mary Beth Norton**

Cornell University

**David M. Katzman**

University of Kansas

**Paul D. Escott**, University of  
North Carolina, Charlotte

**Howard P. Chudacoff**

Brown University

**Thomas G. Paterson**

University of Connecticut

**William M. Tuttle, Jr.**

University of Kansas

and **William J. Brophy**

Stephen F. Austin State University

#### **A More Perfect Union:**

#### **Documents in U.S. History**

**Paul F. Boller, Jr.**

Texas Christian University

**Ronald Story**, University of

Massachusetts, Amherst

#### **Portrait of America**

#### **Third Edition**

**Stephen B. Oates**, University of  
Massachusetts, Amherst

For adoption consideration, request exami-  
nation copies from your regional Houghton  
Mifflin office



### **Houghton Mifflin Company**

13400 Midway Rd., Dallas, TX 75234

1900 S. Batavia Ave., Geneva, IL 60134

Pennington-Hopewell Rd., Hopewell, NJ 08525

777 California Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94304

## No Longer an Island

### *Britain and the Wright Brothers, 1902-1909*

**Alfred Gollin.** No government paid more attention to the early activities of the Wright Brothers than the British, but British negotiations with the Wrights present a record of lost opportunities, mingled with ineptness and duplicity. The fascinating story includes a bungling British spy, an attempt by the cofounder of the Rolls-Royce motor car company to steal the Wrights' technical secrets, the breaking off of negotiations in 1909 by Britain's Secretary of State for War (who was banking on receiving the purloined secrets), and high-level infighting by such eminent figures as Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, Admiral Fisher, General Haig, and Lord Northcliffe. \$35.00

## Facing Two Ways

### *The Story of My Life*

**Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto. Introduction and Afterword by Barbara Molony.** First published in 1935, this book tells the story of one of Japan's most remarkable modern women—the daughter of a samurai family, who rejected wealth and class to devote herself to liberating Japanese women from the bonds of traditionalism and the demands of biology. The Afterword describes Ishimoto's life from 1935 to her present role, at 87, as President of the Japan Family Planning Federation. Illustrated. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$10.95

## The Archaeology of California

**Joseph L. Chartkoff & Kerry Kona Chartkoff.** Extensively illustrated, unsurpassed in comprehensiveness, and written in non-technical language for the general reader, this archaeological history provides an introduction to all that is known of the human habitation of what is now the State of California—from earliest known sites to the logging and mining camps of the 19th and 20th centuries. Illustrated with 48 maps, 90 photographs, and some 300 drawings. \$32.50

*Order from your bookstore, please*



Stanford University Press

# Oxford

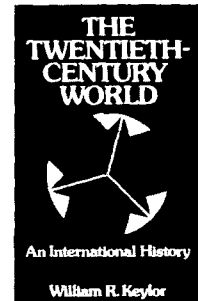
## The Twentieth-Century World

### An International History

WILLIAM R. KEYLOR, *Boston University*. "An excellently written and highly readable work... a coherent account of the world in the 20th century."—Hugh I. Rodgers, *Columbus College*. "This book, which takes a truly global perspective, is welcome indeed. Lucid, well written and to the point."

—Ronald Smelser, *University of Utah*

1984 480 pp.; 10 maps paper \$12.95 cloth \$24.95



## A History of Russia

### Fourth Edition

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY, *University of California, Berkeley*. "If one is to rank textbooks by durability and staying power in a tough field, then Riasanovsky's *A History of Russia* easily takes first place... an authoritative work in the best sense of that word, judicious, balanced, accurate and, perhaps even more important, rooted in the great historiographical tradition."—*Russian History*. The Fourth Edition covers the last seven years of Brezhnev's regime, gives an account of his death and Andropov's quick succession to leadership, and includes new material on relations with Poland and Afghanistan.

1984 672 pp.; 66 photographs, 30 maps, tables \$24.95

## The Rise of Modern China

### Third Edition

IMMANUEL C.Y. HSÜ *University of California, Santa Barbara*. The Third Edition of this outstanding book vividly describes China's extraordinary metamorphosis from a traditional self-sufficient empire into a modern nation. Professor Hsü surveys the main currents of modern Chinese history from 1600 to the present, devoting particular concern to the shaping forces of China's political, diplomatic, intellectual, social, and economic history. *On the second edition*: "The best general history of China that exists—rich in colorful and pointed detail, widely learned, based on a vast range of sources, competently written, and often quite penetrating."—*Perspective*

1983 1,024 pp.; 107 illus., maps, charts, bibliog. \$24.95

## A History of the Ancient World

### Third Edition

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*. "A marvelous book! Contained between these covers is the proper balance of Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome."—F.M. Lauritson, *Eastern Washington University*. Interpreting and integrating a vast amount of factual material, Starr presents a history of ancient civilization from earliest times to the fifth century, A.D. In the Third Edition, the chapters on early man have been extensively rewritten; many sections have been recast, including those on Hammurapi's Babylon, Shang's China, and Rome in the mid-Republic; and the bibliographical essays have been revised and brought up to date.

1983 768 pp.; 32 illus., 25 maps \$22.00

## The Roman Empire, 27 B.C.-A.D. 476

### A Study in Survival

CHESTER G. STARR. "Professor Starr is one of the deans of Ancient History in America... His newest work is a masterly synthesis of high clarity and dramatic intensity... which will long be read with profit by students and the general public."—Meyer Reinhold, *University of Missouri, Columbia*. This study explores the institutions and attitudes that supported the Roman Empire for over 500 years, a survival that defied all geographical, economical, and political odds.

1982 224 pp.; illus., maps paper \$10.95 cloth \$19.95

## Modern Latin America

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*, and PETER H. SMITH, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*. "A first-rate review of Latin American political and development history,"—Sidney Weintraub, *University of Texas, Austin*. "Should move immediately to the top of the list of introductory texts."—Richard Ganzel, *University of Nevada, Reno*  
1984 416 pp.; 40 illus., 3 maps  
paper \$12.95 cloth \$22.50



## The Course of Mexican History

Second Edition

MICHAEL C. MEYER, *University of Arizona, Tucson*; and WILLIAM L. SHERMAN, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*. "Splendid! Long overdue. Well-balanced, easily read, comprehensive. . . . A Superior production."—William Collins, *Purdue University*. Drawing on both classic and current sources, Meyer and Sherman provide a comprehensive survey of Mexican history from the pre-Columbian period to the present. The second edition is completely up to date, including new material on Mexico's petroleum deposits, the presidency of Jose Lopez Portillo, the problem of undocumented Mexican workers in the U.S., and Mexican-U.S. relations during the Reagan administration.

1983 768 pp.; 200 illus., maps, charts, tables paper \$18.95 cloth \$29.95

## The British Empire

1558-1983

T.O. LLOYD, *University of Toronto*. This illuminating chronicle, the first major survey of the entire history of the British Empire, provides a unified account of a vital period in the history of all the countries that make up the modern Commonwealth. (*The Short Oxford History of the Modern World*)

1984 550 pp.; 16 maps paper \$13.95 cloth \$29.95

## Modern India

The Origins of an Asian Democracy

JUDITH M. BROWN, *University of Manchester*. This introductory study traces the emergence of India as an independent democratic state, examining the interaction of this stable, culturally rich society and the forces of the industrial West over a period of 200 years. (*The Short Oxford History of the Modern World*)

1984 500 pp.; 2 maps, 2 figs. paper \$12.95 cloth \$32.50

## Israel in the Middle East

Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, 1984-Present

Edited by ITAMAR RABINOVICH, *University of Tel Aviv*, and JEHUDA REINHARZ, *Brandeis University*. "The first comprehensive selection of documents and readings on the domestic and external policies of Israel from its birth in 1948 to 1983. . . . Invaluable."—J.C. Hurewitz, *Columbia University*

1984 432 pp. paper \$14.95 cloth \$29.95

*Prices subject to change.*

**Oxford University Press**

200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016

# Oxford

## The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951

Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism

WILLIAM ROGER LOUIS, *University of Texas*.

"[A] masterpiece of scholarly research and interpretation."—A.J.P. Taylor. "Roger Louis has brilliantly chronicled this important chapter in the history of the postwar era. His account has much to say to Americans in the 1980s."—Richard H. Ullman, *Princeton University*. "Provides new historical perspectives which anyone interested in that all important part of the world will have to take into account."—Allan Bullock, *University of Oxford*  
1984 800 pp.; 5 maps \$55.00

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST 1945-1951



Wm. Roger Louis

## An Open Elite?

England 1540-1880

LAWRENCE STONE, *Princeton University*, and JEANNE C. FAWTIER STONE.

This fascinating new study tests the validity of one of the most cherished beliefs about English society, economics, and politics: that English landed society has been open to infiltration by families made newly rich through trade, office, or professional life. Combining case histories with in-depth research, it covers a period of 350 years and focuses on the landed elite of three English counties: Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, and Northumberland.

1984 600 pp.; 122 illus. \$29.95

## The Peculiarities of German History

Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany

DAVID BLACKBOURN, *University of London*, and GEOFF ELEY, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*. This book explores the explanations given for the

"peculiar" course of modern German history, focusing in particular on the argument that German economic modernization was accompanied by the survival of deep-seated, pre-modern values and political structures because Germany did not pass through a western-style bourgeois revolution. The authors contend that Germany did indeed experience a bourgeois revolution, offering a fresh perspective on the economics, society, and politics of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany.

1984 300 pp. paper \$14.50 cloth \$25.95

## A New History of Ireland

Volume IX: A Companion to Irish History, Part II

Volume IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800

Edited by the late T.W. MOODY, *formerly of Trinity College and University College, Dublin*; and F.X. MARTIN and F.J. BYRNE, *both of University College, Dublin*.

"Will surely take its place as one of the major collective accomplishments of European historical scholarship in the second half of this century."—*American Historical Review* in a review of Volume III. Volume IX in this series includes genealogical tables, succession lists, and a digest of parliamentary elections since 1801. Volume IV, the second text volume to appear, includes nine chapters of narrative history, plus chapters on the economy, the Irish language, and Irish literature.

Volume IX: 1984 688 pp.; 121 maps, 42 figs. \$150.00

Volume IV: November 1984 912 pp.; 32 plates, 14 maps \$98.00



## Oxford Paperbacks

*Winner of the Wolfson Literary Award for History*

### **The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy**

1550-1700

R.J.W. EVANS, *Brasenose College, Oxford*. "Remarkable . . . Its prose is straightforward, witty and sometimes ironic, and its views are new and grandiose . . . It will be of lasting influence on future scholarship . . . [A] great interpretative achievement."—*Journal of Modern History*

1984 560 pp. paper \$16.95

### **Roman Britain**

PETER SALWAY, *the Open University*. "An immensely impressive work. The judiciousness of tone and thoroughness of coverage inspire such confidence that it is hard to imagine that this will not be the standard account for the next generation or so."—*History*

1984 864 pp.; 12 pp. of maps paper \$14.95

### **The Religion of Protestants**

**The Church in English Society 1559-1625**

PATRICK COLLINSON, *University of Kent, Canterbury*. "Unmistakably the work of a historian who has reflected on his subject for the better part of a working lifetime . . . Collinson's thesis, although lucidly and vigorously presented, is honourably complex and tentative."—*London Review of Books*

1984 310 pp. paper \$14.95

### **The Legacy of Greece**

**A New Appraisal**

M.I. FINLEY, *Darwin College, Cambridge*. "A lively selection of essays on many of the most interesting topics connected with the Greek world . . . Well-written and up-to-date."—E. Christian Kopff, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

1984 496 pp.; 16 plates paper \$9.95

### **Resistance in Vichy France**

**A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone, 1940-1942**

H.R. KEDWARD, *University of Sussex*. "The general reader . . . will find no better introduction to the origins of resistance to the Vichy regime in southern France."

—*American Political Science Review*. "A scholarly as well as refreshingly individualistic study of the Resistance."—*Times Higher Education Supplement*

1984 324 pp.; 2 maps paper \$13.95

### **From Clergyman to Don**

**The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford**

A.J. ENGEL, *Virginia Commonwealth University*. "One of the best books to have been written about the nature of education in the nineteenth century."—*Times Literary Supplement*

1984 314 pp.; frontis. paper \$16.95

*Prices and publication dates are subject to change.*

**Oxford University Press**

200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016

"**W**hat first impressed me about *America: Past and Present* was its striking visual appearance. I chose this text because of its extremely broad coverage of social/cultural history. No significant topic is left uncovered." — George Rable, Anderson College

**Nothing but praise  
for this new American history classic**

*America*

**PAST AND PRESENT**

Robert A. Divine, The University of Texas at Austin

T. H. Breen, Northwestern University

George M. Fredrickson, Northwestern University

R. Hal Williams, Southern Methodist University

Since its January 1984 publication, *America: Past and Present* has won praise and recognition from professors and students, coast to coast, for its current scholarship, lively narrative, stunning visual program, and comprehensive support package. Handsome, four-color illustrations include picture essays, maps, and photographs. Once you've examined *America: Past and Present*, we're sure you'll agree that it is the most significant new history text to come along in years. © 1984, 1088 pages, hardbound, with Instructor's Resource Manual, Study Guides, Test Item Files (also available on diskette) and a set of 30 color Map Transparencies free to adopters.

**Text also available in a two-volume softbound edition.**

**Watch for this new two-volume, softbound edition:**

**Civilization Past and Present**

**Fifth Edition, Special Printing**

**Volumes I and II**

T. Walter Wallbank / Alastair M.

Taylor / Nels M. Bailkey /

George F. Jewsbury

**Available November 1984**

For further information write  
Meredith Hellestrae, Dept. SA-AHR  
1900 East Lake Avenue  
Glenview, Illinois 60025



**Scott, Foresman and Company**

# ESSENTIAL READING FROM MERCER

## NEW CHRISTIAN POLITICS

*edited by David G. Bromley and Anson David Shupe, Jr.*

Editors David Bromley and Anson Shupe have assembled the work of 20 historians, sociologists, and political scientists who survey the history of the New Christian Right, its sources of social support, its interaction with the media, and its political impact. ISBN 0-86554-115-9 \$23.95

## THE ORANGEBURG MASSACRE

*by Jack Bass and Jack Nelson*

A painstaking investigation of the massacre on the campus of South Carolina State College in 1968 which stimulated glowing reviews from book critics and an angry diatribe from J. Edgar Hoover. We are proud to issue a second, revised and augmented edition of this landmark, along with a new, searching introduction by Will D. Campbell. ISBN 0-86554-120-5 \$18.50

## EDITORIAL WILD OATS

Edward Ward Carmack and Tennessee Politics

*by William R. Majors*

Tennessee, 1900—Prohibition, Free Silver, White Supremacy, Democrats versus Republicans, Progressivism, sensational journalism. Edward Ward Carmack as journalist and politician personified a volatile era of unrelenting change and pragmatic idealism. ISBN 0-86554-133-7 \$17.50

## U. B. PHILLIPS: A SOUTHERN MIND

*by John Herbert Roper*

With this biography Professor Roper clarifies and restores the importance and influence of a distinguished and controversial American historian.

ISBN 0-86554-112-4 \$16.95

## GEORGIA AND STATE RIGHTS

*by U. B. Phillips with an introduction by John Herbert Roper*

REPRINTS OF SCHOLARLY EXCELLENCE #7

Phillips, a preeminent historian of the antebellum South, was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize for this monograph first published by the AHA in 1902. We are happy to reissue this classic for a new generation of readers in American history. ISBN 0-86554-103-5 \$14.95



MERCER UNIVERSITY PRESS • DEPARTMENT 1A • MACON GEORGIA 31207

## **Have you joined the American Historical Association?**

### **Membership includes:**

- **The American Historical Review**
- **AHA Perspectives (includes employment information)**
- **Program of the annual meeting**
- **Annual Reports (on request)**
- **Group insurance programs**
- **The right to vote and hold office**
- **Discounts on AHA Publications**
- **Discounts on convention registration**

### **MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION**

American Historical Association  
400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003  
202/544-2422

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Last \_\_\_\_\_ First \_\_\_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Income	Annual Dues (U.S. Funds Only)
_____ Over \$40,000	\$60.00
_____ \$30,000-\$39,999	\$55.00
_____ \$20,000-\$29,999	\$47.00
_____ \$15,000-\$19,999	\$40.00
_____ \$10,000-\$14,999	\$30.00
_____ Below \$10,000	\$20.00
_____ Joint (spouse of member)	\$20.00
_____ Life	\$1,000.00
_____ Associate Membership*	\$30.00
_____ Recently Published Articles†	\$14.00
_____ Overseas Members Add Postage	\$5.00

Dues \_\_\_\_\_

Postage \_\_\_\_\_

Total \_\_\_\_\_

\*Associate Membership is for those persons whose primary professional identification is in a field other than history.

†Overseas members please add \$1.00 postage for RPA.

ALL ANNUAL DUES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE, U.S. FUNDS ONLY.

# Recent Pamphlets

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AHA PAMPHLETS—narrative and critical essays, including bibliographical guides, on topics in history

- 102 American Intellectual History: The Development of the Discipline *by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.*  
 212 The Progressive Era, 1900-20: The Reform Persuasion *by George E. Mowry*  
 215 Contemporary American History: The United States since 1945 *by Dewey W. Grantham*  
 222 Far Western Frontiers *by Harvey L. Carter*  
 250 A History of the American Labor Movement *by Albert A. Blum*  
 260 Religion in America: History and Historiography *by Edwin S. Gaustad*  
 702 American Diplomatic History in Transformation *by Alexander DeConde*

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING—essays on approaches to history in the classroom

- 2 Teaching History with Film *by John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson*

Pamphlets are \$1.50 each; payment must accompany order. A complete list of titles is available upon request.

The American Historical Association  
 Pamphlet Orders A21  
 400 A Street, SE  
 Washington, DC 20003

PLEASE SEND TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ (check or money order; no stamps please) in payment for the \_\_\_\_\_ pamphlets indicated below:

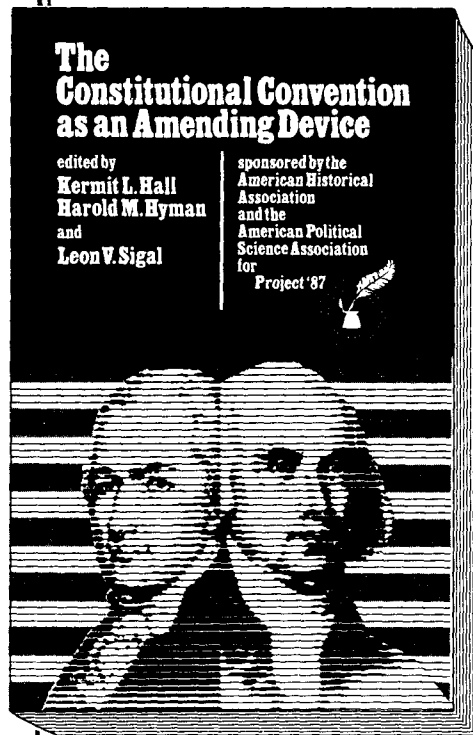
AHA PAMPHLETS 102\_\_\_\_ 212\_\_\_\_ 215\_\_\_\_ 222\_\_\_\_ 250\_\_\_\_

260\_\_\_\_ 702\_\_\_\_

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING 2\_\_\_\_

Please send complete list of titles\_\_\_\_\_





# A Timely Study from Project '87

**Essays on  
Constitutional  
Change  
and  
Constitutional  
Conventions**

## Order Form

Please send (        ) copies at \$6.50 ea. for paper  
(        ) copies at \$10.50 ea. for hardcover

of **The Constitutional Convention as an Amending Device**

to: Name \_\_\_\_\_

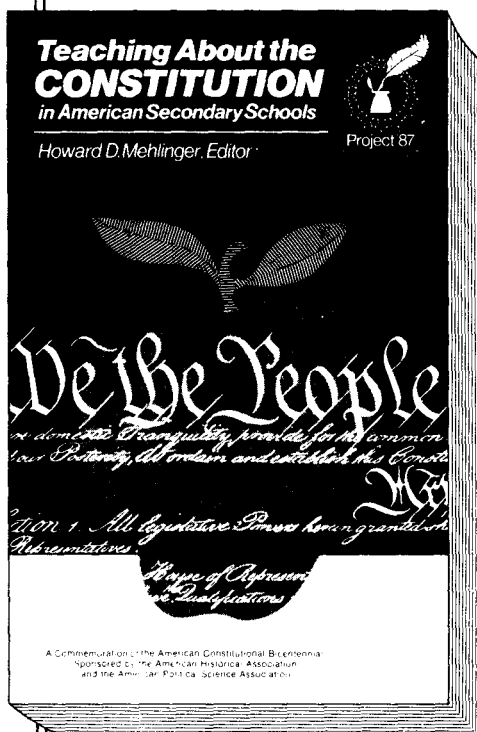
Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Order from: **Project '87/AHA**  
**400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003**

For a full list of available publications, write to:

American Historical Association, Publications Department  
400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003



# A Report from Project '87's Conference on Secondary Education and the U.S. Constitution

## Order Form

Please send (            ) copies at \$6.50 ea. for paper  
(            ) copies at \$10.50 ea. for hardcover

of **Teaching About the Constitution in American  
Secondary Schools**

to: NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Order from: **Project '87/AHA**  
**400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003**

For a full list of available publications, write to:

American Historical Association, Publications Department  
400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

---

## Index of Advertisers

---

Abingdon Press	3	Princeton University Press	11, 19, cover 4
American Historical Association	38–41	St. Martin's Press	17
Cambridge University Press	14–15	Scott, Foresman & Co.	36
Free Press	22–23	Charles Scribner's	13, 25
Harlan Davidson, Inc.	27	Smithsonian Press	8
Harvard University Press	4, 5, cover 3	Stanford University Press	31
Harvard University C. Warren Center	6	Texas A&M University Press	10
Houghton Mifflin Co.	30	University of California Press	20, 21
Little, Brown & Co.	9	University of Chicago Press	12
Mercer University Press	37	University of Nebraska Press	16
Mouton Pub.	18	Viking/Penguin	7
Ohio State University Press	26	Franklin Watts	24
Oxford University Press	32, 33, 34, 35, cover 2	Yale University Press	28, 29

# The rewards of dwelling on the past.

Harvard's new books for history and biography lovers.

## **One and Inseparable**

Daniel Webster and the Union

*Maurice G. Baxter*

"A work of superb scholarship — soundly based on original research, astonishingly well informed on political developments... a major biography of a major figure."

— David Herbert Donald

7 halftones, 1 line illus., \$25.00 *Belknap*

## **Alice Hamilton**

A Life in Letters

*Barbara Sicherman*

Sicherman's book integrates letters and biography to illuminate the life of this pioneer in medicine and social reform, and to show the ways in which Hamilton's 19th-century ideals conflicted with the 20th-century reality she helped to create.

12 halftones, \$25.00 *Commonwealth Fund*

## **Prophets of Regulation**

*Thomas K. McCraw*

With an engaging series of personal profiles, this book shows the remarkable influence of Adams, Brandeis, Landis and Kahn on the evolution of government regulation.

"McCraw has combined an impressive grasp of complex economic issues... A seminal work in the study of American regulation."

— Alan Brinkley

24 halftones, \$20.00 *Belknap*

## **Province of Reason**

*Sam Bass Warner, Jr.*

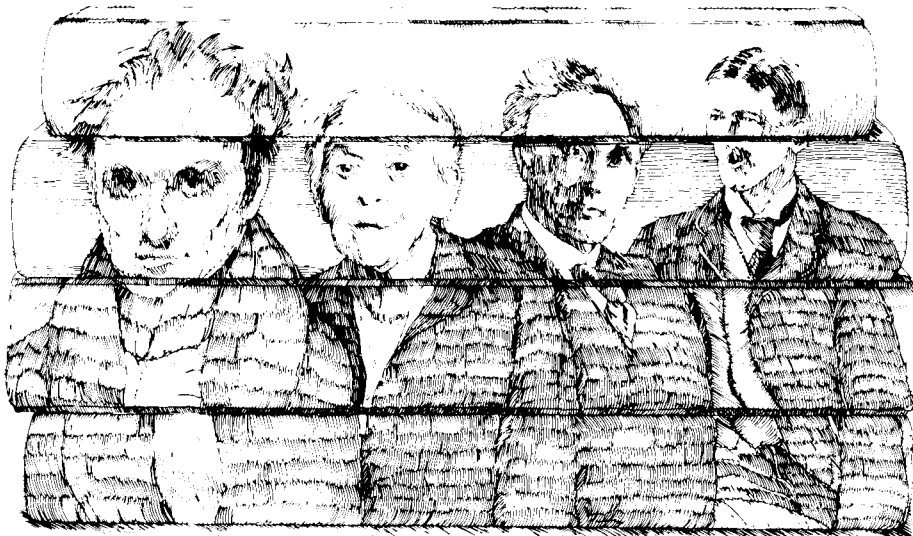
Portraits of fourteen American lives in the new age of science.

"An extraordinarily wise, sensitive and humane work... I know of no more compelling history of the United States in the twentieth century."

— Robert H. Wiebe

\$20.00 *Belknap*

At bookstores or from **Harvard University Press** Cambridge, MA 02138



**"...a stupendous achievement. Dr. Kimball has followed very high editorial standards in editing these documents, and his commentary explicates them and provides an appropriate narrative. These volumes will constitute the starting point of all research and writing on the diplomacy and high strategy of the Second World War. I should add a word of warning to prospective readers: reading these documents can be very addicting. Once you start reading them, it is hard to stop."**

**—Arthur S. Link, Editor, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson***

# Churchill & Roosevelt,

## The Complete Correspondence

Three Volumes

*Edited by Warren F. Kimball*



**"I recommend this work unreservedly. Scouring American and British archives and even finding some German intercepts, Kimball has done an outstanding job of making this collection definitive."**

**—Forrest C. Pogue, Biographer of George C. Marshall**

This three-volume work is the first complete compilation of the correspondence of Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, 30 percent of which has never before been published. Including every written communication that passed between Churchill and Roosevelt during the five and a half years of their wartime leadership, this body of material is essential to an understanding of the politics and strategy of World War II as conducted by two of history's most charismatic men.

To their inherently fascinating correspondence Kimball has added headnotes—commentaries that not only set the context of specific documents but also provide both an overview of the chronology of international relations of the period and interpretations based on his extensive research for these volumes.

***\$125.00 prepublication price until December 31, 1984, thereafter \$150.00***

**Princeton**  
**University Press**

41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540